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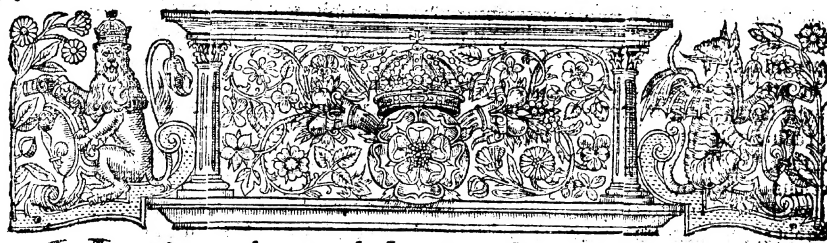
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Marie the eldest daughter of king Henrie the eight successor to Edward the sixth.



Marie eldest daughter of
k. Henrie the eight, by the
ladie Katharine of Spaine,
his first wife, and sister
to king Edward the first, by
the fathers side, began his
reigne the first daie of Julie,
which daie the king his bro-
ther died, and he was pro-

claimed at London (as is before remembred in the
end of the historie of king Edward the first) the nine-
teenth daie of the same moneth, in the yeare of our
Lord 1553: after the creation of the world 5520,
in the five and thirtieth yeare of Charles the first, em-
peroz of Almaine, in the seventh yeare of Henrie the
second of that name k. of France, & in the eleventh
of Marie quene of Scotland. The twentieth of Julie
the duke of Northumberland being come backe to
Cambridge, heard that the proclamation of quene
Marie was come thither, whereof he being aduerti-
fied, called for a trumpet and an herald; but none
could be found. Whereupon he riding into the mar-
ket place with the mase, and the lord marques of
Northampton, made the proclamation himselfe,
and threw by his cap in token of ioy. & Within an
houre after he had letters from the counsell (as he
said) that he should forthwith dismis his armie, and
not come within ten miles of London: for if he
did, they would fight with him, the rumoz whereof
was no sooner abroad, but euerie man departed. And
shortly after, the duke was arrested in the kings
college by one master Sleg sargeant at arms.

At the last, letters were brought from the coun-
sell at London, that all men should go each his waie.
Whereupon the duke said to them that kept him;
Ye do me wrong to withdraw my libertie, see you
not the counsels letters without exception, that all
men should go whither they would: At which words
they that kept him and the other noblemen, set them
at libertie, and so continued they for that night: in-
somuch that the earle of Warwicke was readie in
the morning to haue rode awaie. But then came the
erle of Arundell from the quene to the duke into his
chamber, who went out to meet him. Now as soone
as he saw the earle of Arundell, he fell on his knees,
and desired him to be good to him for the loue of God:
Consider (saith he) I haue done nothing but by the
consents of you and all the whole counsell. My lord
(quoth the earle of Arundell) I am sent hither by the
quens maiestie, and in his name I do arrest you.
And I obeie it my lord (quoth he) I beseech you my
lord of Arundell (quoth the duke) vse mercie towards
me, knowing the case as it is. My lord (quoth the
earle) ye should haue sought for mercie sooner, I must
do according to commandment: herewith he com-

mitted the charge of him and the others to the gard
and gentlemen that stood by. The lord marques af-
ter this went to quene Marie. On the five & twen-
tith daie of the said moneth, the duke of Northum-
berland, with Francis earle of Huntington, John
earle of Warwicke son and heire to the said duke,
and two other of his yonger sons, the lord Ambrose
and the lord Henrie Dupleie, sir Andrew Dupleie,
sir John Gates capteine of the gard to king Ed-
ward the first, sir Henrie Gates brethren, sir Thomas
Palmer knights, and doctor Sands were brought
to the tower by the earle of Arundell. But as they
entered within the tower gate, the earle of Arundell
discharged the lord Hastings, taking him out of the
tower with him. On the six & twentieth of Julie, the
lord marques of Northampton, the bishop of Lon-
don, the lord Robert Dupleie, and sir Robert Cor-
bet were brought from the quenes campe into the
tower. The eight and twentieth of Julie, the duke
of Suffolke was committed to the tower, but the
one and twentieth of the same moneth he was set at
libertie by the diligent sute of the ladie Francis
grace his wife.

After that quene Marie was thus with full con-
sent of the nobles and commons of the realme pro-
claimed quene, she being then in Northfolke, at hir
castell of Framingham, repaired with all speed to
the citie of London: and the third daie of the said
moneth of August she came to the said citie, and so
to the tower, where the ladie Jane of Suffolke (late
afore proclaimed quene) with hir husband the lord
Gilsford, a little before hir comming, were commit-
ted to ward, & there remained almost after five mo-
neths. And by the waie, as the quene thus passed, she
was so fullie saluted of all the people, without anie
mistaking; sauing that it was much feared of manie,
that she would alter the religion set forth by king
Edward hir brother, whereof then were giuen full
occasions: because (notwithstanding diuerse lawes
made to the contrarie) she had daile masse and La-
tine service said before hir in the tower. And it was
doubted in like sort, that she would both abnoll and
innouat certeine lawes and decrees established by
the yong prince hir predecessor: which she did in deed,
as one hath left testified in a memoriall of hir succe-
ssion (but little vnto hir commendation) sauing:

*At Maria Eduardi regni succedit habemus,
Confirmans iterum regno papalia iura,
Concilioque noitas leges sancire vocato
Molitur, latus a fratre perosa priores.*

At hir entrie into the tower there were presented
to hir certeine prisoners; nanelic, Thomas duke of
Northfolke, who in the last yeare of king Henrie the
eight (as you haue heard) was supposed to be attain-
ted of treason: but in the parliament of this first
of m m m. iii. yeare

The lord Hastings
discharged out of
the tower.

Duke of
Suffolke
committed to
the tower.

Quene Marie
committed
to London.

Prisoners
discharged.

Carmen edith
phicem Can
in obitu regis
Edwardi.

Perkins
Arundell
Arundell
Arundell

ther answer confessed the indictment, by whose example the other prisoners arreigned with him, did likewise confesse the indictments produced against them, and thereupon had iudgement.

How when iudgement was giuen, the duke said; I beseech you my lords all to be humble suiters to the quenes maiestie, and to grant me foure requests, which are these: first, that I maie haue that death which noble men haue had in times past, and not the other: secondarilie, that hir maiestie will be gracious to my chyldezen which maie hereafter do good service, considering that they went by my commandement who am theire father, and not of their owne free willes: thirdlie, that I may haue appointed to me some learned man for the instruction and quieting of my conscience: and fourthlie, that he will send two of the counsell to commune with me, to whome I will declare such matters as shall be expedient for hir and the common-weale: and thus I beseech you all to praye for me.

The nineteenth of August, sir Andriew Dobleie, sir John Gates, and sir Henrie Gates brethren, and sir Thomas Palmer knights, were arreigned at Westminster; and confessing their indictments, had iudgement, which was pronounced by the marquisse of Winchester high treasurer of England that sate that daie as chiefe iustice. On the twentieth of August doctor Watton chapleine to the bishop of Winchester preached at Pauls crosse, by the quenes appointment, & for feare of the like tumult as had bene not long before, certeine lords of the counsell repaired to the sermon, as the lord treasurer, the lord priuie seale, the earle of Bedford, the earle of Penbroke, the lord Wentworth, the lord Rich, and sir Henrie Gerningham capteine of the gard with two hundred of the gard, which stood about the preacher with halberts. Also the maior had warned the companies of the citie to be present in their liveries, which was well accepted of the quenes counsell: and the sermon was quietlie ended.

On the two and twentieth of August John duke of Northumberland was beheaded on the tower hill, whose bodie with the head was buried in the tower, by the bodie of Edward late duke of Somerset. So that there lieth before the high altar two dukes betwene two quenes, to wit, the duke of Somerset & the duke of Northumberland betwene quene Anne and quene Katharine, all foure beheaded. At the same time and place also was likewise beheaded sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, which sir John Gates in that place vsed few words, but laid downe his head without anie hercher, and had the same striken off at thre blowes. Sir Thomas Palmer, as sone as he came to the scaffold, toke euerie man by the hand, and desired them to praye for him: then putting off his gowne, he leaned vpon the east raille, and said these words in effect.

The effect of such words as sir
Thomas Palmer uttered on the
scaffold at his death.

My maisters (quoth he) God saue you all. It is not vnknowne vnto you wherefore I come hither, which I haue worthilie well deserved at Gods hands: for I know it to be his diuine ordinance, by this meanes to call me to his mercie, and to teach me to know my selfe, what I am, and whereunto we are all subiect: I thanke his mercifull goodnesse, for he hath caused me to learne more in one little darke corner in

ponder to tower, than euer I learned by anie trauell in so manie places as I haue bene. For there (I saie) I haue sene Gods what he is, & how vnsearchable his wonderous works are, & how infinit his mercies be: I haue sene there my selfe throghe lie, and what I am, nothing but a lump of sin, earth, dust, and of all vilenesse most vilest: I haue sene there and know what the world is, how vaine, deceitfull, transitorie, and short it is; how wicked and lothsome the works thereof are in the sight of Gods maiestie, how he neither regardeth the manaces of the proud men and mightie ones, neither despiseth the humbleness of the poore & lowlie which are in the same world: finally, I haue sene there what death is, how nie hanging ouer all mens hedds, and yet how vncerteine the time, and how vnknowne to all men, and how little it is to be feared. And should I feare death or be sad therefore: Haue I not sene two die before mine eyes: Pea and within the hearing of mine eares: No, neither the sprinkling of the blood, nor the sheading thereof, nor the bloudie ax it selfe shall make me afraid. And now taking my leaue of the same, I praye you all to praye for me. Come on good fellow (quoth he) art thou he that must doe the deed: I forgieue thee with all my hart; & then knelling downe, & laing his hed on the blocke, he said; I will see how met the blocke is for my necke, I praye thee strike not yet, for I haue a few prayers to saie; and that done, strike on Gods name, good leaue haue thou.

His prayers ended, and desiring ech man to praye for him, he laid downe his head againe, and so the executioner forthwith toke it from him at one stroke. On the thre and twentieth of August the quene deliuered the great seale to doctor Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and made him lord chancelor. The fourteen and twentieth of August, the seruice began in Latine to be song in Pauls church in London. The fifte and twentieth of August in the evening the notable ship in England called the great Harrie was burnt at Woolwich by negligence of the mariners, the was of burthen a thousand tons. The first of September the quene demanded a prest of the citie of London of twentie thousand pounds, to be repaid againe within fouretene daies after Michaelmasse next following, which sum was leuied of the aldermen and one hundred & twentie commoners. The fourth of September was proclaimed certeine new coins of gold and siluer, a souereigne of gold of thirtie shillings, the halfe souereigne fiftene shillings; an angell at ten shillings, the halfe angell five shillings, of siluer, the grote, halfe grote and pennie: all base coins to be currant as before. Also the same daie by proclamation was pardoned the subsidie of foure shillings the pound of lands, and two shillings right pence the pound of mouable goods, granted in the last parlement of king Edward the first. Some after this Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, and late before of king Edwards priuie counsell, was committed to the tower of London, being charged of treason, not onelie for giuing aduise to the disheriting of quene Marie, but also for aiding the duke of Northumberland with certeine horse and men against the quene, in the quarrell of the ladie Jane of Suffolke: wherein (if he were culpable) he

New lord
chancelor.

Latine ser-
uice.

Great Harrie
a ship burnt.

Prest to the
quene.

New coins.

Subsidie par-
doned.

The archbi-
shop of Can-
turburie com-
mitted to the
tower.

The dagger
throwne at
the preacher.

The preacher
at Pauls
crosse defend-
ed by the
gard.

Further at
Pauls crosse
preach.

The duke of
Northumber-
land arreigned.

The dukes
request to vn-
derstand the
opinion of the
court in two
points.

The John
Gates and sir
Thomas
Palmer be-
headed.

* See before
pag. 1030, 1031
Abr. Flex.
1. Stow 1567.

lacked the providence and foresight of after-claps, which *doctor Parker in the insurrection of Ket being saved both his life and estimation.

¶ On the seven and twentieth of September queene Marie came to the towne by water, accompanied with the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, and other ladies, before whose arrivall there was shot a great peale of guns. The last of September queene Marie rode through the citie of London towards Westminster, sitting in a chariot of cloth of tisse, drawn with six horses all trapped with the like cloth of tisse. She

Coronation of
queene Ma-
rie, hir pompe
and traine.

who rode be-
fore and after
hir.

The ladie
Elizabeth and
the ladie Anne
of Cleve.

A pageant
made by stran-
gers.

The conduit
in Cornhill
ran wine.

The recorder
of London
maketh a
short speech
to the queene
passing by.

A Dutchman
on the wea-
thercocke of
Paules.

sate in a gowne of purple velvet, furred with pom-
bered ermins, having on hir head a hall of cloth of
tinsell, beset with pearle and stone, and aboute the
same upon hir head a round circlet of gold, beset so
richlie with pretious stones, that the value thereof
was ineffimable, the same hall and circle being so
massie and ponderous, that she was faine to beare
up hir head with hir hand, and the canopie was borne
over hir chariot. Before hir rode a number of gen-
tlemen & knights, then iudges, then doctors, then bi-
shops, then lords, then the counsell, after whome fol-
lowed the knights of the Bath in their robes, the bi-
shop of Winchester lord chancellor, and the marques
of Winchester lord high treasurer, next came the
duke of Suffolke, and after him the earle of Wynd-
sor, who bare the sword before hir, the mayor of London
in a gown of crimson velvet bare the scepter of gold,
ec. After the queenes chariot sir Edward Hastings
led hir horse in his hand: then came another chariot
having a covering of cloth of silke all white, and
six horses trapped with the like: therein sate the
ladie Elizabeth, and the ladie Anne of Cleve: these
ladies and gentlewomen riding on horses trapped
with red velvet, and their gowmes and kirtles like-
wise of red velvet; after them followed two other cha-
riots covered with red satin, and the horses be-
trapped with the same, and certeine gentlewomen be-
twene euerie of the said chariots riding in crimson
satin, their horses be-
trapped with the same; the num-
ber of the gentlewomen so riding were six and fortye,
besides them in the chariots.

At Fenchurch was a coslie pageant made by the
Gentowaires: at Gracechurch corner there was an o-
ther pageant made by the Gasterlings. At the upper
end of Gracesstreet there was an other pageant
made by the Florentins verie high, on the top where-
of there stood foure pictures, and in the middelt of
them and most highest, there stood an angell all in
greene, with a trumpet in his hand: and when the
trumpeter (who stood secretlie in the pageant) did
sound his trumpet, the angell did put his trumpet to
his mouth, as though it had bene the same that had
sounded, to the great maruelling of manie ignorant
persons: this pageant was made with three thorough
fares of gates, ec. The conduit in Cornhill ran
wine, and beneath the conduit a pageant made at
the charges of the citie, and an other at the great con-
duit in Cheape, and a founteine by it running wine.
The standard in Cheape new painted, with the waits
of the citie aloft thereon plateng. The crosse in Cheape
new washed and burnished.

An other pageant at the little conduit in Cheape
next to Paules was made by the citie, where the al-
dermen stood, & when the queene came against them,
the recorder made a short proposition to hir, and then
the chamberleine presented to hir in the name of the
mayor and the citie, a purse of cloth of gold, and a
thousand marks of gold in it: then she rode forth, and
in Paules church-yard against the schole, one master
Hestwood sat in a pageant vnder a vine, and made to
hir an oration in Latine & English. Then was there
one Peter a Dutchman that stood on the weather-
cocke of Paules steeple, holding a streamer in his

hand of five yards long, and waving thereof, stood
sometimes on the one foot, and shooke the other, and
then kneeled on his knees, to the great maruell of all
people. He had made two scaffolds vnder him, one
about the crosse, having torches and streamers set
on it, and an other ouer the ball of the crosse like wise
set with streamers & torches, which could not burne,
the wind was so great: the said Peter had sixtene
pounds thirtene shillings foure pence given him
by the citie for his costs and paines, and for all his
trusse.

Then was there a pageant made against the deane
of Paules gate, where the quersters of Paules
plaid on bials and long. Ludgate was netolie re-
pared, painted, and richlie hanged, with minstrels
plaieng and singing there. Then was there an other
pageant at the conduit in Fleetstreet, and the temple
barre was netolie painted and hanged. And thus she
passed to Whitehall at Westminster, where she toke
hir leaue of the lord maior, giuing him great thanks
for his pains, and the citie for their cost. On the mor-
row, which was the first daie of October, the queene
went by water to the old palace, and there remained
till about eleuen of the clocke, and then went on foot
upon blew cloth, being railed on either side, vnto
saint Peters church, where she was solemnlie crow-
ned and anointed by Stephan Gardiner bishop of
Winchester (for the archbishops of Cantuarburie and
Poike were then prisoners in the towne) which coro-
nation and other ceremonies and solemnities then
used according to the old custome, was not fullie en-
ded till it was nigh foure of the clocke at night that
she returned from the church, before whom was then
borne three swords sheathed, & one naked. The great
seruice that daie done in Westminster hall at din-
ner by diuerse noblemen, would aske long time to
write. The lord maior of London & twelue citizens
kept the high cupbord of plate as butlers: and the
queene gaue to the maior for his fee a cupbord of gold
with a couer weighing seuentene ounces.]

At the time of this queenes coronation, there was
published a generall pardon in hir name, being in-
terlaced with so manie exceptions, as they that nee-
ded the same most, toke smallest benefit thereby. In
which were excepted by name no small number, not
onlie of bishops and other of the cleargie, namelie
the archbishops of Cantuarburie and Poike, the bi-
shop of London, but also manie lords, knights, and
gentlemen of the lastie, beside the two chiefe iudices
of England called sir Edward Pontacute, and sir
Roger Cholmeleie, with some other learned men in
the law, for counselling, or at the least consenting to
the deprivation of queene Marie, and abiding of the
foresaid duke of Northumberland, in the pretended
right of the before named ladie Jane, the names of
which persons so being excepted, I haue omitted for
shortnes sake.

As soone as this pardon was published, and the so-
lemnitie of the feast of the coronation ended, there
were certeine commissioners assigned to take order
with all such persons as were excepted out of the par-
don, and others, to compound with the queene for
their severall offenses. Which commissioners sat at
the deane of Paules his house, at the west end of
Paules church, and there called before them the said
persons apart, and from some they toke their fees
and offices granted before by king Edward the first,
and yet neuer the lesse putting them to their fees:
and some they committed to ward, depriving them
of their states and livings: so that for the time, to
those that tasted thereof, it seemed verie grieuous.
God deliuer vs from incurring the like danger of
law againe. The first daie of October next following,
the queene held hir hie court of parliament at West-
minster,

A pageant
borne
the que-
ners of
Paules
on wale.

Quene Ma-
rie crowned
queene by
Stephan
Gardiner.

A pardon
with ex-
ceptions.

Commis-
sioners.

A partment

Treason.
felonie.
perjurie.

The par-
ment 1553
54.

Abr. Flex. I. S.
pag. 1075.
Cheritable
deeds of Sir
Thomas
White.

A president of
manie well
employed af-
ter death.

Provision of
copie for the
page.

A perpetuall
order of an
hundred and
four pounds
lent yearly
by court.

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Ab. Flex. I.S.
p. 1075.
Cheritable
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Position of
name for the
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2. General
list of an
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minister, which continued untill the one and twentieth daie of the said moneth.

In the first session of which parliament, there passed no more acts but one, and that was, to declare queene Marie lawfull heire in descent to the crowne of England by the common lawes, next after hir brother king Edward; and to repeale certeine causes of treason, felonie, and premuntre, contained in diuers former statutes: the which act of repeale was, for that cardinall Pole was especiallie looked for (as after ye shall heare) for the reducing of the church of England to the popes obedience: and to the end that the said cardinall now called into England from Rome, might hold his courts legantine without the danger of the statutes of the premuntre, made in that case, wherinto cardinall Wolseie (when he was legat) had incurred to his no small losse, and to the charge of all the clergie of England, for exercising the like power: the which act being once passed, forthwith the queene repaired to the parliament house, and gaue thereunto hir roiall assent, and then proposed the parliament unto the four and twentieth daie of the said moneth. In which second session were confirmed and made diuerse and sundrie statutes concerning religion, wherof some were ressozed, and other repealed.

¶ Sir Thomas White for this yere maior and merchant tailor, a worshipfull patrone and protector of poore scholars & learning, renewed or rather erected a college in Drenford, now called saint Johns college, before Bernard college. He also erected schooles at Bisslow and Reading. Moreover, this worshipfull citizen in his life time gaue to the citie of Bisslow two thousand pounds of readie monie to purchase lands, to the yearly value of one hundred & twentie pounds, for the which it is decreed, that the maior, burgesses and communalitie of Bisslow, in the yere of our Lord 1567, and so yerele during the tearme of ten yeres then next ensuing, should cause to be paid at Bisslow, one hundred pounds of lawfull monie. The first eight hundred pounds to be lent to sixtene poore yongmen clothiers, & fræmen of the same towne, for the space of ten yeres, fiftie pounds the pæce of them, putting sufficient suerties for the same, and at the end of ten yeres, to be lent to other sixtene, at the discretion of the maior, aldermen, and foure of the common counsell of the said citie.

The other two hundred pounds to be employed in the pæmission of coine, for the relæse of the poore of the same citie, for their readie monie, without gaine to be taken. And after the end of ten yeres on the feast daie of saint Bartholomew, which shall be in the yere of our Lord 1577, at the merchant tailors hall in London, unto the maior and communalitie of the citie of Poike, or to their attornie authorized, an hundred & foure pounds, to be lent unto foure yongmen of the said citie of Poike, fræmen and inhabitants (clothiers alwaie to be preferred) that is, to euerie of them five and twentie pounds, to haue and occupie the same for the tearme of ten yeres, without paing anie thing for the loane, the foure pounds ouerplus of the hundred and foure pounds, at the pleasure of the maior and communalitie for their pæines to be taken about the receipts and payments of the said hundred pounds.

The like order in all points is taken for the deliuerie of an hundred and foure pounds in the yere 1578, to the citie of Canturburie. In the yere 1579 to Reading, 1580 to the companie of the merchant tailors, 1581 to Glocester, 1582 to Worcester, 1583 to Cerester, 1584 to Salisbury, 1585 to Westchester, 1586 to Poowich, 1587 to Southhampton, 1588 to Lincoln, 1589 to Winchester, 1590 to Drenford, 1591 to Herefordcast, 1592 to

Cambridge, 1593 to Shrewsburie, 1594 to Lin, 1595 to Bath, 1596 to Derby, 1597 to Ipswich, 1598 to Colchester, 1599 to Newcastle. And then to begin againe at Bisslow an hundred and foure pounds, the next yere to the citie of Poike, and so forth to euerie of the said citie and townes, in the like order as before: and thus to continue for ever, as in the indentures tripartite more plainelie maie appeare.]

10 At this time manie were in trouble for religion, and among others, sir James Hales knight, one of the iustices of the common pless, which iustice being called among other by the counsell of king Edward to subscribe to a deuise made for the disheriting of queene Marie, and the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, would in no wise assent to the same, though most of the other did: yet that notwithstanding, for that he at a quarter sessions holden in Kent, gaue charge vpon the statutes of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the first, in derogation of the primasie of the church of Rome, abolished by king Henrie the eight, he was first committed prisoner to the kings bench, then to the Counter, & last to the Fleet, where, whether it were thorough extreme feare, or else by reason of such talke as the warden of the Fleet bled vnto him, of more trouble like to insue, if he persisted in his opinion (or for what other cause, God knoweth) he was so moued, troubled, and bered, that he sought to rid himselfe out of this life, which thing he first attempted in the Fleet, by wounding himselfe with a penknife, well nere to death. After the lesse afterward being recovered of that hurt, he seemed to be verie conformable to all the queenes proceedings, and was therevpon deliuered of his imprisonment, and brought to the queenes presence, who gaue him words of great comfort: neuertheless his mind was not quiet (as afterward well appeared) for in the end he drowned himselfe in a riuer not halfe a mile from his dwelling house in Kent, the riuer being so shalow, that he was faine to lie groweling before he could dispatch himselfe, whose death was much lamented. For beside that he was a man wise, vertuous, and learned in the lawes of the realme, he was also a good and true minister of iustice, whereby he gat him great fauour and estimation among all degrees.

During the aforesaid parliament, about the eighth tenth daie of October, there was kept at Pauls church in London a publike disputation, appointed by the queenes commandement, about the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, which disputation continued six daies, doctor Weston then being prolocutor of the conuocation, who used manie vnseemelie checks & taunts against the one part, to the preiudice of their cause. By reason whereof the disputers neuer resolved vpon the article proposed, but grew daillie more and more into contention, without anie fruit of their long conference, and so ended this disputation, with these words spoken by doctor Weston prolocutor: It is not the queens pleasure that we should herein spend anie longer time, and ye are well enough, for you haue the word, and we haue the sword. But of this matter ye maie read more in the booke of the monuments of the church. At this time was cardinall Pole sent for to Rome by the queene, who was verie desirous of his coming, as well for the causes before declared, as also for the great affection that he had to him, being hir nere kinsman, and consenting with hir in religion.

This message was most thankfullie receiued at Rome, and order taken to send the said cardinall hither with great expedition: but before his coming, queene Marie had married Philip prince of Spaine,

Sir James Hales in troubl
bie for religio
on.

See before
pag. 1083.

More temptat
ions in afflict
ions, against
which see are
to praye for
patience.

He drowned
himselfe.

A publike
disputation
about the real
presence in
the sacrament.

John Fox.

Cardinal
Pole sent
for home.

The counsell
divided about
the receiving
of the cardinall.

as after shall appere. But here to touch somewhat the coming of the said cardinall. When he was arrived at Calis, there was conference had amongst the counsellors of the queene for the manner of his receiving: some would have had him verie honourably met and intertained, as he was in all places where he had before passed, not onelie for that he was a cardinall, and a legat from the pope; but also for that he was the queenes nere kinsman, of the house of Clarence. Neuertheless, after much debating, it was thought meetest, first, for that by the lawes of the realme (which yet were not repealed) he stood attainted by parlement, and also for that it was doubtful how he being sent from Rome, should be accepted of the people, who in five and twentie yeares before, had not bene much acquainted with the pope or his cardinals, that therefore (untill all things might be put in order for that purpose) he should come without any great solemnitie unto Lambeth, where (in the archbishops house) his lodging was prepared.

Cranmer
archbishop of
Canterburie
arrested of
treason.

The third of Nouember next following, Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie (notwithstanding that he had once refused plainelie to subscribe to king Edwards will, in the disheriting of his sister Marie, and alledging manie reasons and arguments for the legitimatation of both the kings sisters) was in the Guildhall in London arraigned and attainted of treason, namelie for aiding the duke of Northumberland with horse and men against the queene, as aforesaid. At the same time also, the lady Jane of Suffolke (who for a while was called queene Jane) and the lord Gilsford hir husband, the lord Ambrose and lord Henrie Dudley sonnes to the duke of Northumberland, were likewise arraigned and attainted, and therupon led backe againe to the tower. In the beginning of Januarie next following, Charles the sixt emperor sent into England an honorable ambassage, amongst whome was the Conte de Aiguemont admerall of the low countries, with Charles Conte de la Laing, John de Montmorencie lord of Curriers, and the chancelor J. Digre, with full commission to conclude a marriage betweene Philip prince of Spaine his sonne & heire, and queene Marie (as you haue heard) which ambassage toke such place, that shortly after all things were finished accordinglie.

Ab. Fl. ex I.S.
pag. 1077.
Stephan
Gardiner mar-
ket an opati-
on to the lords
of the counsell
touching
the queenes
marriage.

The fourteenth of Januarie, doctor Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester lord chancelour of England, in the chamber of presence at Westminster, made to the lords, nobilitie, and gentlemen, an oration verie eloquent, wherein he declared that the queenes maiestie, partie for amitie, and other weightie considerations had, after much sute on the emperours and prince of Spaines behalfe made, determined by the consent of the counsell and nobilitie, to match hir selfe with the said prince in most goodlie and lawfull matrimonie; and declared further, that she should haue for hir iointer thirtie thousand dukats by the yeare, with all the low countrie of Flanders, and that the issue (if there happened any) betwene them two lawfullie begotten, should be heire as well to the kingdome of Spaine, as also to the said low countrie. He said therefore that they were all bound to thanke God, that so noble, worthy, and famous a prince would vouchsafe so to humble himselfe, as in this marriage to take vpon him rather as a subiect, than otherwise. For the queene & hir counsell should rule all things as she did before, and that there should be of the counsell no stranger, neither to haue custodie of any forts or castles, &c: nor to beare any rule or office in the queenes house, or else where in all England, with diuerse other articles there by him rehearsed. Wherefore he said the queenes plea-

Gardiner co-
meneth the
king of
Spaine.

sure and request was, that like good subiects for his sake, they would most lovinglie receiue him with reuerence, iote, and honour. On the next daie, the lord maior of London with his brethren the aldermen, were sent for to the court, and to bring with them fortye of the head commoners of the citie, vnto whome before the counsell, the lord chancelor made the like oration, desiring them to behaue themselves like good subiects with all humblenesse and reioysing.

But this marriage was not well thought of by the commons, nor much better liked of manie of the nobilitie, who for this, and for the cause of religion, conspired to raise war, rather than to see such change of the state. Of the which conspiracie though there were manie confederats; yet the first that shewed force therein, was one sir Thomas Wyatt a knight in Kent, who in verie deed was giuen to prevent the time of the purposed enterpryse by this hap. Diuerse of the partakers in this conspiracie, being withdravne from London (where they had devised their drift) home into their countries (amongst whome the said sir Thomas Wyatt was one) it fell out, that whilst he was returned into Kent, where his lands and livings chiefe lie, a gentleman of that shire, one to the said sir Thomas Wyatt most deere, was by the counsell for other matters committed to the flat. Whereupon he verelie suspecting his secrets were betraied, had no other shift (as he toke it) but to put on armour, and to begin the attempt, before the time appointed with his complices. And hereupon giuing intelligence of his determination to his associates, as well at London, as else where, on the thursdaie next following, being the five and twentieth of Januarie at Maidstone, being accompanied with master Thomas Jele and others, published a proclamation against the queenes marriage, desiring all his neighbours, friends, and Englishmen to ioin with him and others, to defend the realme in danger to be brought in thalidome vnto strangers: and herewith he gat him to Rochester, and met with sir George Harper by the waie, that was one appointed afore to ioin with him in that quarrell. They brake by the bridge at Rochester, and fortified the east part of the towne, & staid there abiding the coming of more strength, and in the meane while suffered all passengers to passe quietlie thorough the towne to London, or to the sea, taking nothing from them, but onelie their weapons.

In the meane while, sir Henrie Jele, Anthonie Kneuet esquier, and his brother William Kneuet were busie in west Kent to raise the people there; and likewise in east Kent there were other that were of the same confederacie, which set forth the like proclamations at Miltan, Ashford, and other towne there in that part of the shire: and thus in each part of Kent in a manner was great stir. But yet such was the diligence and warie circumspection of John Twine at that present maior of Canturburie, for that he misliked their disordered attempts, that there was not any of that citie knowne to stir, or go forth to ioin themselves with the said sir Thomas Wyatt, or with any other of his confederats: and yet verelie the more part of the people in all other parts of that shire were marvellouslie affected to the said sir Thomas Wyatts quarrell, doubting that which might follow of the queenes matching hir selfe thus with a stranger. At Miltan where a gentleman of those parts named Christopher Koper, went about to resist them that set forth this proclamation, he was taken and conueied to Rochester vnto master Wyatt. Likewise maister Tuche and maister Dorell iudices of peace, were fetched out of their owne houses, & likewise brought to Rochester, where they with the said Koper were kept as prisoners.

Wyatt publickly
sheweth a procla-
mation at
Maidstone.

The counsell
to Rochester.

Sir George
Harper.

Christopher
Koper taken.

Maister Dorell
maister Tuche taken.

The Thomas
Kneuet
for Robert
Kneuet.

The thirtie of
Januarie
the queene
marrie
with Philip
king of
Spaine.

Herbert sent
to Wyatt.

The lord
Twine is
sent to Wyatt.

Christopher
Koper, such
as dwell in the
city of Kent.

Wyatt bea-
tified.

the thirthe of
kent and the
lord of Abur-
gaunnie, and
one George
Clerke a por-
tugall

Sir Thomas What had written unto Sir Robert Southwell thirthe of Kent, to moue him in respect of the preferacion of the common-wealth now in danger to be ouerrun of strangers, through the pre-
tent marriage, if it should go forward) to ioyne
with him and others, in so necessarie a cause for the
disappointing of the same marriage, and to worke so
with the lord of Aburgauennie, with whom he might
do much, that it might please him also to ioyne with
them. But as well the said Sir Robert Southwell, as
the said lord of Aburgauennie, and one George
Clerke assembled themselves with such power as
they might make against the said Sir Thomas What
and his adherents; and coming to Walling on the
saturday, being the market daie & seven and twen-
ty of Januarie, the said Sir Robert Southwell ha-
ving penned an exhortation to dissuade the people,
and to bring them from hauiug anie liking to What
as enterpryse, did read the same openlie vnto all the
people there assembled, inconfuting, repprouing, and
refelling the proclamations set forth by Sir Thomas
What and his adherents.

On the other part, Sir Henrie Aile, Anthonye
Kineet, and his brother William Kineet being at
Lundridge, proclaimed the thirthe, the lord of Abur-
gaunnie, & George Clerke gentleman, traitors to
God, the crowne, and the common-wealth, for raising
the quenes subjects, to defend the most wicked & di-
uillish enterpryse of certeine of the wicked & peruerse
councellors. And this they pronounced in their owne
names & in the names of Sir Thomas What, Sir Ge-
orge Harper, and of all the faithfull gentlemen of
Kent, & trustie commoners of the same. This done,
they marched to Seuennocke, mening from thence
to passe to Rochester. But in the meane time the fore-
said 27 of Januarie, there came from the quene an
herald & a trumpetter to Sir Thomas What, but he
was not suffered to passe the brydge, and so did his
message at the brydge end, in the hearing of Sir Tho-
mas What and diuers other. The effect of his mes-
sage was, to offer pardon to so manie as within
four and twentie houres would depart to their
houses, and become quiet subjects.

Sir Thomas Cheinefe lord warden sent also vn-
to What, with words of contempt and defiance, de-
sirous in deed to haue bene doing with him, if he
had not mistrusted his owne people, which he should
haue brought against him, as those that fauoured so
greatlie Whats cause, that they would haue bene
loth to haue seene him take anie foile. And that Sir
Thomas What knew well inough, and therefore de-
sired nothing more than to haue him come forth, vn-
derstanding that he wanted no friends, as well a-
bout him, as all other that would take in hand to re-
presse him with force gathered in that shire. The lord
of Aburgauennie, the thirthe Warram Sentleger,
and diuerse other gentlemen that were assembled
at Walling, late there within foure miles of Roche-
ster on saturdaye at night, & hauing aduertisement
that Sir Henrie Aile, the two Kineets, and certeine
other, with five hundred Welshmen, being at Se-
uennocke, meant earlie in the morning to march to-
wards Rochester for the aid of What against the
duke of Norfolke, that was come to Grauesend
with five hundred white cotes Londoners, and cer-
teine of the gard: and further that the said Sir Hen-
rie Aile and the Kineets meant in their waie to
burne and spoile the house of George Clerke gentle-
man: they departing with five hundred gentlemen
& likewise peomen, verie earlie that fundaie in the
morning, marched out in order till they came to
Wrotham heath, where they might easilie heare the
sound of their aduersaries drums, and thereupon
sould after them with all speed, till they came to a

place called Barrow greene, through which laie the
right readie waie from Seuennocke towards mat-
ster Clerks house. Here the lord of Aburgauennie
staied for the coming of his entines, and under-
standing they were at hand, placed his men in order,
thinking to giue or take the ouerthrow. But they
vpon their approach, misliking (as it should seeme) the
match, shanke aside as secretlie as they could, by a
bywaie, and were so farre gone before the lord of A-
burgauennie understood thereof by his espials, as
for doubt of ouertaking them afore their coming
to Rochester, he was driuen to make such hast for the
ouertaking of them, as diuerse of his footmen were
farre behind at the onset giuing.

The first sight that the lord of Aburgauennie
could haue of them, after they forsooke their purposed
waie, was as they ascended Wrotham hill, directlie
vnder Wallam master Wrechams house, where they
thinking to haue great aduantage by the winning of
the hill, displayed their ensignes, thinking they had
bene out of danger. But the Lord of Aburgauen-
nie made such hast after them, that ouertaking them
at a field in the parish of Wrotham, a mile distant
from the verie top of the hill, called Blacke soll field,
after some resistance with shot and arrowes, and pro-
fer of onset made by their horsemen, they were put
to flight, and chased for the space of foure miles, euen
to Hartleie wood. Thelcore of them were taken pri-
soners, and some on both sides were wounded, as
commonlie cometh to passe in an ordinarie and pri-
uat fraie: how then is it possible, that a skirnish
should be vnseasoned with slaughter and bloodshed,
speciallie in a sedition or insurrection, which is the
plague of all common-wealths, as the poet saith:

regnum pestis pestis sedis.

Sir Henrie Aile fled into Hampshire, Anthonye
Kineet made such shift, that he got that night vnto
Rochester; and the same time Sir George Harper de-
parting from Sir Thomas What, and coming to
the duke of Norfolke, submitted himselfe vnto his
grace, & the duke receiued him. Which duke (as before
ye haue partlie heard) being sent with five hundred
Londoners, and certeine of the gard for his better
defense, to go against the Kentishmen thus assem-
bled with Sir Thomas What, was come downe to
Grauesend, set forth from thence on mondaye the
nine and twentieth daie of Januarie, about ten of the
clocke in the forenoone, marching towards Stroud
on this side of Rochester, & about foure of the clocke
in the after none of the same daie, he arrived at
Stroud neare vnto Rochester, hauing with him Sir
Henrie Jerningham capteine of the gard, Sir Ed-
ward Bzaie, Sir John Fog, knights, John Couert,
Roger Appleton, esquiers, Maurice Griffith the bi-
shop of Rochester, Thomas Swan gentleman, with
certeine of the gard, and others, to the number of
two hundred or thereabout, besides Bzet and other
five capteins, who with their bands taried behind at
spittle hill neare vnto Stroud, whilst the duke went
to Stroud to see the placing of the ordnance, which
being readie charged & bent vnto the fauone of Ro-
chester, and perceiuing by Sir Thomas What and his
men by hanging out their ensignes, little to regard
him, the duke commanded one of the peeces to be
fired and shot off into Rochester, and as the gunner
was firing the peece, Sir Edward Bzaies eldest son
came in all hast to the duke, and told him how the
Londoners would betraie him.

Herewith turning backe, he might! old how
Bzet, and the other capteins of the whit cotes with
their bands being vpon the hill, and at his backe,
made great and loud shouts sundrie times, crying;
We are all Englishmen, we are all Englishmen:
fashioning themselves in araic, readie bent with
their

Barrow
greene.

Wrotham hill,
yallam.

Blacke soll
field.

The skirnish.

What publi-
beth a procla-
mation at
Wrotham

He cometh
to Rochester.

Sir George
Harper.

herald sent
to What.

the lord
warden
sent vn-
to What.

the duke
of Norfolke
sent vn-
to What.

Christopher
Boper taken.

Master Dow-
rell & master
Cooke taken.

The duke of
Norfolke ar-
riued at
Stroud.

The reuol-
ting of the
Londoners.

The duke
with the cap-
taine of the
gard, &c. put to
their shifts.

their weapons to set upon the duke, if he had made
any resistance: whereupon the duke willed the pe-
ces that were bent against Rochester, to be turned
upon Het and his fellows. But upon further con-
sideration the shot was spared, and the dukes grace,
with the capitaine of the gard, considering with wo-
full hearts their chiefe strength thus turned against
them; and being thus instructed both behind and be-
fore with enemies, shifted themselves awaie, as did
also their companie. Sir Thomas What accompa-
ned with two or three, and not manie mo, came forth
halfe a mile from Rochester, to meet Het and the o-
ther captains, amongst whom was sir George Har-
per, notwithstanding his former submission to the
duke. Their meeting verelie seemed right toisfull
both in gesture and countenance, & therewith having
saluted each other, they entered all together into Ro-
chester. The lord of Aburgauennie & the shiriffe were
greatlie abashed when they understood of this mis-
hap, for they doubted that such as were euill disposed
before, would not be greatlie amended thereby. The
shiriffe being then at Maidstone, hasted to come to
Dalling, where the lord of Aburgauennie laie, and
upon his comming thither, he took aduise to ride in
post to the councell, to know their minds how they
would direct them. Sir Thomas What and his asso-
ciats were greatlie recomforted with this new sup-
plie added to their strength, by the renolting thus of
the Londoners: and verelie it bred no small hope in
all their hearts, that wished well to his enterprise,
that he should the better attaine vnto the hoped end
of his purpose. But it pleased God otherwise, who ne-
uer prospereth any that attempt such exploits with-
out publike and lawfull authoritie.

The shiriffe of
Kent rideth to
the councell.

In this meane while, the duke of Suffolke being
persuaded to ioin with other in this quarell, as he
that doubted (as no small number of true English-
men then did) least the pretended mariage with the
Spanish king should bring the whole nobilitie and
people of this realme into bondage and thraldome
of strangers, after he was once aduertised that sir
Thomas What had prevented the time of their pur-
posed enterprise, he secretlie one euening departed
from Shene, and rode with all speed into Leice-
stershire, where in the towne of Leicester and o-
ther places, he caused proclamation to be made
in semblable wise, as sir Thomas What had done,
against the quenes match which she meant to make
with the said king of Spaine: but few there were
that would willingly hearken thereto. But now ye
must understand, that before his comming downe,
he was persuaded that the citie of Couentrie would
be opened vnto him, the more part of the citizens be-
ing throughlie bent in his fauour, in so necessarie a
quarell, for defense of the realme against strangers,
as they were then perswaded.

The duke of
Suffolke go-
eth downe in-
to Leicesters-
hire.

The citie of
Couentrie.

But howsoever it chanced, this proued not alto-
gether true: for whether through the misliking which
the citizens had of the matter, or through negligence
of some that were sent to solicit them in the cause,
or chieslie (as should seeme to be most true) for that
God would haue it so, when the duke came with sir
Edward Hastinges well appointed for the pur-
pose, presenting himselfe before the citie in hope
to bee receiued, hee was kept out. For the citi-
zens through comfort of the erle of Huntington that
was then come downe, sent by the quene to staie the
countries from falling to the duke, and to raise a
powder to apprehend him, had put themselves in ar-
mor, and made all the provision they could to defend
the citie against the said duke. Whereupon percei-
uing himselfe destitute of all such aid as he looked
for among his friends in the two shires of Leicesters
and Warwick, he got him to his manour of Aisleie,

The duke of
Suffolke kept
out of Co-
uentrie.

distant from Couentrie five miles, where appoin-
ting his companie to disperse themselves, and to
make the best shift each one for his owne safegard
that he might, and distributing to euerie of them a
portion of monie, according to their qualities; and
his store at that present, he and the lord John Greie
his brother bestowed themselves in secret places
there within Aisleie parke; but through the untrus-
tinesse of them, to whose trust they did commit them-
selves (as hath bene crediblie reported) they were
betrayed to the earle of Huntington, that then was
come to Couentrie, and so apprehended they were
by the said earle, and afterwards brought vp to
London.

The duke of
Suffolke kept
prisoned.

The duke had meant at first to haue rid awaie (as
I haue crediblie heard) if promise had bene kept by
one of his seruants, appointed to come to him to be
his guide; but when he either feining himselfe sicke,
or being sicke in deed, came not, the duke was con-
strained to remaine in the parke there at Aisleie, ho-
ping yet to get awaie after that the search had bene
passed ouer, and the countrie once in quiet. How-
euer it was, there he was taken, as is said, together
with his brother the lord John Greie; but his bro-
ther the lord Thomas got awaie in bed at that time,
meaning to haue fled into Wales, & there to haue
got to the sea shes; so to transport himselfe ouer into
France, or into some other foreign part. But in the
borders of Wales he was likewise apprehended
through his great mishap, and follie of his man that
had forgot his capeale with monie behind him in his
chamber one morning at his time; and comming
for it againe, upon examination what he should be,
it was mistrusted that his maister should be some
such man, as he was in deed, and so was staied, fa-
ken, and brought vp to London, where he suffered;
as after shall appeare.

The lord
John Greie
taken.

The lord
Thomas
taken.

But now to returne vnto sir Thomas What. Af-
ter that the Londoners were renolted to him, as be-
fore ye haue heard; the next daie being tuesday the
thirtieth of Januarie, he marched forth with his
bands, and sir peeces of ordinance (which they had
gotten of the quenes) besides their owne. And first
they came to Cowling castell, an hold of the lord
Cobhams, foure miles distant from Rochester, and
not much out of the waie towards London, whither
they were now fullie determined to go, in hope of
friends which they trusted to find within and about
the citie. At their comming to Cowling, knowing
that the lord Cobham was within the castell, they
bent their ordinance against the gate, breaking it
with sundrie shots, and burning it vp with fier, made
a waie through it. The said lord Cobham defended
the place as stoutlie as he might, hauing but a few
against so great a number, and so little store of mu-
nition for his defense: he himselfe yet discharged his
gun at such as approached the gate right hardlie, and
in that assault two of his men were slaine. After
this assault, and talke had with the lord Cobham,
sir Thomas What marched to Grauesend, where he
rested that night.

Cowling ca-
stell.

The lord
Cobham.

The next daie he came to Dartford with his bands,
and laie there that night, whither came to him sir
Edward Hastinges maister of the quenes horse, and
sir Thomas Cornwallis knights, both being of the
quenes prouie councell, and now sent from him by
to sir Thomas What, to understand the cause of his
commotion. When he understood they were come, he
toke with him certeine of his band to the west end
of the towne, where he had lodged his ordinance.
And at the lighting downe of sir Edward Hastinges
and his associat, sir Thomas What hauing a parti-
san in his hand, aduancing himselfe toward that as-
sault, such gentlemen as were with him, traced nere them:

Quene Ma-
ries oration to
the London-
ers.

Ag-
sa-

to whome the maister of the hofse spake in substance as followeth. The quenes maiestie requireth to vnderstand the verie cause wherefore you haue thus gathered together in armes hir liege people, which is the part of a traitor, and yet in your proclamations and persuasions, you call your selfe a true subiect, which can not stand together. I am no traitor: quoth Will at, and the cause wherefore I haue gathered the people, is to defend the realme from danger of being overrun with strangers, which must follow, this marriage taking place.

Why, quoth the quenes agents, there be no strangers yet come, who either for powder or number ye need to suspect. But if this be your onelie quarrell, because ye mislike the marriage; will ye come to communication touching that case, and the quene of hir gracious godnesse is content ye shall be heard. I yeld thereto, quoth sir Thomas Willat: but for my tuertie I will rather be trusted than trust, and therefore demanded, as some haue written, the custodie of the tower, and hir grace within it; also the displacing of some counsellors about hir, and to haue other placed in their rowes. There was long a stout conference betwene them, in so much that the maister of the hofse said: What, before thou shalt haue thy traitorous demand granted, thou shalt die, and twentie thousand with thee. And so the said maister of the hofse, and sir Thomas Cornewallis, perceiving they could not bring him to that point they wished, returned to the court, aduertising the quene what they had heard of him. The same daie being the first of Februarie, proclamation was made in London by an herald, to signifie that the duke of Suffolkes companie of hofsmen were scattered, and that he himselfe and his brethren were fled. Also that sir Peter Carew, and sir Calwen Carew knights, and William Gibs esquire, which being parties to the conspiracie of the said duke, with sir Thomas Willat & others, were likewise fled. True it was that sir Peter Carew, perceiving himselfe in danger to be apprehended, about the thre and twentieth of Januarie last past fled out of the realme, and escaped into France: but the other taried behind and were taken.

Moreover, on this first daie of Februarie being Candlemas euen, the emperors ambassadors, of whome ye haue heard before, hearing of Willats halfe appoaching thus towards London, sped themselves aboate by water, and that with all hast. The quene then lying at hir palace of White hall beside Westminster, and hearing of hir enemies so nere, was counselled for hir safeguard to take the tower of London, whereunto the would by no means be persuaded. Herethelesse, to make hir selfe more stronger of friends in the citie, so soon as the said ambassadors were departed, she came to the Guildhall in London: against which time, order was taken by the lord maior, that the chiefe citizens in their lueries should be there present. After that the quene had taken hir place in the said hall, and silence made, she with verie good countenance vttered in effect this oration following.

Queene Maries oration in Guildhall in a solemne assemblee.

I Am (quoth she) come vnto you in mine owne person, to tell you that which alreadie you doe see and know, that is, how traitorously & seditiously a number of seditious rebels haue assembled themselves together against both vs and you. Their pretence (as they said at the first) was onelie to resist a marriage de-

termined betwene vs and the prince of Spaine. To the which pretended quarrell, and to all the rest of their euill contrived articles ye haue bene made partie. Since which time, we haue caused diuers of our priue counsell to resort thither to the said rebels, and to demand of them the cause of their continuance in their seditious enterpryse. By whose answers made againe to our said counsell, it appeared that the marriage is found to be the least of their quarrell. For they now swearing from their former articles, haue betwized the inward treason of their hearts, as most arrogantlie demanding the possession of our person, the keeping of our tower, and not onelie the placing & displacing of our counsellors; but also to vse them & vs at their pleasures.

Now louing subiects, what I am, you right well know. I am your quene, to whome at my coronation when I was wedded to the realme, and so the lawes of the same (the sponfall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) ye promised your allegiance and obedience vnto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor to the crowne of this realme of England; I not onelie take all christendome to witnesse, but also your acts of parlement confirming the same. My father (as ye all know) possessed the regall estate by right of inheritance, which now by the same right descended vnto me. And to him alwaies ye shewed your selues most faithfull and louing subiects, and him obeyed and serued as your liege lord & king: and therefore I doubt not but you will shew your selues likewise to me his daughter. Which if you doe, then maie you not suffer anie rebell to vsurpe the gouernance of our person, or to occupie our estate, especiallie being so presumptuous a traitor: as this Willat hath shewed himselfe to be; who must certeinlie, as he hath abused my ignorant subiects to be adherents to his traitorous quarrell: so doth he intend by colour of the same, to subdue the lawes to his will, and to giue scope to the rascall and forlorne persons, to make generall hauocke and spoile of your goods. And this further I say vnto you in the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturalie a mother loueth hir children, for I was neuer the mother of anie; but certeinlie a prince and gouernor may as naturallie and as earnestlie loue subiects, as the mother doth hir child. When assure your selues, that I being your soueraigne ladie & quene, doe as earnestlie and as tenderlie loue and fauour you. And I thus louing you, cannot but thinke that ye as hartlie and faithfullie loue me againe: and so louing together in this knot of loue and concord, I doubt not, but we together shall be able to giue these rebels a short and speedie ouerthrow.

And as concerning the case of my intended marriage, against which they pretend their quarrell, ye shall vnderstand that I entred not into the treatie thereof without aduise of all our priue counsell; yea, and by assent of those to whome the king my father committed his trust, who so considered & weighed the great commodities that might issue thereof, that they not onelie thought it very honorable, but expedient, both for the wealth of our realme, and also of all our louing subiects. And as touching my selfe (I assure you) I am not so desirous of wedding, neither so precise or wedded to my will, that either for mine owne pleasure I will chuse where I lust, or else so amorous as needs I must haue one. For God I thanke him (to whome be the praise thereof) I haue hitherto liued a virgin, and doubting nothing but with Gods grace shall as well be able so to liue still. But if as my progenitors haue done before, it might please God that I might leaue some fruit of my body behind me to be your gouernour, I trust you

Demands are pretended to be sent from Mr. Willat and his companie to quene Marie.

How he pretended the spoile of their goods it appeared that he coming to Southwiche, did hurt neither man, nor child, neither in bodie nor in pennie of their goods.

Quene Maries excuse for hir marriage.

The promise
of queene
Marie con-
cerning hir mar-
riage.

would not onelie reioyse thereat, but also I know
it would be to your great comfort. And certeinlie
if I either did knowe or thinke, that this marriage
should either turne to the danger or losse of anie of
you my louing subiects, or to the detriment or im-
pairing of anie part or parcell of the roiall estate of
this realme of England, I would neuer consent
thereunto, neither would I ever marrie while I li-
ued. And in the word of a queene I promise and as-
sure you, that if it shall not probable appere before
the nobilitie and commons in the high court of par-
lement, that this marriage shall be for the singular
benefit and commoditie of all the whole realme; that
then I will absteyne, not onelie from this marriage,
but also from anie other, whereof perill maie insue
to this most noble realme. Wherefore now as god &
faithfull subiects plucke vp your hartes, and like true
men stand fast with your lawfull prince against
these rebelles, both our enemies and vvarrant, and feare
them not: for assure you that I feare them nothing
at all, & I will leaue with you my lord Howard, and
my lord tresuro: to be your assistants, with my lord
maior, for the defense and safeguard of this citie from
spoile and sacrage, which is onelie the scope of this
rebellious companie.

After this oration ended, the citizens seeming
well satisfied therewith, the queene with the lords of
the counsell returned to White hall from whence she
came: and forthwith the lord William Howard
was associate with the lord maior of London, whose
name was sir Thomas White for the protection and
defense of the citie. And for more suertie, as well of
hir owne person, as also of hir counsellors and other
subiects, she prepared a great armie to meet with the
said rebelles in the field, of which armie William
Herbert earle of Denbroke was made generall,
which earle with all speed requisite in such a case, pre-
pared all things necessarie to such a seruice belong-
ing. The same daie sir Thomas What having with
him fourtene ensignes, containing about foure
thousand men, although they were accounted to be a
farre greater number, marched to Dersford strand,
eight miles from Dersford, and within foure miles
of London: where vpon such aduertisement as he
received by spiall, of the queens being in the Cus-
tard hall, & the order of the people to hir wards, he remai-
ned that night & the next whole daie; diuerse of his
owne companie doubting by his longer tarrying
there than in other places, and vpon other presump-
tions which they gathered, that he would haue passed
the water into Essex.

What suffereth
his prisoners
to go abrode
vpon their
word.
What cometh
into South-
wiche.

His prisoners Christopher Koper, George Doy-
rell, and John Tucke esquiers, who were kept some-
what strict, for that they seemed sicklie, and finding
within the towne no conuenient harborough or at-
tendance, were licenced by sir Thomas What, vpon
promise of their wordships to be true prisoners, to pro-
uide for themselves out from the towne, where they
best might. But they breaking promise with him,
sought waies to escape and come no more at him.
On saturday following verie earlie What marched
to Southwiche, where approaching the gate at Lon-
don bridge foot, he called to them within to haue it o-
pened: which he found not so readie as he looked for.
After he had bene a little while in Southwiche, and
began to trench at the bridge foot, and set two peeces
of ordinance against the gate, diuerse of his soldiors
went to Winchester place, where one of them (be-
ing a gentleman) began to fall to riding of things
found in the house. Wherewith sir Thomas What
seemed so much offended, that he threatened fore to
hang him euen presentlie there vpon the wharfe, and
so as he made others to believe he meant to haue

done, if capteine Bzet and others had not intreated
for him.

The lord William Howard lord admerall of
England, being appointed by the queens commission
capteine generall, with the lord maior sir Thomas
White, watched at the bridge that night with three
hundred men, caused the draw bridge to be helwen
downe into the Thames, made rampiers and for-
tifications there, sending the same with great ordi-
nance. What yet aduentured the breaking downe
of a wall out of an house ioining to the gate at the
bridge foot, whereby he might enter into the leads o-
uer the gate, & came downe into the lodge about ele-
uen of the clocke in the night, where he found the
porter in a slumber, and his wife with other waking,
and watching ouer a cole; but beholding What, they
began suddenlie to start as greatlie amazed. What
quoth What, as you loue your liues sit still, you shall
haue no hurt. Glad were they of that warrant, and
so were quiet, and made no noise. What and a few
with him went forth as farre as the draw bridge: on
the other side whereof he saw the lord admerall, the
lord maior, sir Andrew Jud, and one or two others
in consultation for ordering of the bridge, where
to be gaue diligent heed and care a good while, and
was not sene.

This done, he returned and said to some of his
companie; This place firs is too hot for vs. And here-
vpon falling in counsell what was best to doe: some
gaue aduise that it should be good to returne to
Grenewich, and so to passe the water into Essex,
whereby their companie (as they thought) should in-
crease, and then assaie to enter into London by Ab-
gate: and some were of opinion, that it were better
to go to Kingston vpon Thames, and so further west.
Other there were, among which sir Thomas What
himselfe was chiefe, would haue returned into Kent
to meet with the lord of Aburgauenie, the lord War-
den, the shiriffe, sir Thomas Spoile, sir Thomas
Kempe, sir Thomas Finch, and others that were
at Rochester, coming on Whats backe, with a
great companie well appointed, perswading himselfe
(whether truelie or not I know not) that he should
find among them more friends than enemies. But
whether his desire to returne into Kent grew vpon
hope he had to find aid there, or rather to shift him-
selfe awaie, it was doubted of his owne companie;
and some of them that knew him well (except they
were much deceived) repoized not long before their
execution, that his desire to returne into Kent, was
onelie to shift himselfe ouer the sea.

The lord Warden being at Rochester (as ye
haue heard) well furnished both with horse and men,
perfectlie appointed to no small number, was wil-
ling to haue followed after What, and to haue the-
wed his god will against him in the queens quarrell:
but yet vpon deliberation had, & aduise taken with o-
thers that were there with him, he thought good first
to vnderstand the queens pleasure how to proceed in
his dealings; and her vpon he rode post to the queene
himselfe, leauing the lord of Aburgauenie and the
rest of the gentlemen with his and their hands be-
hind till his returne. On sundaye the fourth of Fe-
bryuarie, the lord admerall caused a strong ward of
three hundred men to be kept on the bridge till eight
of the clocke at night, and then (for their release) en-
tered the watch of other three hundred: so that the
bridge was thus garded both daie and night with
three hundred men in armor. It troubled What and
all his companie verie sore, to see that London did
so stiffelie stand and hold out against them: for in the
assistance which they looked to haue had of that citie,
all their hope of prosperous speed consided. But
now that they saw themselves greatlie disappointed
therewith,

Sir Thomas
wrote despi-
rat attempt.

What and his
complexions
into confu-
sion.

The lord
warden of the
cinque ports
berie willing
to followe ad-
mirall.

What at his
sister's maid.

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wherein, they meant yet to set all on a hazard : And so the first of Februarie being Shyoutmedaie, afore six of the clocke in the morning, they departed out of Southwarke, marching directlie towards Kinges stone ten miles distant from London, standing upon the Thames, where they arrived about foure of the clocke in the after none : And finding thirtie foot or thereabout of the bidge taken awaie, fawing the posts that were left standing ; What practised with two mariners to swim over, and to conveie a barge to him, which the mariners through great promises of preferment accordingle did, wherein What and certeine with him were conneied over : who in the meane time that the number of soldjers batted in the towne, caused the bidge to be repaired with labours, planks and beames, the same being tied together with ropes and bowds, so as by ten of the clocke in the night it was in such plight, that both his ordinance and companies of men might passe over with out perill. And so about eleven of the clocke in the same night, What with his armie passing over the bidge without either resistance or perill, & before it could be once knowne at the court, marched toward London, meaning (as some have written) to have bin at the court gate before daie that morning. Nevertheless, before he came within six miles of the citie staing for a peece of his great artillerie which was dismounted by the waie, his comming was discovered before daie : whereby the erle of Pembroke general of the queenes armie was with his men in good order of battell in St. James field beside Westminster, two or thre houres per What could reach ther.

The earle having vnderstanding by his espials, what waie What would march, placed his armie in this order. Firſt, in a field on the weſt ſide of ſaint James were all his men of armes, and demiances; over againſt whome in the lane next to the parke, were placed all the light hoſtlemen. All which bands of hoſtlemen were vnder the charge of the lord Clinton, being marſhall of the field. The great artillerie was planted in the middeſt and higheſt place of the cauſie next to the houſe of ſaint James, with certaine field peeces lying on the ſlanke of ecy battell. After that both the armies were in fight; and that the great artillerie began to thunder from either ſide without harme (as it happened to either of both) What perceiving that he could not come vpon the fore right waie without great diſadvantage, when he was come to the parke corner, he leaving the cauſie, ſwarued, and toke the nether waie towards ſaint James. Which being perceived by the queenes hoſtlemen, who laie on either ſide of him, they gaue a ſudden charge, and diuided his battell alunder hard behind Whats enſignes, whereby ſo manie as were not paſſed before with What, were forced to ſlie backe towards Wainford: and certaine of his companie which eſcaped the charge, paſſed by the backe ſide of ſaint James towards Weſtminſter, and from thence to the court: and finding the gates ſhut againſt them, ſtaid there a while, and ſhot off manie arrows into the windowes, and ouer into the garden, neuertheleſſe without anie hurt there that was knowne. Whereupon the ſaid rebels, ouer whom one Keneuet was capitaine, perceiving themſelues to be too ſew to doe anie great feat there, departed from thence to follow What, who was gone before towards London: and being on their waie at Charing-croſſe, were there encountered by ſir Henrie Jerningham capitaine of the queenes gard, ſir Edward Waite maſter of the ordnance, and ſir Philip Paris knights, which were ſent by the order of the earle of Penbrooke with a band of archers, and certaine field peeces for the reſcue of the court, who encountered the ſaid rebels at Charing-croſſe aforeſaid, after they had

discharged their field pices upon them, joined with those rebels, halfe armed, and halfe unarmed, at the push of the pike, & vertie (some dispersed their power; whereof some fled into the lane toward saint Giles, & some on the other side by a brewhouse towards the Thames. In this conflict, which was the chiefe triall of that date, there was not found laine to the number of twentie of those rebels, which happened by reason that upon their joining with the queens soldiers, the one part could not be discerned from the other, but onlie by the mire and dirt taken by the water, which sticke upon their garments coming in the night: wherefore the crye on the queenes part that date was, Downe with the doggale tails.

But now to returne to *What*, of whom we heard before, who being come to the parke corner, and perceiving the perill apparent, if he should have marched straight vpon the earls battels, which were ranged on either side of the causeie, did therefore politelike turne from the great causeie, marching along the wall of the house of saint James towards London: which could not haue bene without his no little losse of manie of his traine, if those that had the charge on that side the field, had bene as forward in seruise as the earle with his battell, and the hostlemen before thewed themselves to be. *Heurthelesse What* following his purposed enterpryse, which was to haue entered into London, where he hoped of great aid, marched on with the small companie that was left him, as far as a common inne called the *Well sauage*, nere to Ludgate, belonging to haue found some readie there to haue receiued him; wherein his hope was much deceiued, finding the said gate fast shut, and stronglie garded with a number as well of most honest citizens, as also of other bands of the quenes assured friends. Wherevpon *What*, who comming towards the citie, made himselfe sure of his enterpryse, now desperat of the same, was faine to turne his face, retiring backe againe to Temple-barre, where he with the rest of his retinue determined (as it seemed) to trie their last fortune.

The earle of Warwicke (who all this while kept his
force together in the field) hearing of What's approach
to London, sent to him an herald called Clarenceur,
with great communication to desist from his
rebellions enterprise. Which herald did his message
accordinglie, albeit that some said he psonified the
said What his pardon: which should not seeme to be
true, as well for that the herald had no such commis-
sion, as also that it was not like, that the said What
being then disarmed of all his forces, would haue re-
fused mercie in such a case. For true it is, that he
with a verie few of his forlorne fellowship, not ma-
nie above the number of one hundred persons, stood
still as men amazed at the gate of the Temple-
barre, till such time as sir Maurice Barkleie knight,
by chance riding towards London upon his horse,
with footcloth, without anie armour, finding the said
What there, perswaded him to repaire to the court,
and to yield himselfe to the quene. Whose aduise he
followed, and incontinent mounted by on the said sir
Maurice horse behind him, and so road to the court
voluntarily to yield himselfe prisoner.

This coming of Wallat to the court being so little looked for, was great cause of reioysing to such as of late before stood in great feare of him. But more than maruell it was to see that daie, the inuincible heart and constancie of the quene hir selfe, who being by nature a woman, and therefore commonlie more fearefull than men be, shewed hir selfe in that case more stout than is credible. For she, notwithstanding all the fearefull newes that were brought to hir that daie, neuer awaied. Insomuch that when one or two noblemen being hir captiues.

wiet mer:
cheth along
the wall of
saint James
towards
London.

An herald
sent to wiet
swilling him
to desist from
his enterprize.

Sir Thomas
wias submit-
teth himseife
to the queene.

The stout
courage of
queene Ma-
rie.

came in all hast to tell hir (though vntrelye) that hir
battels were yelded to What. She nothing moued
thereat, said it was their fond opinion that durst not
come nere to see the triall, saing further, that she
hir selfe would enter the field to trie the truth of hir
quarrell, and to die with them that would serue hir,
rather than to yeld one foot into such a traitor as
What was, and prepared hir selfe accordinglye.

But by the apprehension of What that voyage
toke none effect: for after his coming to the court
he was immediately committed to the Tower. As
soon as the taking of What was knowne, the ar-
mie (whereof mention is made before that late in
saint James field) was discharged, and euery man
licensed to depart to his home. And forthwith pro-
clamation was made, as well in the citie of London
as in the suburbs of the same, that none vpon paine
of death should keepe in his or their houses anie of
Whats faction; but should bring them forth imme-
diatly before the lord maior, and other the queenes
iustices. By reason of which proclamation a great
multitude of their said poore cattifs were brought
forth, being so manie in number, that all the pylons
in London sufficed not to receiue them: so that for
lacke of place they were faine to bestow them in di-
uerse churches of the said citie. And shortly after
were set vp in London for a terrour to the common
foyt (because the white cotes being sent out of the ci-
tie, as before ye haue heard, reuelled from the queens
part to the aid of What) twentie paire of gallows,
on the which were hanged in seuerall places to the
number of fiftie persons, which gallows remained
standing there a great part of the summer following
to the great griefe of good cittizens, and for example
to the commotioners.

As for the principalls of this faction, namelie Tho-
mas What, William Kneuet, Thomas Cobham,
two brethren named Pantels, and Alexander Bzet
were brought by sir Henrie Feringham by water to
the tower prisoners, where sir Philip Denie receiued
them at the bulworke, & as What passed by he said;
O traitor, there was neuer such a traitor in Eng-
land. To whom sir Thomas What turned, and said, I
am no traitor: I would thou shouldst well knowe thou
art more traitor than I, it is not the point of an ho-
nest man to call me so, and so went forth. When he
came to the tower gate, sir Thomas Bridges lieute-
nant toke in through the wicket, first Pantell, and
said: Ah thou traitor, what hast thou and thy compa-
nie wrought? But he holding downe his head said
nothing. Then came Thomas Kneuet, whom master
chamberleine gentleman porter of the tower toke
in. Then came Alexander Bzet, whom sir Thomas
Pope toke by the bosome, saing: O traitor, how
couldst thou find in thy heart to worke such a villa-
nie, as to take wages, and being trusted ouer a band
of men, to fall to hir enemies, returning against hir
in battell. Bzet answered Pea; I haue offended in
that case. Then came Thomas Cobham, whom sir
Thomas Whatnes toke in, and said, Alas maister
Cobham, what wind headed you to worke such trea-
son: And he answered, Oh sir I was seduced. Then
came in sir Thomas What, whom sir John Bridges

toke by the collar and said, Oh thou villen & unhap-
pie traitor, how couldst thou find in thy hart to
worke such detestable treason to the queenes maie-
stie, who gaue thee thy life and liuing once alreadye,
although thou diddest before this time beare armes
in the field against hir, and now to yeld hir battell,
&c. If it were not (saith he) but that the law must passe
vpon thee, I would strike thee through with my dag-
ger. To the which What holding his arms vnder his
side, and looking grienouslie with a grim loke vpon
the lieutenant, said: It is no maiestie now: and so

passed on. Thomas What had on a shirt of maille,
with sleeves verie faire, theron a velvet cackette, and
a yelloe lace, with the windlace of his bag hanging
thereon, and a paire of boots on his legs, and on his
head a faire hat of velvet, with a broad bone-worke
lace about it. William Kneuet, Thomas Cobham,
and Bzet, were the like apparelled.

On the morrow and the next daie following were
brought into the tower prisoners, George Cobham,
sir William Cobham, Anthonie Kneuet, Hugh
Booth, Thomas Wane, Robert Rudstone, sir George
Harper, Edward What, Edward Fog, George
Haze, and Cutbert Gaughan. The tenth of Fe-
bruarie, the earle of Huntington and other gentle-
men, and to the number of thre hundred hussieners,
brought to the tower as prisoners the duke of Suff-
olke, and the lord John Grete his brother from Co-
uentrie, where the duke had remained thre daies af-
ter his taking in the house and custodie of Christo-
pher Warren alderman there. The eleuenth daie
sir Henrie Kneie who had fled, was brought into the
tower in an old frese cote, an old paire of hosen, all
his apparell not worth foure shillings. The same daie
came in two of the Culpepers, one Cromar, & Tho-
mas Hampton the duke of Suffolks secretaire.

The twelue of Februarie being mondaie, about
ten of the clocke, there went out of the tower to the
scaffold on the tower hill, the lord Gilsford Dudleye,
sonne to the duke of Northumberland, husband to the
ladie Jane Greie daughter to the duke of Suffolke;
and without the bulworke gate, maister Thomas
Dille one of the shiriffes of London receiued him
and brought him to the scaffold, where after a small
declaration he kneeled downe and said his praier.
Then holding vp his eyes & hands to heauen with
teares, at the last he desired the people to prae for
him, & after he was beheaded. His bodie being laid
in a cart, and his head in a cloth, was brought into
the chappell within the tower, where the ladie Jane,
whose lodging was in maister Patridges house, did
see his dead carcasse taken out of the cart, as well as
she did see him before alius going to his death: a sight
(as might be supposed) to hir worse than death. By
this time was there a scaffold made vpon the greene
ouer against the white tower, for the ladie Jane to
die vpon, who being nothing at all abashed neither
with feare of hir owne death, which then approached,
neither with the sight of the dead carcasse of hir hus-
band when he was brought into the chappell, came
forth, the lieutenant leading hir, with countenance
nothing abashed, neither hir eyes anie thing moiste-
ned with teares, with a booke in hir hand, wherein she
prayed untill she came to the said scaffold. Whereon
when she was mounted, this noble yong ladie as
she was indued with singular gifts both of learning
and knowledge, so was she as patient and mild as a
lamb at hir execution: and a little before hir
death uttered these words.]

The words of the ladie Jane at hir
death, on a scaffold vpon the greene
ouer against the white tower.



Good people I am come hither to
die, and by a law I am condem-
ned to the same. My offense a-
gainst the queenes highnes was
onelie in consent to the deuice of other,
which now is deemed treason; but it was
neuer of my seeking, but by counsell of those
who should seme to haue further under-
standing of things than I, which knew li-
tle of the law, and much lesse of the titles to

Proclamati-
on that none
should keepe
in his house
anie of Whats
faction.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S.
pag. 1087, 1088
1089.
What sent to
the tower.

Sir Thomas
Bridges lieute-
nant of the
tower.

The zeale of
the lieutenant
therewith self
by his hotlan-
guage.

The taking
of Suffolke and
the lord Grete
brought in
the tower.

Sir Henrie
Kneie.

The lord Gils-
ford Dudleye
executed on
the tower.

The execution
of the ladie
Jane Greie.

The taking
of the ladie
Jane Greie
execution.

Stone.

John Fox.

John Fox.

John Fox.

John Fox.

John Fox.

John Fox.

for
hir
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Jane
whether
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Why qu

to the crowne. But touching the procure-
ment and desire thereof by me, or on my be-
halfe, I do wash my hands in innocencie
thereof before God, and the face of all you
(good christian people) this daie. And ther-
with the wronging hir hands wherein she had
hir booke. Then (said she) I praise you all
good christian people, to beare me witnesse
that I die a true christian woman, & that
I looke to be saved by none other meanes;
but onelie by the mercie of God, in the
bloud of his onelie sonne Iesus Christ, & I
confesse that when I did know the word of
God, I neglected the same, & loved my selfe
and the world, and therefore this plague
and punishment is iustlie & worthilie hap-
pened vnto me for my sins, & yet I thanke
God of his goodnesse, that he hath giuen
me a time and respite to repent. And now
good people while I am aliue, I praise you
assit me with your praiers.

When kneeling downe, she said the plaine of *Mis-
serere mei Deus*, in English, and then stood vp and gaue
hir maid (called mistresse Ellen) hir gloues and
handkercher, and hir booke she also gaue to maister
Widges then lieutenant of the tower, and so tied
hir gowne; and the executioner pressed to helpe hir
off with it, but she desired him to let hir alone, and
turned hir toward hir two gentlewomen, who hel-
ped hir off therewith, and with hir other attires, and
they gaue hir a faire handkercher for about hir
eyes. Then the executioner knelt downe and asked
hir forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingly.
Then he willed hir to stand vpon the straw, which
downe, she saw the blocke, & then she said; I praise you
dispatch me quicklie. When she knelt downe, say-
eng; Will you take it off before I laie me downe
thervnto the executioner answered, No madam.
Then tied she the handkercher about hir eyes, and see-
ling for the blocke, she said; Where is it, where is it?
One of the standers by guided hir therevnto, and she
laid downe hir head vpon the blocke, and then stret-
ched forth hir bodie, and said; Lord into thy hands I
commend my spirit, and so finished hir life. ¶ This
was the end of the lord Gilsford and the ladie Jane,
whose deaths were the more hastened by feare of
further troubles and furs for hir title, like as hir fa-
ther had attempted.]

Thus (as saith maister Fox) were beheaded two
innocents, in comparison of them that sat vpon
them: for they did but igno:antlie accept that which
the others had willingly deused, and by open pro-
clamation consented to take from others, and giue
to them. And verelie how unwilling she was to take
it vpon hir, there are yet living that can testifie.
Judge Morgan now that gaue the sentence against
hir, shortly after fell mad, and in his raving cried
continuallie to haue the ladie Jane taken awaie
from him, and so ended his life. ¶ Touching this ladie
Jane in the high commendation of hir godlie mind,
I find this report in maister Foxes appendix to his
Acts and Monuments, namelie that being on a time
when she was verie yong at Newhall in Essex at
the ladie Sparies, was by one ladie Anne Wharton
desired to walke, and they passing by the chapel, the
ladie Wharton made low curtisie to the popish sacra-
ment hanging on the altar. Which when the ladie
Jane saw marvelled why she did so, and asked hir
whether the ladie Sparie were there or not? Vnto
whome the ladie Wharton answered no, but she said
that she made hir curtisie to him that made vs all.
Wherquoth the ladie Jane, how can he be there that

made vs all, and the baker made him? This hir an-
swer comming to the ladie Sparies eare, she did ne-
uer loue hir after, as is crediblie reported, but este-
emed hir as the rest of that christian profession. In
further witnesse of which good ladies disposition (both
to God and the world) besides the verses of certeine
learned men entant to hir praise, these following
were found written by hir owne hand with a pen:

*Non aliena putes homini, quæ obtingere possunt,
Sed hæc hominibus, tunc erit illa tibi.*
Jane Dudley,
*Deo iugante, nil mores huius malum,
Et non inuicente, nil inuit labor grauius.*
Post tenebras spero videre lucem.

Upon sater daie being the seventeenth of Februa-
rie the duke of Suffolke was arraigned at West-
minster, and there condemned to die by his peers,
the earle of Arundell being that daie chiefe iudge.
Where some haue written that he should at his last
going downe into the countie make proclamation
in his daughters name, that is not so: for whereas
he stood by in Leicester, when at his commandement
the proclamation was there made against the
queenes marriage with the prince of Spaine, &c. ma-
ster Wampout then maior of that towne said to him;
By lord I trust your grace meaneth no hurt to the
queenes maiestie. So saith he maister maior (laying
his hand on his sword) he that would hir anie hurt, I
would this sword were through his hart, for she is the
mercifullest prince, as I haue trulie found hir, that
euer reigned, in whose defense I am & will be ready
to die at hir foot. ¶ On mondaie the nineteenth of Fe-
bruarie, the lord Cobhams three sonnes, and foure o-
ther men were brought to Westminster, the yong-
est of the Cobhams, to wit maister Thomas Cob-
ham was condemned with the other foure men, but
the other two Cobhams came not to the barre. ¶ On
the wednesday the one and twentieth of Februarie
the lord Thomas Greie that had bene taken (as be-
fore ye haue heard) in Wales, was brought together
with sir James Croft through London to the tower,
by a number of horsemen.

Upon the fridaie the thre and twentieth of Fe-
bruarie, about nine of the clocke, the duke of Suf-
folke was brought forth of the tower vnto the scaf-
fold on the tower hill. And in his comming thither,
there accompanied him doctor Weston, as his ghost-
lie father: notwithstanding (as it should seme) a-
gainst the will of the said duke. For when the duke
went vnto the scaffold, the said Weston being on his
left hand, pressed to go vp with him. The duke with
his hand put him downe againe off the staires, and
Weston taking hold of the duke forced him downe
likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the
duke againe put him downe. Then Weston said,
that it was the queenes pleasure he should so do;
therewith the duke casting his hands abroad, ascen-
ded by the scaffold, and paused a prettie while after,
and then he said.

The duke of Suffolks words to the
people at the time of his death.

Masters, I haue offended the
queene and hir lawes, and there-
by am iustlie condemned to die,
and am willing to die, desiring all
men to be obedient; and I praise God that
this my death maie be an example to all
men: beseeching you all to beare mee wit-
nesse that I die in the faith of Christ, tru-
sting to be saved by his bloud onelie (and by
none other trumperie) the which died for
vs.

The duke of
Suffolke and
the lord Gils-
ford were
brought to
the tower.

the Duke
of Suffolke

The lord Gils-
ford and
the Duke of
Suffolke were
brought to
the tower.

Executioner
willed the
duke Jane
hymselfe.

The behauior
of the ladie
Jane lead to
execution.

John Fox.

John Fox.

John Fox.

John Fox.

The duke of
Suffolke.

John Fox.

The duke of
Suffolke be-
headed.

Doctor
Weston.

me, and for all them that do trulie repent, a steadfast trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me, that when ye see my breath depart from me, you will pray to God that he maie receiue my soule. And then he desired all men to forgive him, saying that the queene had forgiven him.

Then maister Welfon declared with a loud voice that the queene had forgiven him. Then doctors of the flanders by said with audible voice, Such forgiveness God send thee, meaning doctor Welfon. Then the duke knelt upon his knees, and said the psalme *Deus in excelsis* unto the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to heaven. And when he had ended the psalme, he said: *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum*: Then he arose and stood up, and delivered his cap and surric to the executioner, and there with the executioner knelt downe: and asked the duke forgiveness, and the duke said, God forgive thee, I do: and when thou dost thine office, I pray thee do it quickly, and God have mercede to thee. Then he said there a man and said, My lord, how shall I do for the monie that you owe me? And the duke said, Alas god fellow, I pray thee trouble me not now, but go thy way to my officers. Then he knit a kercher about his face, and knelt downe and said, Our father which art in heaven, &c. unto the end: and then he said, Christ have mercede upon me, and laid downe his head on the block: and the executioner took the axe, and at the first chop stroke off his head, and held it up to the people, according to the common custome of execution.

Such was the end of this duke of Suffolke, a man of high nobilitie by birth, and of nature to his friend gentle and courteous, more easie in deed to be led than was thought expedient, of stomach never the lesse stout and hardie, halfe and some kindled, but pacified straight againe, and sozie if in his heat ought had passed him otherwise than reason might seeme to beare, upright and plaine in his privat dealings, no dissembler, nor well able to beare injuries, but yet forgiving: forgetting the same, if the partie would seeme but to acknowledge his fault, and seeke reconciliation. Bountifull he was and verie liberal, somewhat learned himselfe, and a great favourer of those that were learned, so that to manie he shewed himselfe a verie *Athenas*: as free from couetousnesse, as void of pride and disdainfull haughtinesse of mind, more regarding plaine meaning men, than clau backe flatterers. And this vertue he had, he could patientlie heare his faults told him, by those whome he had in credit for their wisdom and faithfull meaning toward him, although sometime he had the hap to reforme himselfe thereafter. Concerning his last offence for the which he died, it is to be supposed, he rather toke in hand that unlawfull enterprise through others persuasions, than of his owne motion for any malicious ambition in himselfe.

But now to let this duke rest with God, we will proceed with the storie. The same daie (or as some haue noted the day before) a number of prisoners had their pardon, and came through the cite with their halters about their necks. They were in number about two hundred. Upon the saturdaye, the eight and twentieth of Februarie, sir William Senthlow was committed as prisoner to the maister of the house to be kept. This sir William was at this time one of the ladie Elizabeths gentlemen. Upon the saturdaye being the five and twentieth of Februarie, sir John Rogers was committed to the tower: Upon the tuesdaye in the same weeke being the seven and twentieth of Februarie, certeine gentlemen of Kent were

sent into Kent to be executed there. Their names were these the two Marlets, also Kierneis, and Biet: amongst these maister Roodston also, and certeine other were assigned, and should haue bene executed, but they had their pardon.

Sir George Aleie knight, Thomas Aleie his brother, and Maister Mantell, suffered at Maidston, where Maister Mantell displayed his banner. Anthony Inuener and his brother William Inuener, with another of the Marlets, were executed at Seint Dunstons. But at Winchester was hanged in chains, on the daie the third of March, sir Gahen Carew, and maister Gibe were brought through London to the tower, with a company of horsemen. The fifteenth daie of March next following, the ladie Elizabeth the queenes sister, and next heire to the crowne, was apprehended at her manour of Alhridge, for suspicion of Maisters conspiracie. And from thence (being that time verie sick) with great rigour brought prisoner to London. On the saturdaye after being the seventeenth of March, she was committed to the tower, where also the lord Courtneie earle of Devonshire (of whose before is made mention) was for the like suspicion committed prisoner.

Touching the imprisonment of the foresaid ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, thou shalt note here for thy learning (good reader) a politike point of practise in Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, not unworthy to be considered. This Gardiner being alwaies a capital enemy to ladie Elizabeth, & thinking now by the occasion of maister Maister to picke out some matter against the lord Courtneie, and so in the end to intangle the ladie Elizabeth, deuised a pestilent practise of conuenance, as in the storie here following maie appere. The storie is this. The same daie that sir Thomas died, he desired the lieutenant to bring him to the presence of the lord Courtneie, who there before the lieutenant and the shiriffes, kneeling downe upon his knees, besought the lord Courtneie to forgive him, for that he had falselie accused both the ladie Elizabeth and him: and so being brought from thence vnto the scaffold to suffer, there openlie in the hearing of all the people cleared the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, to be free and innocent from all suspicion of that commotion. At which confession, doctor Welfon there standing by, cried to the people, saying: Welcome him not (good people) for he confessed otherwise before vnto the councill.

After the execution done of sir Thomas Maister, which was the eleventh daie of Aprill, word was brought immediatlie to the lord maior sir Thomas White a little before dinner, how maister Maister had cleared the ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie, and the words also which doctor Welfon spake vnto the people. Wherevnto the lord maior answering; Is this true quoth he: Said Welfon so: In sooth I neuer toke him otherwise but for a knaue. Upon this the lord maior sitting downe to dinner (who dined the same daie at the Bridgehouse) commeth in sir Martine Bolnes with the recorder, newlie come from the parliament house, who hearing of the maior and shiriffes this report of Maisters confession, both upon the scaffold and also in the tower, marvelled thereat, declaring how there was another tale contrary to this, told the same daie in the parliament house, which was, that sir Thomas Maister should desire the lord Courtneie to confesse the truth, so as he had done before.

Upon this it followed not long after, that a certeine prentise dwelling in saint Laurence lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denham a plaisterer being one of queene Maries seruants, amongst other talke, made mention how sir Thomas

The duke of Suffolke described.

Great pittie that so manie god gifts concurring should suffer disgrace.

* The number of them that thus had their pardon were 240.

Gentlemen sent into Kent to be executed.

Execution.

Ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie prisoners in the tower.

Abt. Fl. ex Joh. Forster's catalogue.

A point of practise of Stephan Gardiner against the ladie Elizabeth.

Doctor who argued against the ladie Elizabeth.

The lord maior's answer to the report of Maister's confession.

Certaine prentise in London brought before Stephan Gardiner.

Stephan Gardiner's tale in the Statute chamber against the ladie Elizabeth.

The Lord Shandours his report in the Statute chamber, against the ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie.

For writt not on,

Execution.

Ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie prisoners in the tower.

Abt. Fl. ex Joh. Foxmartyrologio.

A point of penance of Stephen Gardiner against the ladie Elizabeth.

Doctor Well against the ladie Elizabeth.

The lord marquis of Winchester.

at

What had cleared the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, to be no consenters to his rising. Which words being brought to Gardiner (by what means I know not) incontinent upon the same, sir Andrew had was sent by the said bishop to the lord maior, commanding him to bring the said prentice to the Star chamber, which was accused of these words, that he should saie that What was constrained by the counteill to accuse the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie. Which fellow when he was come to the Star chamber, the aforesaid Gardiner letting passe other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude; how miraculouse almightie God had brought the queens maiestie to the crowne, the whole realme in a manner being against him, and that he had brought this to passe for this singular intent & purpose, that this realme being overwhelmed with heresies, he might reduce the same againe to the true catholike faith. And where he took the ladie Elizabeth into his fauour, and loued him so tenderlie, and also the lord Courtneie, who of long time had bene detained in prison, and by him was set at libertie, and receiued great benefites at his hands; and notwithstanding all this, they had conspired most vn-naturallie and traitorously against him with that heinous traitor What, as by the confession of What (said he) and the letters sent to and fro maie plainlie appeare: yet there was some in the citie of London, which reported that What was constrained by the counteill to accuse the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, & yet you my lord maior (quoth he) haue not seene the same punished.

The partie is here, said the lord maior. Take him with you (said Gardiner) and punish him according to his desert, and said further: My lord, take heed to your charge, the citie of London is a whirlepole and a sinke of all euill rumors, there they be bred, and from thence spread into all parts of this realme. There stood by the same time the lord Shandols, who being then lieutenant of the tower, and now hearing the bishop thus speake, to wch his tale, came in with these words as followeth: My lords (quoth he) this is a truth that I shall tell you, I being lieutenant of the tower when What suffered, he desired me to bring him to the lord Courtneie; which when I had done, he fell downe upon his knees before him in my presence, and desired him to confesse the truth of himselfe, as he had done before, and to submit him selfe vnto the queens mercie. And thus much of this matter I thought to declare, to the intent that the reader perceiuing the proceedings of the bishop in the premises, & comparing the same with the true testimonie of What himselfe, and with the testimonie of the Shyrtles, the which were present the same time when sir Thomas What asked the lord Courtneie forgiuenesse, maie the better iudge of the whole case and matter for the which the ladie Elizabeth and the lord Courtneie were so long in trouble.]

On saturday next following being Easter euen, and the foure and twentieth of March, the lord marquis of Northampton, the lord Cobham, and sir William Cobham his sonne and heire, were deliuered out of the tower, where they had remained for a time, being committed thither upon some suspicion about Whats rebellion: as diuerse others were, whereof manie were put to death, as C.O. reporteth;

*Nunc istos laqueos illos quasitio torquet
Atque istis, habet multos eius tota clas
Firma: viros, atro pars plurima delitur Oreo.*

Not long after, queene Marie partly offended with the Londoners, as fauourers of Whats conspiracy, and partly perceiuing the more part of them nothing inclined towards his proceedings in religion, which turned manie of them to losse, summoned

a parliament to be holden at Oxford, as it were to gratifie that citie, which with the vniuersitie, towne, and countrie, had shewed themselves verie forward in his seruice; but speciallie in restoring of the religion called catholike: for which appointed parliament there to be holden, great prouision was made, as well by the queens officers, as by the towncsmen & inhabitants of the countrie round about. But the queens mind in short space changed, and the same parliament was holden at Westminster in Aprill next following, wherein the queene proponed two speciall matters, the one for the mariage to be had betwene him and the prince Philip of Spaine: the other, for the restoring againe of the popes power and iurisdiction in England. As touching his mariage, it was with no great difficultie agreed vpon; but the other request could not be easilie obtained.

Whobest, it was to be wished, euen to the displaying of that mariage (if God in counteill had so prouided) that the whole bodie of the parliament had bene semblable affected, as it is said, that all the nations of the world were, when the sunne would needs be married. Against which purpose of the sun the people of all regions assembling, humble besought Jupiter to cast in a blocke and impediment against that wedding. But Jupiter demanding of them why they would not haue the sun married; one stepping vp made answer for the rest, and said: Whon knowest well enough Jupiter that there is but one sun, and yet he burneth vs all: who, if he be married & haue children, as the number of sons must needs increase; so must their heat and feruentnesse be multiplied, whereby a generall destruction of all things in their kind will insue. Whereupon that match was ouerthrowne. But God aboue ruling by prouidence all things here beneath, had purposed this confusion; so that it was not in the power of man to withstand or interrupt it: howbeit it was his pleasure (to what end himselfe best knoweth) to curse it with barrennesse, as he did the queene hir selfe with a short and vnpeaceable reigne (full of sedition and bloudshed) as our English poet noteth:

*Quae post Eduardi mortem conuersio reuoluit,
Transiit in varias alieno pectore partes
Brutigenas, fauet hic externis, ille perusis
Mystarum rabiem, tantis obstacula querit
Opportuna malis: cum iam prob dedecus ingens,
Seditio exoritur, regnorum pessima pestis.*

On the eight of Aprill, then being sunday, a cat with his head shorne, and the likenesse of a vestment cast ouer him, with his fore feet tied together, and a round pece of paper like a singing calke betwixt them, was hanged on a gallows in Cheape, nere to the crosse, in the parish of saint Barthelm: which cat being taken downe, was caried to the bishop of London, and he caused the same to be shewed at Pauls crosse by the preacher doctor Pendleton.]

On the tenth daie of Aprill following, Thomas Crammer archbishop of Cantuarburie, Nicholas Ridley bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer once bishop of Worcester, who had bene long prisoners in the tower, were now conueied from thence, and caried to Windsor, and afterward to the vniuersitie of Oxford, there to dispute with the diuines and learned men of the contrarie opinion. Two daies after their comming to Oxford, which was the twelue daie of the said moneth, diuerse learned men of both the vniuersities were sent in commission from the conuocation (which during this parliament was kept in Pauls church in London) to dispute with those prisoners in certaine articles of religion. The names of them that were in commission were these following. Of Oxford, doctor Weston prolocutor, Cole, Chadsie, Pie, Harpelfield, Smith. Of Cambridge,

A parliament summoned at Oxford but not holden.

All nations in the world against the mariage of the sun, and why.

John Stow. A cat hanged in cheape.

The bishops Crammer, Latimer, and Ridley sent to Oxford.

Commissioners.

10. Fox in acts
and monu-
ments.

Sir Thomas
What arreig-
ned.

The effect of
What's indict-
ment.

What answer-
eth not dis-
reals to the
question guilt-
ie or vnguilt-
ie.

A rebels re-
port touching
rebellion.

What's ex-
hortation to
fouletie by his
owne exam-
ple.

What altereth
his mind con-
sidering the great

Cambidge, Pong, Seton, Watton, Atkison, Becknam, Sedgewike. The thirteenth daie of April these disputers assembled themselves in saint Maries church, to conuent the three persons aboue named vpon certeine articles of religion, who being brought out of prison before them, were severallie one after another examined of their opinions, vpon the articles proponed vnto them, whereof ye maie read in the booke of monuments of the church more at large, and there find the whole proceeding in that matter.

Sir Thomas What (of whome mention is made before) was about this time brought from the tower to Westminster, and there arreigned of high treason: the earle of Sussex, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, with others being his iudges. The effect of whose indictment among other things speciallie was; that he the fourthenth daie of Februarie last before, with force of armed multitude and ensignes displayed, had at Bainsford raised open warres against our soueraine ladie the queene, traitorously pretending and practising to depose hir of hir crowne and dignitie; and the question was demanded of him, whether he was guiltie or no? Whereat he staied, and besought the iudges that he might first aske a question, before he answered directlie to the point, and he was licenced so to doe. The question was, that if he should confesse himselfe guiltie, whether the same should not be prejudiciall vnto him, so as he by that confession should be barred from uttering such things as he had moze to say? Wherevnto it was answered by the court; Maister What (said they) ye shall haue both leaue and leasure to saie what you can.

Then my lordes (quoth he) I must confesse my selfe guiltie, and in the end the truth of my case must inforce me. I must acknowledge this to be a iust plague for my sins, which most graciouslie I therefore haue committed against God, who suffered me thus brutishlie & beastlie to fall into this horrible offense of the law. Wherefore all you lordes & gentlemen, with other here present, note well my words, lo here & see in me the same end which all other commonlie had, which haue attempted the like enterprise from the beginning. For peruse the chronicles thorough, & you shall see that neuer rebellion attempted by subiects against their prince and countrie, from the beginning did euer prosper, or had euer better successe, except the case of king Henrie the fourth: who although he became a prince, yet in his act was but a rebell, for so must I call him: & though he preuailed for a time, yet was it not long but that his heires were depriued, and those that had right againe restored to the kingdome and crowne, and the vsurpation so sharplie reuenged afterward in his blood, as it well appeared, that the long delate of Gods vengeance was supplied with moze gracious plagues in the third and fourth generation. For the loue of God all you gentlemen that be here present, remember and be taught as well by examples past, as also by this my present infelicitie and most wretched case. Oh most miserable, mischievous, brutish & beastlie furious imaginations of mine! I was persuaded that by the marriage of the prince of Spaine, the second person of this realme, and next heire to the crowne, should haue bene in danger; and that I being a free borne man, should with my countrie haue bene brought into the bondage and seruitude of aliens and strangers. Which brutish beastlie opinion then seemed to me reason, and wrought in me such effects, that it led me headlong into the practice of this detestable crime of treason.

But now being better persuaded, and vnderstanding the great commoditie & honor which the realme

should receiue by this marriage: I stand firme and fast in this opinion, that if it should please the queene to be mercifull vnto me, there is no subiect in this land that should moze trulie and faithfullie serue hir highnes than I shall; nor no sooner die at hir graces feet in defense of hir quarrell. I serued hir highnes against the duke of Northumberland, as my lord of Arundell can witness. My grandfather serued most truelie hir graces grandfather, and for his sake was set vpon the racke in the tower. My father also serued king Henrie the eight to his good contentation, and I also serued him, and king Edward his son. And in witness of my blood spent in his ser-vice, I carrie a name. I alledge not all this to set forth my seruice by waie of merit, which I confesse but dutie: but to declare to the whole world, that by abusing my wits, in pursuing my misadvised opinion, I haue not onelie ouerthrowne my house, and defaced all the well doings of me and my ancestors (if euer there were anie) but also haue bene the cause of mine owne death and destruction. Neither do I alledge this to iustifie my selfe in anie point, neither for an excuse of mine offense: but most humbly submit my selfe to the queenes maiesties mercie and pitie, desiring you my lord of Sussex, and you maister Hastings, with all the rest of this honorable bench, to be meanes to the queenes highnes for hir mercie, which is the greatest treasure that maie be giuen to anie prince from God, such a vertue as God hath appropriated to himselfe. Which if hir highnes vouchsafe to extend vnto me, she shall bestow it on him, who shall be most glad to serue truelie, and not refuse to die in hir quarrell. For I protest before the iudge of all iudges, I neuer meant hurt against hir highnes person.

Then said the queenes attorneie; Maister What you haue great cause to be sozie, and repent for your fault, whereby you haue not onelie vndone your selfe and your house, but also a number of other gentlemen, who being true men might haue serued the prince and countrie: yet if you had gone no further, it might haue bene borne withall the better. But being not so contented to staie your selfe, you haue so procured the duke of Suffolke (a man some tained to your purpose) and his two brethren also: by meanes whereof without the queenes greater mercie, you haue ouerthrowne that noble house. And yet not so staied, your attempt hath reached as far as in you laie to the second person of the realme, in whom next to the queenes highnes resteth all our hope and comfort, wherby hir honor is brought in question, and what danger will folow, and to what end it will come God knoweth: of all this you are the author. What answered; As I will not in anie thing iustifie my selfe, so I beseech you, I being in this wretched estate, not to overcharge me, nor to make me seeme to be that I am not. I am loth to touch anie person by name; but that I haue written I haue written. Then said the iudge; Maister What, maister attorneie hath well moned you to repent your offenses, and we for our parts wish you the same.

Then said sir Edward Hastings maister of the queens horse; Maister What, doe ye remember when I and maister Cornwallis were sent vnto you from the queenes highnes to demand the cause of your enterprise, and what you required? Where not these your demands, that the queenes grace should go to the tower, and there remaine; and you to haue the rule of the tower and hir person, with the treasure in keeping, and such of hir counsell as you would require to be deliuered into your hands, saing that you would be trusted and not trust? Which words when What had confessed, then said the queenes solicitor; Your presumption was ouer great, & your at-tempt

ching the
queenes war-
riage.

William
Thomas
maister
of the
queene
solicitor.

The fruits of
rebellion by
What's con-
fession.

What's confes-
sion.

What's sozie
that he refused
to the queenes
pardon when
it was offered.

The queenes
attorney
beth to what.

What's re-
solved
to the queenes
attorney.

The execution
of sir Tho-
mas What.

The iudge
speaketh.

Sir Edward
Hastings
speech to
What.

Maister
What late
maister
of the
queenes
solicitor.

William
Thomas
maister
of the
queene
solicitor.

The fruits of
rebellion by
What's con-
fession.

What's confes-
sion.

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solved
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The execution
of sir Tho-
mas What.

The iudge
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Sir Edward
Hastings
speech to
What.

12. 1554.
bing the
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11. Reg. 1.

Queene Marie.

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tempt in this case hath purchased you perpetuall in-
fame, and shall be called **What rebellion**, as **What**
Tilers was called **What Tilers rebellion**. Then
said the attorneye; **What** rebellion, were you not p-
tise to a deuise whereby the queene should haue bene
murdered in a place where she should walke? I do
not burthen you to confesse this, for thus much I
must saie on your behalfe, that you misliked that de-
uise: **What** deuise (said **What**) was the deuise of
William Thomas, whome euer after I abhorred for
that cause.

Then was a letter shewed, which **What** being
in Southwiche had witten to the duke of Sub-
folke, that he should meet him at Kingstone bidge,
and from thence to accompanie him to London, al-
though he came with the fewer number. **What** at
the first did not seeme to remember anie such letter;
but when it was shewed him, he confessed his hand.
Then was it demanded of him among other things,
why he refused the queenes pardon when it was offer-
red him. My lords (quoth he) I confesse my fault and
offense to be most vile and heinous, for the which first
I aske God mercie, without the which I cannot chal-
lenge anie thing, such is my offense alreadye com-
mitted. And therefore I beseech you to trouble me
with no more questions, for I haue deliuered all
things vnto hir grace in witting. And finallye here
I must confesse, that of all the voyages wherein I
haue serued, this was the most desperat and painfull
forneie that euer I made. And where you asked whie
I receiued not the queenes pardon when it was offer-
red vnto me; Oh unhappie man! What shall I saie?
When I was entred into this diuellish & desperat ad-
uenture, there was no waie but waie through with
that I had taken in hand: for I had thought that o-
ther had bene as farre forward as my selfe, which I
found farre otherwise. So that being bent to keepe
promise with all my confederats, none kept promise
with me; for I like a moule went through thicke and
thin with this determination, that if I should come
to anie treatie, I should seeme to belwate all my
friends.

But whereto should I spend anie more words?
I yeld my selfe wholie vnto the queenes mercie,
knowing well that it is onelie in hir power to make
me (as I haue deserued) an open example to the
world with **What Tiler**; or else to make me partici-
pant of that pitie which she hath extended in as great
crimes as mine; most humbly beseeching you all to
be means for me to hir highnesse for mercie, which is
my last and onelie refuge. The will of God be done
on me. Upon this confession without further trial,
he receiued the iudgement accustomed in cases of
treason, which was to be hanged, drawne and quar-
tered. And the eleuenth of Aprill next folowing he was
brought to the Tower hill, and there was pardoned
of his drawing and hanging, but had his head stric-
ken off, and his bodie cut in foure quarters, and set
vp in diuerse places about the citie, but his head was
set vpon the gallowes at Waite hill beside Hyde
parke.

Now here by the waie is to be noted, that he being
on the scaffold readie to suffer, declared that the la-
die Elizabeth and sir Edward Courtenie earle of
Denonshire, whome he had accused before (as it se-
med) were neuer priue to his doings, as farre as he
knew, or was able to charge them. And when doctor
Weston, being then his confessor told him that he
had confessed the contrarie vnto the counsell, he an-
swered thus; What I said then, I said, but that which
I saie now is true. This was the end of **What** and
his conspiracie; as also the like hath bene of others
attempting anie rebellion. For as their enterprise
being, according to the proper qualitie thereof, con-

sidered, is flat against Gods ordinance, who hath or-
dained magistracie to be reuerenced of inferiours: so
it is vnlikelie to bring other than infortunatnesse,
and shamefull overthrowes vnto the attempters; in
whome although will want not to compasse anie
worke; yet force failing, they misse the marke, & all
because rashnesse giueth them a false ayme. Where-
fore to conclude this tragicall discourse of **What**, it
were to be wished that the sage and safe counsell of
Cato were put in common practise of all men, which
is, to undertake & do nothing aboute their strength:

*Quod potes, id tentes, operis ne pondere pressus,
succumbat labor, & frustra tentata relinquas.*

The seuenth daie of Aprill next folowing, sir
Nicholas Throckmorton knight was brought from the
tower to Guildhall in London, and there arreigned
of high treason, as adherent and principall counsell-
lor to the said **What** and the duke of Suffolke, and
the rest in the fore remembred conspiracie against
the queene. But he so stoutlie, and therewithall so cur-
ninglie answered for himselfe, as well in clearing of
his cause, as also in defending & auoiding such points
of the lawes of the realme, as were there alleaged a-
gainst him, that the quest which passed vpon his life
& death found him not guiltie. With which verdict the
iudges and counsellors there present were so much
offended, that they bound the iurie in the summe of
five hundred pounds a peece, to appeare before the
counsell in the Starchamber, at a daie appointed.
And according to their bond, they appeared there be-
fore the said counsell vpon Wednesdaye, being the
one and twentieth of Aprill, and saint Marks daie;
from whence after certeine questioning, they were
committed to prison, **Emanuel Lucar** and master
Weston to the tower, and the other to the Fleet.

But now forsomuch as a copie of the order of sir
Nicholas Throckmortons arreignment hath come
to my hands, and that the same maie giue some light
to the historie of that dangerous rebellion, I haue
thought it not impertinent to insert the same: not
wishing that it should be offensive to anie, sith it is
in euerie mans libertie to weie his words bittered
in his owne defense, and likewise the doings of the
quest in acquitting him, as maie seeme god to their
discretions, sith I haue deliuered the same as I haue
found it, without preiudicing anie mans opinion, to
thinke thereof otherwise than as the cause maie
moue him.

50 The order of the arreignment of sir
Nicholas Throckmorton knight, in the Guildhall
of London the seuenteenth daie of Aprill 1554.
*expressed in a dialog for the better vnderstan-
ding of euerie mans part.*



60 Sir **Thomas White** knight lord maior of
London, the earle of **Shrewsburie**, the
earle of **Derbie**, sir **Thomas Bromleie**
knight lord chiefe iustice of England, sir
Nicholas Hare knight master of the tolles, sir
Francis Englefield knight master of the court of
wards and liberties, sir **Richard Southwell** knight
one of the priue counsell, sir **Edward Walgraue**
knight one of the priue counsell, sir **Roger Cholme-
leie** knight, sir **William Portman** knight one of
the iustices of the kings bench, sir **Edward San-
ders** knight one of the iustices of the common pleas;
master **Stanford** & master **Dier** sergeants, master
Edward Griffin attourne generall, master **Sen-
dall** and **Peter Lichbourne** clerks of the exchequer.
First, after proclamation made, and the commission
read, the lieutenant of the tower, master **Thomas**
Widdes, brought the prisoner to the barre: then si-
lence was commanded, and **Sendall** said to the pris-
oner

Sir **Nicholas**
Throck-
morton ar-
reigned of
high treason
clareth him-
selfe.

The queenes
learned coun-
sell gaue con-
science against
the prison: r.

The frende of
rebellion by
what consi-
deration.

What consi-
deration.

What consi-
deration.

The queenes
arrestment
is to be noted.

What consi-
deration.

What consi-
deration.

The iudges
preach.

Sir **Edward**
Courtneie
is to be noted.

Sendall.

ner as followeth.

Nicholas Throckmorton knight hold by thy hand, thou art before this time indicted of high treason, &c: that thou then and there didst falslie and traitorously, &c: conspire and imagine the death of the quene's maiestie, &c: and falslie and traitorously diddest leuie warre against the quene within hir realme, &c: and also thou wast adherent to the quene's enemies within hir realme, giuing to them aid and comfort, &c: and also falslie and traitorously diddest conspire and intend to depose and depriue the quene of hir roiall estate, and so finally destroye hir, &c: and also thou diddest falslie and traitorously deuiſe and conclude to take violentlie the tower of London, &c. Shall which treasons and euerie of them in maner & forme, &c: art thou guiltie or not guiltie?

Throckmorton.

Maie it please you my lordes and maisters, which be authorised by the quene's commission to be iudges this daie, to giue me leaue to speake a few wordes, which doth both concerne you and me, before I answer to the indictment, and not altogether impertinent to the matter, and then plead to the indictment.

Throckmorton.

So, the order is not so, you must first plead whether you be guiltie or no.

Throckmorton.

If that be your order and law, iudge accordingly to it.

Harc.

You must first answer to the matter therewith you are charged, and then you maie talke at your pleasure.

Throckmorton.

But things spoken out of place, were as good not spoken.

Throckmorton.

These be but delates to spend time, therefore answer as the law willethe you.

Throckmorton.

My lordes I praye you make not too much hast with me, neither thinke not long for your dinner, for my case requireth leaue, and you haue well dined when you haue done iustice trulie. Christ said, Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for righteousnesse.

Throckmorton.

I can forbeare my dinner as well as you, and care as little as you peraduenture.

Shrewsbury.

Come you hither to cheeke vs Throckmorton: We will not be so bled, no no, I for mine owne part haue forborne my breakfast, dinner, and supper to serue the quene.

Throckmorton.

Dea my good lord I know it right well, I meant not to touch your lordship, for your seruice and paines is euidentlie knowne to all men.

Southwell.

Passer Throckmorton, this talke needeth not, we know what we haue to do, and you would teach vs our duties, you hurt your matter: go to, go to.

Throckmorton.

Passer Southwell, you mistake me, I meant not to teach you, nor none of you, but to remember you of that I trust you all be well instructed in; and so I satisfie my selfe, sith I shall not speake, thinking you all know what you haue to do, or ought to know: so I will answer to the indictment, and doe plead not guiltie to the whole, and to euerie part thereof.

Sendall.

Throckmorton.

How wilt thou be tried?

Throckmorton.

Shall I be tried as I would, or as I should?

Throckmorton.

You shall be tried as the law will, and therefore you must saie by God and by the countrie.

Throckmorton.

Is that your law for me? It is not as I would, but sith you will haue it so, I am pleased with it, and doe desire to be tried by faithfull iust men, which more feare God than the world.

Then the iurie was called.

The names of the iurors.

Lucar.	Loto.
Pong.	Whetston.
Martin.	Painter.
Westlake.	Banks.
Barckfeld.	Calthrop.
Rightcliffe.	Cater.

What time the attornie went for: both to master Cholmeleie, and shewed him the shrikes returne, who being acquainted with the citizens, knowing the corruptions and dexterities of them in such cases, noted certeine to be challenged for the quene (a rare case) and the same men being knowne to be sufficient and indifferent, that no exceptions were to be taken to them, but onlie for their bypight honesties: notwithstanding, the attornie prompting sergeant Dier, the said sergeant challenged one Bacon, and another citizen peremptorie for the quene. When the prisoner demanded the cause of the chalenge: The sergeant answered; We need not to shew you the cause of the chalenge for the quene. When the inquest was furnished with other honest men, that is to saie, Whetston & Lucar, so the prisoner bled these wordes,

I trust you haue not prouided for me this daie, as in times past I knew an other gentleman occupying this toofull place was prouided for. It chanced one of the iustices upon gelousie of the prisoners acquittall, for the goodnesse of his cause, said to an other of his companions a iustice, when the iurie did appear: I like not this iurie for our purpose, they seeme to be too pitifull and too charitable to condemne the prisoner. So no, said the other iudge (to wit Cholmeleie) I warrant you, they be picked fellows for the nonce, he shall drinke of the same cup his fellows haue done. I was then a looker on of the pageant as others be now here: but now two is me, I am a player in that toofull tragedie. Well, for these and such other like the blacke ore hath of late troden on some of their feet: but my trust is, I shall not be so bled. Whilist this talke was, Cholmeleie consulted with the attornie about the iurie, which the prisoner espied, and then said as here insureth; Ah ah master Cholmeleie, will this soule packing neuer be less?

Whie what doe I, I praye you M. Throckmorton: I did nothing I am sure, you doe picke quarrels to me.

Well maister Cholmeleie if you doe well, it is better for you, God helpe you.

[The iurie then was sworn, and proclamation made, that whosoever would giue evidence against sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, should come in and be heard, for the prisoner stood upon his defence, whereupon sergeant Stanford presented himselfe to speake.]

And it may please you maister sergeant and the others my masters of the quene's learned counsell, like as I was minded to haue said a few wordes to the commissioners, if I might haue had leaue for their better remembrance of their duties in this place of iustice, and concerning direct indifference to be bled towards me this daie: so by your patience I doe thinke god to saie some what to you, and to the rest of the quene's learned counsell, appointed to giue evidence against me. And albeit you and the rest by order be appointed to giue evidence against me, and interteined to set forth the depositions and matter against me; yet I praye you remember I am not alienate from you, but that I am your christian brother; neither you so charged, but you ought to consider equitie; nor yet so priuiledged, but that you haue a dutie of God appointed you how you shall do your office; which if you exceed, will be grauouslie required at your hands. It is lawfull for you to see your gifts which I know God hath largelie giuen you, as your learning, art, and eloquence, so as thereby you doe not seduce the minds of the simple and vblearned iurie, to credit matters otherwise than they be. For maister sergeant, I know how by periuasions, inforcements, presumptions, applying, implicing, inferring, conteduring, deducing of arguments, working and exceeding

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exceeding the law, the circumstances, the depositions and confessions that vnlearned men may be inclined to thinke and iudge those that be things indifferent, or at the worst but ouersights to be great treasons; such power orators haue, & such ignorance the vnlearned haue. Almighty God by the mouth of his prophet doth conclude such aduocates be cursed, speaking these words: Cursed be he that doth his office craftlie, corruptlie, and malicioulie. And consider also, that my blood shall be required at your hands, and punished in you and yours, to the third and fourth generation. Notwithstanding, you and the iudges excuse alwaies such erroneous doings, when they be after called in question by the verdict of the twelue men: but I assure you, the purgation serued you as it did Pilat, and you wash your hands of the bloodshed, as Pilat did of Christs. And now to your matter.

And it please you my lordes, I doubt not to proue euidentlie and manifestlie, that Throckmorton is worthilie and rightlie indicted and arraigned of these treasons, and that he was a principall deuiler, procurer, and contriuer of the late rebellion; and that what was but his minister. How saie you Throckmorton, did not you send Winter to what into Kent, and did deuise that the tower of London should be taken, with other instructions concerning whats stirre and rebellion?

Haie it please you that I shall answer particularly to the matters objected against me, inasmuch as my memorie is not good, and the same much decayed since my greuous imprisonment, with want of sleepe, and other disquietnesse: I confesse I did saie to Winter that what was desirous to speake with him, as I vnderstood.

Pea sir, and you deuised together of the taking of the tower of London, and of the other great treasons.

No, I did not so, proue it.

Yes sir, you met with Winter sundrie times as shall appere, and in sundrie places.

What granted, proueth no such matter as is supposed in the indictment.

Stanford read Winters confession, which was of this effect, that Throckmorton met with Winter one daie in tower street, and told him, that sir Thomas what was desirous to speake with him, and Winter demanded where what was, Throckmorton answered at his house in Kent, not farre from Cillingham, as I heard saie, where the ships lie. Then they parted at that time, and shortly after, Throckmorton met with Winter, vnto whome Winter said; Master what doth much mislike the coming of the Spaniards into this realme, and feareth their short arrivall here, in as much as daily he heareth thereof, doth see daily diuerse of them arrive here, scattered like foulders; and therefore he thinketh good the tower of London should be taken by a sleight, before the prince came, least that peace be deliuered to the Spaniards. How saie you Throckmorton to it? Throckmorton answered; I mislike it for diuerse respects. Euen so do I said Winter. At another time Throckmorton met me the said Winter in Paules, when he had sent one to my house, to seeke me before, and he said to me; You are admirall of the fleet that now goeth into Spaine. I answered Pea. Throckmorton said, When will your ships be ready? I said within ten daies. Throckmorton said, I vnderstand you are appointed to conduct and carrie the lord priuie seale into Spaine, and considering the danger of the Frenchmen, which you saie arme them to the sea apace, me thinke it well done, you put my said lord and his traine on land in the west countrie to avoid all dangers. Throckmorton said also, that

what changed his purpose for taking the tower of London. I said I was glad of it, as for the Frenchmen, I care not much for them, I will so handle the matter, that the quenes ships shall be (I warrant you) in safegard. Another time I met with master Throckmorton, when I came from the emperours ambassadores, vnto whome I declared, that the emperor had sent me a faire chaine, and shewed it vnto Throckmorton, who said; For this chaine you haue sold your countrie. I said it is neither French king nor emperor that can make me sell my countrie, but I will be a true Englishman. When they parted. This is the somme of the talke betwixt Throckmorton and Winter.

How my masters of the iurie, you haue heard my sayings confirmed with Winters confession. How saie you Throckmorton, can you denie this, if you will, you shall haue Winter iustifie it to your face.

My lordes, shall it please you that I shall answer. Pea, saie your mind.

I may trulie denie some part of this confession, but because there is nothing materiall greatlie, I suppose the whole be true, and what is herein depofed, sufficient to bring me within the compasse of the indictment.

It appeareth that you were of counsell with what, in as much as you sent Winter downe to him, who uttered vnto him diuerse traitorous deuises.

This is but coniecturall, yet sith you will construe it so malicioulie, I will recompt how I sent Winter to what, and then I prae you of the iurie iudge better than master sergeant doth. I met by chance a seruant of master what, who demanded of me for Winter, and shewed me, that his master would gladlie speake with him: and so without airt further declaration, desired me if I met Winter to tell him master what's mind, and where he was. Thus much for the sending downe of Winter.

Pea sir, but how saie you to the taking of the tower of London, which is treason?

I answer, though what thought met to attempt so dangerous an enterprize, and that Winter informed me of it, you cannot extend what's deuises to be mine, and to bring me within the compasse of treason. For what manner of reasoning or proue is this, what would haue taken the tower, Ergo Throckmorton is a traitor: Winter doth make my purgation in his owne confession, euen now red as it was by master sergeant, though I saie nothing: for Winter doth auaile there, that I did much mislike it. And because you shall the better vnderstand that I did alwaies not allow these master what's deuises, I had these words to Winter, when he informed me of it; I thinke master what would no Englishman hurt and this enterprize cannot be done without the hurt and slaughter of both parties. For I know him that hath the charge of the peace, & his brother, both men of good seruice, the one had in charge a peece of great importance, Bullongne I meane, which was stoutlie assailed, & notwithstanding he made a good accompt of it for his time: the like I am sure he will do by this his charge. Moreover, to accompt the taking of the tower, is verie dangerous by the law. These were my words to Winter. And besides, it is verie unlike that I of all men would confederate in such a matter against the lieutenant of the tower, whose daughter my brother hath married, and his house and mine alied together by marriage sundrie times within these few yeares.

But how saie you to this, that what and you had conference together sundrie times at Warkers house, and in other places?

This is a verie generall charge to haue conference, but whie was it not as lawfull for me to confer with what

Stanford.

Throckmorton.
Bzomleie.
Throckmorton.

Stanford.

Throckmorton.
ton.

Attournets.

Throckmorton.
ton.

Hare.

Throckmorton.
ton.

What

What as with you, or anie other man? I then knew no more by What, than by anie other. And to proue to talke with What was lawfull and indifferent, the last daie that I did talke with What, I saw my lord of Arundell, with other noble men and gentlemen, talke with him familiarlie in the chamber of presence.

Hare.

But they did not conspire nor talke of anie surre against the Spaniards as you did pretend, & meant it against the quene, for you, Cross, Rogers, and Warner did oftentimes deuise in Warners house about your traitorous purposes, or else what did you so often there?

Throckmorton.

I confesse I did mislike the quenes marriage with Spaine, and also the comming of the Spaniards hither, and then me thought I had reason to do so: for I did learne the reasons of my misliking of you master Hare, master Southwell, and others in the parliament house, there I did see the whole consent of the realme against it; and I a hearer, but no speaker, did learne my misliking of those matters, confirmed by manie sundrie reasons amongst you; but as concerning anie surre or bypore against the Spaniards, I neuer made anie, neither procured anie to be made; and for my much refozt to master Warners house, it was not to conferre with master What, but to shew my frendship to my verie good lord the marquesse of Portsmouth, who was lodged there when he was enlarged.

Stanford.

Did not you Throckmorton tell Winter that What had changed his mind for the taking of the tower, whereby it appeared euidentlie that you knew of his doings?

Throckmorton.

Cruellie I did not tell him so, but I care not greatly to giue you that wepon to plaie you withall, now let vs see what you can make of it.

Stanford.

Pea sir, that proueth that you were prouie to What, at his mind in all his deuises and treasons, & that there was sending betwixt you and What from time to time.

Throckmorton.

What master sergeant? Doth this proue against me, that I knew What did repent him of an euill deuised enterpryse? Is it to know Whats repentance sinne? No, it is but a veniall sinne, if it be anie it is not deadlie. But where is the messenger or message that What sent to me touching his alteration, and yet it was lawfull inough for me to heare from What at that time, as from anie other man, for anie act that I knew he had done.

Dier.

And it may please you my lordes, and you my masters of the turie, to proue that Throckmorton is a principall dwer in this rebellion, there is yet manie other things to be declared: among other, there is Crosss confession, who saith, that he and you, and your complices, did manie times deuise about the whole matters, and he made you prouie to all his determinations, and you shewed him that you would go into the west countrie with the earle of Deuon, to sir Peter Caroe, accompanied with others.

Throckmorton.

Master Cross is yet lining, and is here this daie, how happeneth it he is not brought face to face to iustifie this matter, neither hath bene of all this time? Will you know the truth? Either he said not so, or he will not abide by it, but honestlie hath refozted himselfe. And as for knowing his deuises, I was so well acquainted with them, that I can name none of them, nor you neither as matter knowne to me.

Attourneie.

But whie did you aduise Winter to land my lord prouie scale in the west countrie?

Throckmorton.

He that told you that my mind was to land him there, doth partlie tell you a reason whie I said so, if you would remember as well the one as the other: but because you are so forgetfull, I will recite where

fore. In communication betwixt Winter and me, as he declared to me that the Spaniards prouided to bring their prince hither, so the Frenchmen prepared to interrupt his arrivall: for they began to arme to the sea, and had already certeine ships on the west coast (as he hard.) Unto whom I said, that peradventure not onelie the quenes ships vnder his charge might be in ieopardie, but also my lord prouie scale, and all his traine; the Frenchmen being well prepared to meet with them, and therefore for all cuments it were good you should put my said lord in the west countrie in case you espie anie ieopardie. But what doth this proue to the treasons, if I were not able to giue conuenient reasons to my talke?

Marie sir now cometh the proofes of your treasons, you shall heare what Cutbert Waughan saith against you.

Stanford.

Then sergeant Stanford did read Waughans confession, tending to this effect. That Waughan comming out of Kent, met with Throckmorton at master Warners house, who after he had done commendations from What to him, desired to know where Cross was. Throckmorton answered, either at Arundell house where he lodgeth, or in Paules. Then Waughan desired to know how things went at London, saing; Master What & Iuc of Kent do much mislike the marriage with Spaine, and the comming of the Spaniards for diuerse respects: howbeit, if other countries mislike them as Kent

doth, they shall be but hardlie welcome, and so they parted. Shortly after Throckmorton met with Waughan in Paules, unto whome Throckmorton declared with sundrie circumstances, that the Welshmen were in a readinesse to come forwards, and that sir Peter Caroe had sent unto him euen now, and that he had in order a good band of horsemen, and an other of footmen. Then Waughan demanded what the earle of Denonshire would doe

Throckmorton answered he will mar all, for he will not go hence, and yet sir Peter Caroe would meet him with a band, both of horsemen and footmen, by the waie at Andeuer for his safegard, and also he should haue bene well accompanied from hence with other gentlemen, yet all this will not moue him to depart hence. Moreover, the said erle hath (as is said) discovered all the whole matter to the chancelor, or else it is come out by his talloz, about the trimming of a shirt of male, and the making of a cloke. At another time, Waughan saith, Throckmorton

shewed him that he had sent a post to sir Peter Caroe, to come forward with as much speed as might be, and to bring his force with him. And also Throckmorton aduised Waughan to will master What to come forward with his power: for now was the time, in as much as the Londoners would take his part if the matter were presented to them. Waughan said also, that Throckmorton & Warner should haue ridden with the said earle westward. Moreover the said Waughan depose, that Throckmorton shewed him in talke of the earle of Penbroke, that the said earle would not fight against them, though he would not take their parts. Also Waughan said, that Throckmorton shewed him that he would ride downe into Barkeshire to sir Francis Englefields house, there to meet his eldest brother, to moue him to take his part. And this was the sum of Cutbert Waughans confession.

How saie you? Doth not here appeare euident matter to proue you a principall, who not onelie gaue order to sir Peter Caroe and his adherents, for their rebellious acts in the west countrie, but also procured What to make his rebellion, appointing him and the others also, when they should attempt their enterpryse, and how they should order their doings

Attourneie.

Throckmorton.

Attourneie.

Throckmorton.

Attourneie.

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Stanford.

Waughan.

Attourneie.

Waughan.

Throckmorton.

Waughan.

Throckmorton.

Attourneie, Throckmorton.

Stanford.

ings from time to time. Besides all this evident matter, you were speciallie appointed to go abwaie with the carle of Devon as one that would direct all things, and give order to all men. And therefore Throckmorton sith this matter is so manifest, and the evidence so apparant, I would advise you to confesse your fault, & submit your selfe to the queenes mercie. How saie you, will you confesse the matter, and it will be best for you?

No, I will neuer accuse my selfe vniustlie, but in as much as I am come hither to be tried, I praye ye let me haue the law fauourable.

It is apparant that you laie at London as a factor, to give intelligence as well to them in the west, as to What in Kent.

How proue you that, o? who doth accuse me but this condemned man?

Whie will you denie this matter? You shall haue Claughan iustifie his whole confession here before your face.

It shall not need, I know his vnthamfastnesse, he hath aduowed some of this vnturc talke before this time to my face, and it is not otherwile like, considering the price, but he will do the same againe.

O? lord and masters, you shall haue Claughan to iustifie this here before you all, and confirme it with a booke oth.

He that hath said and lied, will not bring in this case like to sweare and lie.

Then was Cutbert Claughan brought into the open court.]

How saie you Cutbert Claughan, is this your owne confession, and will you abide by all that is here written?

Let me see it and I will tell you.

Then his confession was shewed him.]

Bicause you of the iurie the better may credit him, I praye you my lords let Claughan be sworn.

Then was Claughan sworn on a booke to saie nothing but the truth.]

It may please you my lords and masters, I could haue bene well content to haue those seauen yeares imprisonment, though I had bene a free man in the law, rather than I would this daie haue giuen evidence against sir Nicholas Throckmorton; against whome I beare no displeasure: but sith I must needs confesse my knowledge, I must confesse all that is there written is true. How saie you master Throckmorton, was there anie displeasure betwene you and me, to moue me to saie aught against you?

None that I know. How saie you Claughan, what acquaintance was the re betwene you and me, and what letters of credit o? token did you bring me from What, o? anie other, to moue me to trust you?

As for acquaintance, I knew you as I did other gentlemen: and as for letters, I brought you none other but commendations from master What, as I did to diuerse other of his acquaintance at London.

You might as well forge the commendations as the rest: but if you haue done with Claughan my lords, I praye you giue me leaue to answer.

Speake and be short.

I speake generally to all that be here present, but speciallie to you of my iurie, touching the credit of Claughans depositions against me, a condemned man, and after to the matter: and note I praye you the circumstances, as somewhat materiall to indouce the better. First I praye you remember the small familiarity betwixt Claughan and me, as he hath aduowed before you, and moreover, to procure credit at my hand, brought neither letter nor token from What, nor from anie other to me, which he also hath confessed here: and I will suppose Claughan to be in as good condition as anie other man here, that is to

saie, an vncondemned man: yet I referre it to your good iudgement, whether it were like that I, knowing onelie Claughans person from an other man, and hauing none other acquaintance with him, would so frankelie discover my mind to him in so dangerous a matter. How like (I saie) is this, when diuerse of these gentlemen now in captiuitie, being my herie familiars, could not depose anie such matter against me, and neuer thelesse vpon their examinations haue said what they could: And though I be no wise man, I am not so rash as to vtter to an vnknowne man (so) so I may call him in comparison; a matter so dangerous for me to speake, and him to heare. But bicause my truth and his falschod shall the better appeare vnto you, I will declare his inconsistency in vttering this his evidence. And for my better credit, it may please you master Southwell, I take you to witnesse, when Claughan first iustified this his vniust accusation against me before the lord Paget, the lord Chamberleine, you master Southwell, and others, he referred the confirmation of this his furnished matter, to a letter sent from him to sir Thomas What, which letter doth neither appeare, nor anie testimonie of the said master What against me touching the matter: for I doubt not sir Thomas What hath ben examined of me, and hath said what he could directlie o? indirectlie. Also Claughan saith, that young Edward What could confirme this matter, as one that knew this pretended discourse betwixt Claughan and me, and there vpon I made saie that Edward What might either be brought face to face to me, o? otherwile be examined.

After Throckmorton you misake your matter, Southwell for Claughan said, that Edward What did know some part of the matter, and also was priue of the letter that Claughan sent sir Thomas What.

Pea sir, that was Claughans last shift, when I charged him before the master of the horse and you, with his former allegations touching his witnesse, whome when he spied would not do so lowdie as he thought, then he vsed this alteration. But where be Edward Whats depositions of anie thing against me? How it appeareth neither his first nor his last tale to be true. For you know master Bridges, and so doth my lord your brother, that I desired twice o? thrice Edward What should be examined, and I am sure, and most assured he hath bene willed to saie what he could, and here is nothing depose by him against me, either touching anie letter o? other conference. O? where is Claughans letter sent by sir Thomas What concerning my talke?

But now I will speake of Claughans present estate in that he is a condemned man, whose testimonie is nothing worth by anie law. And bicause false witnesse is mentioned in the gospell, treating of accusation, hearken I praye you what S. Jerome saith, expounding that place. It is demanded whie Christs accusers be called false witnesses, which did report Christs words not as he spake them. They be false witnesses saith S. Jerome, which do as, alter, wrest, double, o? do speake for hope to auoid death, o? for malice to procure another mans death: for all men maie easilie gather he cannot speake truelie of me, o? in the case of another mans life, where he hath hope of his owne by accusation. Thus much speaketh S. Jerome of false witnesse. By the ciuill law there be manie exceptions to be taken against such testimonies: but bicause we be not gouerned by that law, neither haue I my triall by it, it shall be superfluous to trouble you therewith, & therefore you shall heare what your owne law doth saie. There was a statute made in my late souereigne lord & master his time, touching accusation, and these be the words.

Be it enacted, that no person nor persons, shall be

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Claughans
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indicted, arreigned, condemned, or convicted for any offense of treason, petit treason, misprision of treason, for which the same offender shall suffer any pains of death, imprisonment, loss of his goods, lands, &c: unless the same offender be accused by two sufficient & lawfull witnesses, or shall willingly without violence confesse the same. And also in the first yeare of his reigne, it is thus ratified as insueth.

That no person nor persons shall be indicted, arreigned, condemned, convicted or attainted of the treasons or offenses aforesaid, or for any other treasons that now be, or hereafter shall be; unless the same offender or offenders be thereof accused by two lawfull and sufficient accusers, which at the time of the arreignment of the parties so accused (if they be then living) shall be brought in person before the said partie accused, and avow and mainteine that they haue to saie against the said partie, to proue him guilty of the treasons or offense contained in the bill of indictment laid against the partie arreigned, unless the said partie accused shall be willing without violence to confesse the same. Here note I praye you that our law doth require two lawfull and sufficient accusers to be brought face to face, and Laughan is but one, and the same most unlawfull and insufficient. For who can be more unlawfull and insufficient, than a condemned man, and such one as knoweth to accuse me is the meane to saue his owne life: Remember I praye you how long & how many times Laughans execution hath bene respited, and how often he hath bene contured to accuse (which by Gods grace he withstood untill the last houre) what time perceluing there was no waie to liue, but to speake against me or some other (his former grace being taken alwaie) did rebaine his life most unskillie and shamefullie, as you see.

Harc.

Throckmorton.

Why should we accuse you more than any other, seeing there was no displeasure betwixt you, if the matter had not bene true?

Because he must either speake of some man, or suffer death, and then he did rather chuse to hurt him whom he least knew, & so loued least, than any other well known to him, whome he loued most. But to you of my iurie I speake speciallie, and therefore I praye you note what I saie. In a matter of lesse weight than triall of life and land, a man maie by the law take exceptions to such as be impaneled, to trie the controuersies betwixt the parties: as for example. A man maie challenge that the shiriffe is his enemy, and therefore hath made a parciall returne; or because one of the iurie is the shiriffe my aduersaries seruant: and also in case my aduersaries billen or bondman be impaneled, I may lawfullie challenge him, because the aduersaries part hath power over his billens lands and goods, and hath the vse of his bodie for seculie office: much more I may of right take exception to Laughans testimonie, my life and all that I haue depending thereupon, and the same Laughan being more bound to the queenes highnesse my aduersaries (that too is me therefore) but so the law doth here so serue his maiestie, than any villen is to his lord: for his highnesse hath not onlie power over his bodie, lands, and goods, but over his life also.

Stanford.

Throckmorton.

Yea, the exception are to be taken against the iurie in that case, but not against the witness or accuser, & therefore your argument serueth litle for you.

That is not so, for the vse of the iurie, and the witness and the effect of their doings doth serue me to my purpose, as the law shall discusse. And thus I make my comparison. By the ciuill law the iudge doth giue sentence vpon the depositions of the witness, & by your law the iudge doth giue judgement vpon the verdict of the iurie: so as the effect is both one to finish the matter, triall in law, as well by the

depositions of the witness, as by the iuries verdict, though they varie in forme and circumstance: and so Laughans testimonie being credited, may be the materall cause of my condemnation, as the iurie to be induced by his depositions to speake their verdict, and so finally thereupon the iudge to giue sentence. Therefore I may vse the same exceptions against the iurie, or any of them, as the principall meane that shall occasion my condemnation.

Why do you denie, that euery part of Laughans tale is vntreue?

You may see he will denie all, and saie there was no such communication betwixt them.

I confesse some part of Laughans confession to be true, as the name, the places, the time, and some part of the matter.

So you of the iurie may perceiue the prisoner doth confesse some thing to be true.

As touching my sending to sir Peter Caroe, or his sending to me, or concerning my aduise to master What to sir: or to repaire hither, or touching the earle of Denbshire parting hence, and my going with him, and also concerning the matter of the erle of Denbroke, I do aduow and saie that Laughan hath said vntreue.

As for my lord of Denbroke, you need not excuse the matter, for he hath shewed himselfe cleere in these matters like a noble man, and that we all know.

Why what was the talke betwixt Laughan and you so long in Paules, if these were not so, and what meant your oft meetings?

As for our often meetings, they were of no set purpose, but by chance, & yet no oftener than twice. But sithence you would know what communication passed betwixt vs in Paules church, I will declare. We talked of the incommodities of the marriage of the queene with the prince of Spaine, and how grievous the Spaniards would be to vs here. Laughan said, that it should be verie dangerous for any man, that trulie professed the gospell to liue here, such was the Spaniards crueltie, and especiallie against christian men. Wherevnto I answered it was the plague of God inslie come vpon vs; and now almighty God dealt with vs as he did with the Israelites, taking from them for their vntankefulness their godlie kings, & did send tyrants to reigne ouer them. Euen so he handled vs Englishmen, which had a most godlie & vertuous prince to reigne ouer vs, my late soueraigne lord and master king Edward, vnder whome we might both safelie and lawfullie professe Gods word, which with our lewd doings, demeanors, and liuing, we handled so irreuerentlie, that to ship vs for our faults he would send vs strangers, yea such verie tyrants to exercise great tyrannie ouer vs, and did take alwaie the vertuous and faithfull king from amongst vs: for euery man of enerie estate did colour his naughtie affections with a pretense of religion, and made the gospell a stalking horse to bring their euill desires to effect. This was the summe of our talke in Paules somewhat more dilated.

That it may appere yet more evidently how Throckmorton was a principall dower and counsellor in this matter, you shall heare his owne confession of his owne hand writing. The cleark began to read, Throckmorton desired master Stanford to read it, and the iurie well to marke it. Then master Stanford did read the prisoners owne confession to this effect: that Throckmorton had conference with What, Caroe, Croftes, Rogers, and Warner, as well of the queenes marriage with the prince of Spaine, as also of religion, and did particularlie confer with euery the forenamed, of the matters aforesaid. Moreover, with sir Thomas, What the prisoner

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ner talked of the hute that the Wellesherne men shuld much mislike the coming of the Spaniards into this realme, being reported also that they intended to interrupt their arrivall here. And also that it was said, that they were in consultation about the same at Grecester. What also did saie, that sir Peter Caroe could not bring the same matter to good effect, nor that there was any man so meet to bring it to good effect, as the erle of Denonshire, & speciallie in the west parts, inasmuch as the p. drew not all by one line.

Then Throckmorton asked how the Kentishmen were affected to the Spaniards? What said; The people like them euill enough, and that appeared now at the coming of the countie of Egmount, for they were ready to stir against him and his traine, supposing it had bin the prince. But what said; Sir Robert Southwell, maister Baker, and maister Poile, and their assentie, which be in good credit in some places of the shire, will for other malicious respects hinder the libertie of their countie. Then Throckmorton should saie; Though I know there hath bene an unkindnesse betwixt maister Southwell and you for a monie matter, wherein I travelled to make you friends, I doubt not, but in so honest a matter as this is, he will for the safeguard of his countie soine with you, and so you may be sure of the lord Aburgaunnie & his force. Then what said; It is for another matter than for monie that we disagree, wherein he hath handled me and others herie double & vneighly; howbeit, he can do no other, neither to me, nor to anie other man, & therefore I forgive him. Item, with sir Peter Caroe, Throckmorton had conference touching the impeachment of the landing of the said prince, and touching provision of armour and munition as insuech, that is to saie, that sir Peter Caroe told Throckmorton that he trusted his countreimen would be true Englishmen, and would not agree to let the Spaniards to gouerne them. Item, the said sir Peter Caroe said, the matter importing the French king, as it did, he thought the French king would worke to hinder the Spaniards coming hither, with whom the said sir Peter did thinke good to practise for armour, munition, and monie.

Then Throckmorton did aduise him to beware that he brought anie Frenchmen into the realme forceable, inasmuch as he could as euill abide the Frenchmen after that sort as the Spaniards. And also Throckmorton thought the French king unable to giue aid to us, by meanes of the great consumption in their owne warres. Maister Caroe said; As touching the bringing in of the Frenchmen, he meant it not, for he loued neither partie, but to serue his owne countie, and to helpe his countie from bondage: declaring further to Throckmorton, that he had a small barke of his owne to worke his practise by, & so he said, that shortly he intended to depart to his owne countie, to vnderstand the deuotion of his countreimen. Item Throckmorton did saie, he would for his part hinder the coming in of the Spaniards as much as he could by persuation. Item to sir Edward Warner, he had and did becomore his owne estate, and the tyrannie of the time extended vpon diuerse honest persons for religion, and wished it were lawfull for all of eche religion to liue safely according to their conscience; for the law (*Ex officio*) will be intolerable, & the clergies discipline now maie rather be resembled to the Turkes tyrannie, than to the teaching of christian religion. This was the summe of the matter which was read in the foresaid confession, as matters most grievous against the prisoner. When Throckmorton said; Withence maister sergeant you haue read and gathered the place (as you thinke) that maketh most against me, I praie you take the pains, and read further, that hereafter what soeuer become

of me, my words be not peruerted and abused to the hurt of some others, and especiallie against the great personages, of whom I haue bene sundrie times (as appeareth by my answers) examined, for I perceiue the net was not cast onelie for little fishes, but for the great ones, *Iuxta adagium*.

It shall be but losse of time, and we haue other things to charge you withall, and this that you desire doth make nothing for you.

And for the better confirmation of all the treasons obiected against the prisoner, and therein to proue him guiltie, you of the iurie shall heare the duke of Suffolks depositions against him, who was a principall, and hath suffered accordingly. When the said sergeant read the dukes confession touching the prisoner, amounting to this effect, that the lord Thomas Greie did informe the said duke, that sir Nicholas Throckmorton was priue to the whole deuises against the Spaniards, & was one that should go into the west countie with the erle of Denonshire.]

But what doth the principall authour of this matter saie against me, I meane the lord Thomas Greie who is yet liuing? Why be not his depositions brought against me, for so it ought to be, if he can saie anie thing? Will you know the truth? Neither the lord Thomas Greie hath said, can saie, or will saie anie thing against me, notwithstanding the duke his brothers confession and accusation, who hath affirmed manie other things besides the truth. I speake not without certeine knowledge: for the lord Thomas Greie being my prison-fellow for a small time, informed me, that the duke his brother had misrepresented him in manie things, amongst others in matters touching me, which he had declared to you maister Southwell, and other the examiners not long ago. I am sure if the lord Thomas could, or would haue said anie thing, it should haue bene here now. And as to the dukes confession, it is not materiall: for he doth referre the matter to the lord Thomas report, who hath made my purgation.

And it please you my lords, and you my masters of the iurie, besides these matters touching what rebellion, sir Peter Caroes treasons and confederating with the duke of Suffolke, and besides the prisoners conspracie with the erle of Denonshire, with Crofts, Rogers, Warner, and sundrie others in sundrie places, it shall manifestlie appeare vnto you, that Throckmorton did conspire the queenes maiesties death, with William Thomas, sir Nicholas Arnold, and other traitors intending the same, which is the greatest matter of all others, and most to be abhorred. And for prooe hereof, you shall heare what Arnold saith. When was sir Nicholas Arnolds confession read, saing that Throckmorton shewed to him, riding betwixt Wyndham and Crosse laund in Gloucestershire, that John Fitz Williams was herie much displeased with William Thomas.

William Thomas denied, that John Fitz Williams should kill the queene, and Throckmorton knew of it, as appeareth by Arnolds confession.

First I denie that I said anie such thing to maister Arnold, and though he be an honest man, he may either forget himselfe, or deuise meanes how to vnburthen himselfe of so weightie a matter as this is; for he is charged with the matter as principall. Which I did perceiue when he charged me with his tale, and therefore I do blame him the lesse, that he seeketh how to discharge himselfe, blasing me as a witness, if he could so transference the deuise to William Thomas. But trulie I neuer spake anie such words vnto him. And for my better declaration, I did see John Fitz Williams here euen now, who can testifie, that he neuer shewed me of any displeasure betwixt them,

and as I know nothing of the displeasure betwixt them, so I know nothing of the cause: I pray you my lords let him be called to depose in this matter what he can. Then John Fitzwilliams drew to the barre, and presented himselfe to depose his knowledge in the matter in open court.

The attorne.

I praye you my lords suffer him not to be sworn, neither to speake, we haue nothing to doe with him.

Chockmoy-
ton.

Why should he not be suffered to tell truth? And why be ye not so well contented to heare truth for me as in truth against me?

Here.

Who called you hither Fitzwilliams, or commanded you to speake? You are a vertie busie officer.

Chockmoy-
ton.

I called him, and doe humble desire that he maie speake, and be heard as well as Claughan; or else I am not indifferentlie vsed, especiallie seeing maister at tourneie doth so presse this matter against me.

Southwell.

Go your waies Fitzwilliams, the court hath nothing to doe with you: peraduenture you would not be so readie in a good cause. Then John Fitzwilliams departed the court, and was not suffered to speake.

Chockmoy-
ton.

Whence this gentlemans declaration may not be admitted, I trust you of the iurie can perceiue, it was not for anie thing he had to saie against me, but contrariwise that it was feared he would speake for me. And now to maister Arnolds depositions against me, I saie I did not tell him anie such words, so as if it were materiall, there is but his yea and my naie. But because the words be not soe strained against me, I praye you maister attorneie why might not I haue told maister Arnold, that John Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas, and yet know no cause of the anger? It might be vnderstand, to disgrace oftentimes. Who doth confesse that I know anie thing of William Thomas deuisse touching the quenes death? I will answer, No man. For maister Arnold doth mention no word of that matter, but of the displeasures betwixt them. And to speake that, doth neither proue treason, nor knowledge of treason. Is here all the euidence against me that you haue to bring me within the compasse of the indictment?

Stanford.

We thinke the matters confessed by others against you, together with your owne confession, will weie therwolie. But how saie you to the rising in Kent, and to Wiliams attempt against the quens roiall person at hir palace?

Branlie.

Why doe you not read Wiliams accusation to him, which doth make him partener to his treasons?

Southwell.

What hath greuouslie accused you, and in manie things that others haue confirmed.

Chockmoy-
ton.

Whatsoeuer Wiliams hath said of me in hope of his life, he vsaid it at his death. For since I came into this hall, I heard one saie (but I know him not) that Wiliams vpon the scaffold did not onelie purge my lady Elizabeth hir grace, and the erle of Denonshire, but also all the gentlemen in the tower, saieing they were all ignorant of the strere and commotion. In which number I take my selfe.

Here.

Notwithstanding he said, all that he had writtten and confessed to the counsell, was true.

Chockmoy-
ton.

Saie sir, by your patience, maister Wiliams said not so, that was maister doctors addition.

Southwell.

It appeareth you haue had good intelligence.

Chockmoy-
ton.

Almightie God prouided that reuelation for me this daie since I came hither: for I haue bin in close prison these eight and fiftie daies, where I heard nothing but that the birds told me, which did lye ouer my head. And now to you of my iurie I speake speciallie, whome I desire to marke attentiuely what hath been said. I haue bene indicted, as it appeareth, and now am arreigned of compassing the quenes maiesties death, of leuening war against the quene,

of taking the towre of London, of deposing and de-
priving the quene of hir roiall estate, and finally to
despoile hir, and of adherence to the quenes en-
emies. Of all which treasons, to proue me guiltie, the
quens learned counsell hath giuen in euidence these
points materiall; that is to saie: for the compassing
or imagining the quenes death, and the destruction
of hir roiall person, sir Nicholas Arnolds depositi-
ons, which is, that I should saie to the said sir Ni-
cholas in Glocestershire, that maister John Fitz-
williams was angrie with William Thomas.

Whereunto I haue answered, as you haue heard,
both denieng the matter: and for the proue on my
side, doe take exceptions, because there is no witnesse
but one. And neuerthelesse, though it were gran-
ted, the depositions proue nothing concerning the
quenes death. For leuening of warre against the
quene, there is alleged my conference with sir Tho-
mas Wiliams, sir James Cross, sir Edward Rogers,
sir Edward Warner. Against the marriage with
Spaine, and the coming of the Spaniards hither,
which talke I doe not denie in fort as I saie it, and
ment it: and notwithstanding the malicious gathe-
ring this daie of my conference, proueth yet no le-
uening of warre. There is also alleged for proue of
the same article, sir James Crosss confession, which
(as you remember) implicth no such thing, but gene-
rall talke against the marriage with Spaine. And
of my departing westward with the earle of De-
uon, which the said James doth not auow, & there-
fore I praye you consider it as not spoken. There is
also for proue of the said article, the duke of Suff-
olks confession, with whome I neuer had confe-
rence; and therefore he auouched the tale of his bro-
thers mouth, who hath made my purgation in those
matters; and yet if the matter were proued, they be
not greatlie materiall in law. There is also alleged
for the further proue of the same article, and for de-
posing and depriving the quene of hir roiall estate,
and for my adhering to the quenes enemies, Cut-
bert Claughans confession, whose testimonie I haue
sufficientlie disproued by sundrie authorities and
circumstances, and principallie by your owne law,
which doth require two lawfull and sufficient wit-
nesses to be brought face to face. Also for the taking
of the towre of London, there is alleged Wiliams
depositions, which vttereth my misliking, when he
bittered vnto me sir Thomas Wiliams resolution and
deuise for attempting of the said pace. And last of
all, to inforce these matters, mine owne confession
is ingreued against me, wherein there doth appeare
neither treason, neither concelement of treason,
neither whispering of treason, nor procurement of
treason.

And forsomuch as I am come hither to be tried by
the law, though my innocencie of all these points
materiall objected, be apparant to acquit me, where-
to I doe principallie cleaue: yet I will for your bet-
ter credit and satisfactions, shew you euidentlie,
that if you would beleue all the depositions laid a-
gainst me, which I trust you will not doe, I ought
not to be attainted of the treason compassed with-
in my indictment, considering the statute of repeale
the last parlement, of all treasons, other than such
as be declared in the fine and twentieth yeare of king
Edward the third, both which statutes, I pray you
my lords, maie be read here to the inquest.

So sir, there shall be no booke brought at your
desire, we doe all know the law sufficientlie without
booke.

Doe you bring me hither to trie me by the law, &
will not shew me the law? What is your knowledge
of the law to these mens satisfactions, which haue my
triall in hand? I praye you my lords, and my lords
all,

Stanford.

Chockmoy-
ton.

Here.

Chockmoy-
ton.

Branlie.

Here.

Cholmole.

The attorne.

Branlie.

Chockmoy-
ton.Chockmoy-
ton.

all, let the statutes be read, as well for the queene, as for me.

My lord chiefe iustice can shew the law, and will, if the iurie do doubt of anie point.

You know it were indifferent that I should know and heare the law whereby I am adiudged, and for asmuch as the statute is in English, men of meaner learning than the iustices can vnderstand it, or els how should we know when we offend?

You know not what belongeth to your case, and therefore we must teach you: it apperteineth not to vs to prouide bookes for you, neither sit we here to be taught of you, you should haue taken better heed to the law before you had come hither.

Because I am ignorant, I would learne, and therefore I haue more need to see the law, and partlye as well for the instructions of the iurie, as for my own satisfaction, which mee thinke were for the honor of this p'sence. And now if it please you my lord chiefe iustice, I do direct my speeche speciallie to you. What time it pleased the queenes maiestie, to call you to this honorable office, I did learne of a great personage of hir highnesse priuie counsell, that amongst other good instructions, hir maiestie charged and intained you to minister the law and iustice indifferently without respect of persons. And notwithstanding the old error amongst you, which did not admit anie witness to speake, or anie other matter to be heard in the fauor of the aduersarie, hir maiestie being partie; hir highnesse pleasure was, that whatsoeuer could be brought in the fauor of the subiect, should be admitted to be heard. And moreover, that you speciallie, & likewise all other iustices, should not perswade themselves to sit in iudgement otherwise for hir highnesse, than for hir subiect. Therefore this manner of indifferent proceeding being principally intained by Gods commandement, which I had thought partlye to haue remembred you & others here in commission, in the beginning, if I might haue had leaue; and the same also being commanded you by the queens owne mouth: me thinke you ought of right to suffer me to haue the statutes read openly, and also to reiect nothing that could be spoken in my defense; and in thus doing, you shall shew your feloes whowhie ministers, and sit for so worthie a mistresse.

You mistake the matter, the queene spake those words to maister Hogan chiefe iustice of the common p'les: but you haue no cause to complaine, for you haue bene suffered to talke at your pleasure.

What would you do with the statute booke? The iurie doth not require it, they haue heard the evidence, and they must vpon their conscience trie whether you be guiltie or no, so as the booke needeth not; if they will not credit the evidence so apparant, then they know not what they haue to do.

You ought not to haue anie books read here at your appointment, for where doth arise anie doubt in the law, the iudges sit here to informe the court, and now you do but spend time.

I pray you my lord chiefe iustice repeat the evidence for the queene, and giue the iurie their charge, for the p'son will keepe you here all daie.

How saie you? Haue you anie more to saie for your selfe?

You seme to giue and offer me the law, but in verie deed I haue onelie the forme and image of the law: neuertheless, sith I cannot be suffered to haue the statutes red openly in the booke, I will by your patience gesse at them as I maie, and I praise you to helpe me if I mistake, for it is long since I did see them. The statute of repeale made the last parliament, hath these words: Be it enacted by the queene, that from henceforth none act, deed, or offense, be-

ing by act of parliament or statute made treason, petit treason, or misprision of treason, by words, writing, printing, ciphering, deeds, or other wise whatsoeuer, shall be taken, had, deemed, or adiudged treason, petit treason: but onelie such as be declared or expessed to be treason, in or by an act of parliament made in the five and twentieth yeare of Edward the third, touching and concerning treasons, and the declaration of treasons, and none other. Here may you see, this statute doth referre all the offenses aforesaid, to the statute of the five and twentieth yeare of Edward the third, which statute hath these words touching and concerning the treasons that I am indicted and arraigned of, that is to saie: Whosoever doth compasse or imagine the death of the king, or leue warre against the king in his realme, or being adherent to the kings enemies within this realme, or elsewhere, and be thereof probable attainted by open deed by people of their condition; shall be adiudged a traitor. Now I praise you of my turle which haue my life in triall, note well what things at this daie be treasons, and how these treasons must be tried and decerned; that is to say, by open deed, which the lawes doth at some time terme (Ouert act). And now I aske notwithstanding my indictment, which is but matter alleged, where doth appeare the open deed of anie compassing or imagining the queens death? Where doth appeare anie open deed of being adherent to the queens enemies, giuing to them aid and comfort? Where doth appeare anie open deed of taking the tower of London?

Why do not you of the queenes learned council answer him? He thinke, Throckmorton, you need not haue the statutes, for you haue them metelie perfectlie.

You are deceiued to conclude all treasons in the statute of the five and twentieth yeare of Edward the third; for that statute is but a declaration of certein treasons, which were treasons before at the common law. Euen so there doth remaine diuerse other treasons at this daie at the common law, which be expessed by that statute, as the iudges can declare. Neuertheless, there is matter sufficient alleged and proued against you, to bring you within the compasse of the same statute.

I praise you expresse those matters that bring me within the compasse of the statute of Edward the third. For the words be these: And be thereof attainted by open deed: By people of like condition.

Throckmorton you deceiue your selfe, and mistake these words: By people of their condition. For thereby the law doth vnderstand the discovering of your treasons. As for example: What and the other rebels, attainted for their great treasons, already declare you to be his and their adherent, in as much as diuerse & sundrie times you had conference with him and them about the treason, so as What is now one of your condition, who (as all the world knoweth) hath committed an open traitorous fact.

By your leaue my lord, this is a verie strange and singular vnderstanding. For I suppose the meaning of the law-makers did vnderstand these words: By people of their condition; of the state and condition of those persons which should be on the inquest to trie the partie arraigned, guiltie or not guiltie, and nothing to the betwixt of the offense by another mans act, as you saie. For what haue I to do with Whats acts, that was not nigh him by one hundred miles?

Will you take vpon you to skill better of the law than the iudges? I doubt not but you of the iurie will credit as it becommeth you.

Concerning the true vnderstanding of these words:

Bromfield.

Stanford.

Throckmorton.

Bromfield.

Throckmorton.

The attorney.

Cholmley.

words: By people of their condition, my lord chiefe iustice here hath declared the truth, for What was one of your condition, that is to saie, of your conspircie.

Hare.

You do not denie, Throckmorton, but that there hath bene conference and sending betwene What and you: and he and Winter doth confesse the same, with others, so as it is plaine; What may be called one of your condition.

Throckmorton.

Well, seeing you my iudges rule the vnderstanding of these words in the statute, by people of your condition, thus stranglie against me: I will not stand longer vpon them. But where doth appere in me an open deed whereunto the treason is speciallie referred?

Somers.

If these or foure do talke, deuise, and conspire together of a traitorous act to be done, and afterwards one of them doth commit treason, as What did, then the law doth repute them, and euerie of them as their acts, so as Whats acts do implice and argue of your open deed: and so the law doth terme it and take it.

Throckmorton.

These be marvellous expositions and wonderfull implications, that another mans act whereof I was not partie, should be accounted mine: for What did purge me that I knew nothing of his stirre.

Hare.

Yea sir, but you were a principall procurer and contriuer of Whats rebellion, though you were not with him when he made the stirre. And as my lord here hath said, the law alwaies doth adudge him a traitor, which was partie, and doth procure treason, or anie other man to commit treason, or a traitorous act, as you did What and others: for so the *Ouert act* of those which did it by your procurement, shall in this case be accounted your open deed. We haue a common case in the law, if one by procurement should disseize you of your land, the law holdeth vs both wrong doers, & giueth remedie as well against the one as the other.

Throckmorton.

For Gods sake applie not such constructions against me, and though my present estate doth not moue you, yet it were well you should consider your office, and thinke what measure you giue to others, you your selues I saie shall assuredlie receiue the same againe. The state of mortall life is such, that men know full little what hangeth ouer them. I put on within these xij. moneths such a mind, that I most wooll wight was as vnlike to stand here, as some of you that sit there. As to your case last recited, whereby you would conclude; I haue remembred and learned of you maister Hare, and you maister Stanfords in the parlement house, where you did sit to make lawes, to expound and explaine the ambiguities and doubts of law sincerelie, and that without affectations. There I saie I learned of you, and others my maisters of the law, this difference betwixt such cases as you remembred one euen now, and the statute whereby I am to be tried. There is a maxime or principle in the law, which ought not to be violated, that no penall statute maie, ought, or should be construed, expounded, extended, or wrested, otherwise than the simple words and nude letter of the same statute doth warrant and signifie. And amongst diuerse good and notable reasons by you there in the parlement house debated (maister sergeant Stanfords) I noted this one, whie the said maxime ought to be inuolable. You said, considering the priuate affectations manie times both of princes and ministers within this realme, for that they were men, and would and could erre, it should be no securitie, but verie dangerous to the subiect, to refer the construction and extending of penall statutes to anie iudges equitie (as you termed it) which might either by feare of the higher powers be seduced, or by

ignorance and follie abused: and that is an answer by procurement.

Notwithstanding the principall (as you alledge it) and the presencie of your sticking to the bare words of the statute, it doth appere and remaine of record in our learning, that diuerse cases haue bene adjudged treason, without the expresse words of the statute, as the queenes learned counsell there can declare.

It doth appere the prisoner did not onelie intefire procure What, Caro, Rogers, and others, to commit their traitorous act, and there doth his open facts appere, which Laughans confession doth witnesse, but also he did mind thortlie after to allocate himselfe with those traitors; for he minded to haue departed with the earle of Devonshire westward.

By innocencie concerning these matters I trust sufficientlie appereth by my former answers, notwithstanding the condemned mans vniust accusation. But because the true vnderstanding of the statute is in question, I saie procurement, and speciallie by words onelie, is without the compasse of it, and that I do learne and proue by the principle which I learned of maister Stanfords.

Passer Throckmorton, You and I maie not agree this date in the vnderstanding of the law, for I am for the queene, and you are for your selfe; the iudges must determine the matter.

He that doth procure another man to commit a felonie or a murther, I am sure you know well enough the law doth adudge the procurer there a felon or a murtherer; and in case of treason it hath bene alwaies so taken and reputed.

I do and must cleaue to my innocencie, for I procured no man to commit treason: but yet for my learning I desire to heare some case so ruled when the law was as it is now. I do confesse it, that at such time there were statutes poulded for the procurer, counsellor, aider, abetter, and such like, as there were in king Henrie the eighths time; you might lawfully make this cruell construction, and bing the procurer within the compasse of the law. But these statutes being repealed, you ought not now so to do: and as to the principall procurer in felonie and murther, it is not like as in treason; for the principall and accessories in felonie and murther be triable and punishable by the common law: and so in those cases the iudges maie vse their equitie, extending the determination of the fault as they thinke good: but in treason it is otherwise, the same being limited by statute, which I saie and aboue is restrained from anie iudges construction, by the maxime that I recited.

Your lordships do know a case in Richard the thirds time, where the procurer, to counterfeit false monie, was iudged a traitor, and the law was as it is now.

Passer sergeant doth remember you Throckmorton of an experience before our time, that the law hath bene so taken: and yet the procurer was not expresse in the statute, but the law hath bene alwaies so taken.

I neuer studied the law, whereof I do much repent me: yet I remember, whilest penall statutes were talked of in the parlement house, you the learned men of the house remembred some cases contrary to this last spoken of. And if I misreport them, I prae you helpe me. In the like case you speake of concerning the procurer to counterfeit false monie; at one time the procurer was iudged a felon, and at another time neither felon nor traitor: so as some of your predecessours adjudged the procurer no traitor in the same case, but leane to their principall, though some other extend their constructions to large. And here is two cases with me, for one against me.

Somers.

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e Chockmo.
e, ton.
e
e
e
e

e Stanfoz.
e
e

e Promie.
e
e

e Chockmo.
e, ton.

e Haple for
e Chockmo.
e, ton that those
e, statutes flow
e, then repeated.

e Stanfoz.

e Here.

e Chockmo.
e, ton.

Stanlie.

Chockmo.

Stanlie.

Chockmo.

Stanlie.

Chockmo.

Chockmo.

Stanlie.

Chockmo.

Chockmo.

Stanlie.

Here.

Because you replie vpon the principall, I will remember where one taking the great seale of England from one writing, and putting it to another, was aduoged a traitor; in Henrie the fourths time, and yet his act was not within the expresse words of the statute of Edward the third. There be diuerse other such like cases that maie be alledged and need were.

I prae you my lord chiefe iustice call to your god remembrance, that in the selfe same case of the seale, iustice Spilman, a graue & well learned man, since that time, would not condemne the offendor, but did reproue that former iudgement by you last remembered, as erroneous.

If I had thought you had bene so well furnished in booke cases, I would haue bene better provided for you.

I haue nothing but I learned of you speciallie maister sergeant, and of others my maisters of the law in the parlement house, & therefore I maie saie with the prophet (*Salutem ex inimicis nostris.*)

You haue a verie good memoie.

If the prisoner maie auoid his treasons after this manner, the queenes suretie shall be in great ieopardie. For Iacke Cade the blacke smith, and diuerse other traitors, sometime alledging the law for them, sometime they meant no harme to the king, but against his counsell, as What, the duke of Suffolke, and these did against the Spaniards, when there was no Spaniards within the realme. The duke and his brethren did misake the law, as you do: yet at length did confesse their ignorance, and submitted themselves: and so were you best to do.

As to Cade and the blacke smith, I am not so well acquainted with their treasons as you be: but I haue read in the chronicle, they were in the field with a force against the prince, whereby a manifest act did appere. As to the duke of Suffolkes doings, they apperteine not to me. And though you would compare my speeche and talke against the Spaniards to the dukes acts, who assembled a force in armes, it is euident they differ much. I am lozie to ingreue anie other mans doings, but it seruethe me for a peece of my defense, and therefore I wish that no man should gather euill of it; God forbid that words and acts be thus confounded.

Sir William Stanleie bled this thist that the prisoner bledh now; he said he did not leue warre against king Henrie the seauenth, but said to the duke of Buckingham, that in a good quarrell he would aid him with five hundred men; and neuertheless Stanleie was for those words atteined, who (as all the world knoweth) had before that time serued the king verie faithfullie and trulie.

I prae you maister attorneie do not conclude against me by blind contraries. Whether you alledge Stanlies case trulie or no, I know not. But admit it be as you saie, what doth this proue against me? I promised no aid to maister What nor to anie other. The duke of Buckingham leuied warre against the king, with whome Stanleie was confederat so to do as you saie.

I prae you my lords that be the queens commisioners, suffer not the prisoner to vse the queenes learned counsell thus, I was neuer interrupted thus in my life, nor I neuer knew anie thus suffered to talke, as this prisoner is suffered; some of vs will come no more at the barre & we be thus handled.

Chockmo:ton you must suffer the queenes learned counsell to speake, or else we must take order with you, you haue had leaue to talke at your pleasure.

It is proued that you did talke with What, against the comming of the Spaniards, and deuised

to interrupt their arrivall: and you promised to do what you could against them: whereupon What being incogaged by you, did leue a force, and attempted warre against the queenes roiall person.

It was no treason nor no procurement of treason, to talke against the comming hither of the Spaniards, neither was it treason for me to saie I would hinder their comming hither as much as I could (vnderstanding me rightlie as I meane it) yea though you would extend it to the worst, it was but words, it was not treason at this daie as the law standeth. And as for Whats doing, they touch me nothing; for at his death when, it was no time to report vntreulie, he purged me.

By sundrie cases remembred here by the queenes learned counsell (as you haue heard) that procurement which did appeare none otherwise but by words and those you would make nothing, hath bene of long time, and by sundrie well learned men in the lawes aduoged treason. And therefore, your procurement being so euident as it is, we maie lawfullie saie it was treason, because What performed a traitorous act.

As to the said alleaged forepresidents against me, I haue recited as manie for me, and I would you my lord chiefe iustice should incline your iudgments rather after the example of your honourable predecessors, iustice Sparham, and others, which did elchue corrupt iudgements, iudging directlie and sincerelie, after the law & the principles in the same, than after such men as swaruing from the truth, the marine, and the law, did iudge corruptlie, malicionlie, and affectionatlie.

Iustice Sparham had reason to warrant his doings: for it did appeare, a merchant of London was arraigned and slanderouslie accused of treason for compassing and imagining the kings death, he did saie he would make his sonne heire of the crowne, and the merchant meant it of a house in Cheapside at the signe of the crowne, but your case is not so.

My case doth differ I grant, but speciallie because I haue not such a iudge: yet there is an other cause to restraine these your strange and extraordinary constructions: that is to saie, a prouiso in the latter end of the statute of Edward the third, hauing these words: Prouided alwaies, if anie other case of supposed treason shall chance hereafter to come in question or trial before anie iustice, other than is in the said statute expessed, that then the iustice shall beare to adiudge the said case, vntill it be shewed to the parlement to trie whether it should be treason or felonie. Here you are restrained by expresse words to adiudge anie case, that is not manifestlie mentioned before, and vntill it be shewed to the parlement.

That prouiso is vnderstood of cases that maie come in trial which hath bene in vze, but the law hath alwaies taken the procurer to be a principall offendor.

The law alwaies in cases of treason doth account all principals and no accessories as in other offenses, and therefore a man offending in treason, either by conert act or procurement, whereupon an open deed hath ensued, as in this case, is adiudged by the law a principall traitor.

You adiudge (me thinke) procurement verie hardlie, besides the principall, and besides the god prouisor, and besides the god example of your best and most godlie learned predecessors, the iudges of the realme, as I haue partlie declared, and notwithstanding this grienous racking & extending of this word procurement, I am not in the danger of it, for it doth appeare by no deposition that I procured neither one or other to attempt anie act.

The iurie haue to trie whether it be so or no, let it

Chockmo:ton.

Promie.

Chockmo:ton.

Promie.

Chockmo:ton.

Wirtman.

Sanders.

Chockmo:ton.

Stanfoz.

Here.

weie as it will.

I knowe no meane so apparant to trie procurement as by words, & that meane is probable inough against you, as well by your owne confession, as by other mens depositions.

Throckmorton.

To talke of the queenes marriage with the prince of Spaine, and also the comming hither of the Spaniards, is not to procure treason to be done: for then the whole parlement house, I meane the common house did procure treason. But sith you will make no difference betwixt words and acts, I praye you remember a statute made in my late soueraigne lord and masters time, king Edward the first, which apparantlie expresse the difference. These be the words: Whosoever doth compass or imagine to depose the king of his roiall estate by open preaching, expresse words or sayings, shall for the first offense lose and forfeit to the king all his and their goods and cattels, and also shall suffer imprisonment of their bodies at the kings will and pleasure. Whosoever, &c: for the second offense shall lose & forfeit to the king the whole issues and profits of all his or their lands, tenements and other hereditaments, benefices, prebends, and other spirituall promotions. Whosoever, &c: for the third offense, shall for tearme of life or liues of such offenders or offenders, &c: and shall also forfeit to the kings maiestie, all his or their goods and cattels, and suffer during his or their liues perpetuall imprisonment of his or their bodies. But whosoever, &c: by writing, ciphering, or act, &c: shall for the first offense be adjudged a traitor, and suffer the paines of death. Here you maie perceiue how the whole realme and all your iudgements hath before this understood words and acts diuerselie and apparantlie. And therefore the iudgements of the parlement did assigne diuersitie of punishments, because they would not confound the true understanding of words & deeds, appointing for compassing and imagining by word, imprisonment: and for compassing and imagining by open deed, paines of death.

Bromley.

It is agreed by the whole bench, that the procurer and the adherent be deemed alwaies traitors, when as a traitorous act was committed by anie one of the same conspiracie: and there is apparant prooffe of your adhering to What, both by your owne confession and other waies.

Throckmorton.

Adhering and procuring be not all one, for the statute of Edward the third doth speake of adhering, but not of procuring; & yet adhering ought not to be further extended, than to the queenes enemies within his realme, for so the statute doth limit the understanding. And What was not the queenes enemy, for he was not so reputed when I talked with him last, and our speech implied no enemy, neither tended to anie treason, or procuring of treason: and therefore I praye you of the iurie note, though I argue the law, I alleage mine innocencie, as the best part of my defense.

Here.

Your adhering to the queenes enemies within the realme, is euidentlie proued: for What was the queenes enemy within the realme, as the whole realme knoweth it, and he hath confessed it both at his arraignment and at his death.

Throckmorton.

By your leaue, neither What at his arraignment nor at his death, did confesse that he was the queenes enemy when I talked last with him; neither was he reputed nor taken in fouretene daies after, vntill he assembled a force in armes, what time I was at your house master Englefield, where I learned the first intelligence of Whats stirre. And I aske you who doth depose that there passed anie manner of aduertisement betwixt What and me, after he had discovered his doings, and shewed himselfe an enemy? If I had bene so disposed, who did let me that I did

not repaire to What, or to send to him, or to the duke of Suffolke either, who was in mine owne countrie, and thither I might haue gone and conueied my selfe with him, unsuspected for my departing homewards.

It is true that you were there at my house, accompanied with others your brethren, and to my knowledge, ignorant of these matters.

Throckmorton, you confessed you talked with What and others against the comming of the Spaniards, and of the taking of the tower of London, whereupon What leuied a force of men against the Spaniards he said, and so you saie all: but in deed it was against the queene, which he confessed at length: therefore Whats acts doe proue you counsellor and procurer, howsoever you would auoid the matter.

Why thinke you would conclude against me with a mishapen argument in logike, and you will giue me leaue, I will make an other.

The iudges sit not here to make disputations, but to declare the law, which hath bene sufficientlie done, if you would consider it.

You haue heard reason and the law, if you will conceiue it.

O mercifull God, o eternall father, which seest all things, what maner of proceedings are these: To what purpose serueth the statute of repeale the last parlement, where I heard some of you here present, and diuerse other of the queenes learned counsell,

griuenouslie inuade against the cruell & bloudie lawes of king Henrie the eight, and against some lawes made in my late soueraigne lord and masters time, king Edward the first. Some termed the m Dacos lawes, which were written in bloud: some said they were more intollerable than anie lawes that Dionysius or anie other tyrant made. In conclusion, as manie men, so manie bitter tearmes and names those lawes had. And moreover, the preface of the same statute doth recite, that for words onelie, manie great personages, and others of god behauiour, haue bene most cruellie cast auaie by these former sanguinolent thirstie lawes, with manie other suggestions for the repeale of the same. And now let vs put on indifferent eies, and thoughtlie consider with our selues, as you the iudges handle the constructions of the statute of Edward the third, with your equitie and extentions, whether we be not in much worse case now than we were when those cruell lawes yoked vs. These lawes albeit they were grievous

and captious, yet they had the verie proprietie of a law after saint Paules description. For those lawes did admonish vs, and discover our finnes plainelie vnto vs, & when a man is warned, he is halfe armed. These lawes, as they be handled, be verie baits to catch vs, & onlie prepared for the same, and no lawes: for at the first sight they ascertaine vs we be deliuered from our old bondage, and by the late repeale the last parlement, we liue in more securitie. But when it pleaseth the higher powers to call anie mans life

and sayings in question, then there be constructions, interpretations, and extentions referred to the iudges and iudges equitie, that the partie triable, as I am now, shall find himselfe in much worse case than before when those cruell lawes stood in force. Thus our amendment is from Gods blessing into the swarme sunne. But I require you honest men which are to trie my life, consider these opinions of my life, iudges be rather agreeable to the time, than to the truth: for their iudgements be repugnant to their owne principle, repugnant to their godlie and best learned predecessors opinions, repugnant I saie to the prouiso in the statute of repeale made in the last parlement.

After Throckmorton quiet your selfe, and if the attorney shall

shall be the better for you.

Spaſter attorneie, I am not ſo inquiſet as you be, and yet our caſes are not alike: but bicauſe I am ſo tedious to you, and haue long troubled this preſence, it maie pleaſe my lord chiefe iuſtice to repeat the euidence wherewith I am charged, and my anſwers to all the obiections, if there be no other matter to laie againſt me.

¶ Then the chiefe iuſtice remembred particularlie all the depoſitions and euidences giuen againſt the priſoner, and either for want of good memorie, or good will, the priſoners anſwers were in part not recited: whereupon the priſoner craued indifferencie, and did helpe the iudges old memorie with his owne recitall.]

¶ My maſters of the iurie, you haue to inquiſe whether ſir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, here priſoner at the barre, be giltye of theſe treaſons, or anie of them, whereof he hath bene indicted and this daie arraigned, yea or no. And if you find him giltye, you ſhall inquire what lands, tenements, goods, and catels he had at the daie of his treaſons committed, or at anie time ſince: and whether he fled for the treaſons or no, if you find him not giltye.

¶ Haue you ſaid what is to be ſaid?

¶ Yea for this time.

¶ Then I praye you giue me leaue to ſpeake a few words to the iurie. The weight and grauitie of my cauſe hath greatlye occaſioned me to trouble you here long, and therefore I mind not to intertaine you here long, with anie prolix oration: you perceiue not withſtanding this daie great contention betwixt the iudges and the queenes learned counsell on the one partie, and me the poore and wofull priſoner on the other partie. The trial of our whole controuerſie, the trial of my innocencie, the trial of my life, lands, and goods, and the deſtruction of my poſteritie for euer, doth reſt in your good iudgements. And albe it manie this daie haue greatlye inueted againſt me, the finall determination thereof is transferred onely to you. How grieuous & horrible the ſhedding of innocents blood is in the ſight of almighty God, I truſt you do remember. Therefore take heed (I ſaie) for Chriſts ſake, do not deſile your conſciences with ſuch heinous & notable crimes. They be grieuouslie and terrible puniſhed, as in this world and bale of miſerie vpon the childrens children to the third and fourth generation, and in the world to come with euerlaſting fire and damnation. Liſt by your minds to God, and care not too much for the world, loke not backe to the ſhepots of Aegypt, which will allure you from heauenlie reſpects, to worldly ſecuritie, and can thereof neither make you anie ſuertie. Well ſaie I praye you, the queene and hir magiſtrats be more delighted with favourable equitie, than with raſh crueltie. And in that you be all citizens, I will take my leaue of you with S. Paules farewell to the Cyphians, citizens alſo you be, whom he toke to record that he was pure from ſhedding anie blood, a ſpeciall token & doctrine left for your inſtruction, that currie of you maie waſh his hands of innocents blood ſhed, when you ſhall take your leaue of this wretched world. The holie ghoſt be amongeſt you.

¶ Come hither ſergeant, take the iurie with you, and ſuffer no man to come at them, but to be ordered as the law appointeth, untill they be agreed vpon their verdict.

¶ It may pleaſe you my lords and maſters which be commiſſioners, to giue order that no perſon haue acceſſe or conference with the iurie, neither that any of the queenes learned counsell be ſuffered to reſpice to them, or to talke with anie of them, untill they preſent themſelues here in open court, to pub-

liſh their verdict.

¶ Upon the priſoners ſute on this behalfe, the bench gaue order that two ſergeants were ſworne to ſuffer no man to reſpice to the iurie, untill they were agreed according vnto order. Whereupon then the priſoner was by commandement of the bench withdrauone from the barre, and the court adourned untill three of the clocke at afternone, at which houre the commiſſioners returned to the Guildhall, and there did tarie untill the iurie were agreed vpon the verdict. And about five of the clocke, their agreement being aduertised to the commiſſioners, the ſaid priſoner, ſir Nicholas Throckmorton was againe brought to the barre, where alſo the iurie did tarie; and being demanded whether they were agreed vpon their verdict, answered vniuerſallie with one voice, Yea. Then it was asked who ſhould ſpeake for them: they answered, Whetſon the foreman.]

¶ Nicholas Throckmorton knight, hold vp thy hand, when the priſoner did ſo vpon the ſummons.

¶ You that be of the iurie, loke vpon the priſoner.

¶ The iurie did as they were inſoined.

¶ How ſaie you, is maſter Throckmorton knight here priſoner at the bar, giltye of the treaſons whereof he hath bene indicted and arraigned in maner and forme, yea or no?

¶ No.

¶ How ſaie you, did he ſie vpon them?

¶ No, we find no ſuch thing.

¶ I had forgotten to anſwer that queſtion before, but you haue found according to truſth: and for the better warrantie of your doings, vnderſtand that I came to London, and ſo to the queenes counsell brought, when I vnderſtood they demanded for me: & yet I was almoſt an hundred miles hence, where if I had not preſumed vpon my truſth, I could haue withdrauone my ſelfe from catching.

¶ How ſaie you the reſt of you, is Whetſons verdict all your verdicts?

¶ The whole inqueſt answered Yea.

¶ Remember your ſelues better, haue you conſidered ſubſtantially the whole euidence in ſort as it was declared & recited; the matter doth touch the queenes highneſſe, and your ſelues alſo, take good heed what you do.

¶ My lord, we haue thoughtlie conſidered the euidence laide againſt the priſoner, and his anſwers to all theſe matters, and accordinglie we haue found him not giltye agreeable to all our conſciences.

¶ If you haue done well, it is the better for you.

¶ It is better to be tried, than to liue ſuſpected. Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſrael, for he hath viſited and redeemed his people, and hath raiſed vp a mighty ſaluation for vs in the houſe of his ſeruant Dauid. And it may pleaſe you my lord chiefe iuſtice, ſo farre much as I haue bene indicted and arraigned of ſundry treaſons, and haue according to the law put my trial to God and my countrie, that is to ſaie, to theſe honeſt men which haue found me not giltye, I humbly beſeech you to giue me ſuch benefit, acquittall and iudgement, as the law in this caſe doth appoint.

¶ When the priſoner had ſaid theſe words the commiſſioners conſulted together.]

¶ Gaue it pleaſe you my lord chiefe iuſtice to pronounce ſentence for my diſcharge?

¶ Whereas you do aſke the benefit that the law in ſuch caſe doth appoint, I will giue it you; to wit, that there you haue bene indicted of ſundry high treaſons, & haue bene here this daie before the queenes commiſſioners and iuſtices arraigned of the ſaid treaſons, where vnto you haue pleaded not giltye, and haue for trial therein put your ſelfe on God & your countrie, and they haue found you not giltye, the court doth aſſaue that you be clarkie diſcharged, pat-

Sendall.
Throckmorton.
Sendall.
Jurie.
Sendall.

Whetſon.
Sendall.
Whetſon.
Throckmorton.

Bromlicie.
Jurie.
Bromlicie.

Whetſon.

Bromlicie.
Throckmorton.

Throckmorton.

Bromlicie.

Engleſh.

Bromlicie.

Throckmorton.

Standford.

Here.

Throckmorton.

The attorneie.

eng your sees. Notwithstanding master lieutenant take him with you againe, for there are other matters to charge him withall.

The hockmorton
toll.

It maie please you my lords & masters of the M. highnesse priuie counsell, to be on my behalfe humble sutoys to hir maiestie, that like as the law this daie (God be praised) hath purged me of the treasons wherewith I was most dangerouslie charged: so it might please hir excellent maiestie to purge me in hir priuat iudgement, and both forgive & forget my o-
10 nerrash boldnesse, that I bled in talke of hir highnes marriage with the prince of Spaine, matters so far above my capacitie, and I verie unable to consider the granitie thereof, a matter impertinent for me a priuat person to talk: of, which did appertine to hir highnesse priuie counsell to haue in deliberation. And if it shall please hir highnesse of hir bountifull liberality, to remit my former oversights, I shall thinke my selfe happy for triall of the danger that I haue this daie escaped, and maie thereby admonish me to eschue things about my reach, and also to instruct me to deale with matters agreeable to my voca-
20 tion. And God saue the queens maiestie, and grant the same long to reigne ouer vs. And the same Lord be praised for you the magistrats, before whom I haue had my triall this daie indifferentlie by the law, and you haue proceeded with me accordinglie: & the grace of God be amongst you now and ever. ¶ There was no answer made by anie of the bench to the prisoners lute, but the attornie did speake these words.]

The attornie.

And it please you my lords, forsomuch as it seemeth these men of the iurie, which haue strangelie acquited the prisoner of his treasons wherof he was indicted, will forthwith depart the court, I praie you for the queene, that they, and euerie of them maie be bound in a recognisance of five hundred pounds a pece, to answer to such matters as they shall be charged with in the queenes behalfe, whensoever they shall be charged or called.

Whetison.

I praie you my lords be good to vs, and let vs not be molested for discharging our consciences trulie. We be poore merchantmen, and haue great charge vpon our hands, & our liuings do depend vpon our trauels, therefore it maie please you to appoint vs a certeine day for our appearance, for perhaps some of vs maie be in forren parties about our businesse.

¶ Thus much for sir Nicholas Hockmorton's ar-
reignement, wherein is to be considered, that the re-
pealing of certeine statutes in the last parlement,
was the chiefe matter he had to alledge for his ad-
uantage: whereas the repealing of the same sta-
tutes was meant notwithstanding for an other pur-
pose (as before you haue partly heard) which statutes,
or the effect of the chiefe branches of them haue bene
since that time againe reuiued, as by the booke of
the statutes it maie better appeare, to the which I re-
ferre the reader. ¶ The eight and twentieth of Aprill, the
lord Thomas Greie, brother to the duke of Suffolke,
was beheaded at the tower hill, a proper gentleman,
and one that had serued right valiantlie both in
France and Scotland, in the daies of the late kings
Henrie and Edward.

The lord
Tho. Greie
beheaded.

¶ Upon saturdaye the eight and twentieth of Aprill,
sir James Cross and maister William Winter
were brought from the tower to the Guildhall in
London, where sir James Cross was arraigned:
but because the daie was farre spent, maister Win-
ter was not arraigned, but caried backe againe to
the tower with the said sir James Cross. William
Thomas, of whome mention is made before in the
hystorie of sir Thomas Wyatt, with certeine other,
were arraigned and condemned for the conspiring
of the murder and killing of the queene vpon the sub-

William Tho-
mas arraigned
& condemned.

den: and for that offense, the said William Thomas
was the eighteenth daie of Aprill, beheaded, hanged,
and quartered at Tyburne. The nineteenth daie of
Aprill next following, the ladie Elizabeth sister to
queene Marie, was deliuered out of the tower, and
committed to the custodie of sir John Williams
knight, afterward lord Williams of Tame, by
whome hir grace was more courteously intreated
than some would haue wished. ¶ Therefore shortly
after she was committed to the manour of Wood-
stocke, vnder the custodie of sir Henrie Wening-
field of Wrenborough in the countie of Suffolke,
knight, at whose hands she found not the like courte-
sie, who (as it is well knowne) bled his office more
like a gailor than a gentleman, and with such rigour
as was not meet to be shewed to such an estate, which
extremite of crueltie to a person of great dignitie
notwithstanding hir innocencie, is verie well noted
by C. O. in Eirenarchia siue Elisabetha, where he saith:

odio quoque tenditur acris
Suspicio vehemens in te clarissima princeps
Elisabetha, capitis, tuum: quod vixit insons,
Quodq; animi candor culpa noxia remotus
Hactenus inuidie remittens hebetavit ocellos,
Ab limore tumens sacer obliuiscitur ordo.
Implacata cohors spumante exasuat ira
Furoris eiusdem, donec custodibus agna
(Arcebat Deus ipse huius) committitur arctis
Asseruanda locis, vi libertatis adempta.

The ladie Elizabeth
deliuered out of
the tower.

Sir Henrie
Weningfield
knight.

The prince
of Spaine pre-
sented to
the king
England.

* Elisabetha.

The Eng-
land ballad
was met him
by James
Capistrano.

30 But here is to be noted, not so much the vnciuill
nature of the man, as the singular lenitie, and grati-
ous clemencie of that gentle and vertuous princeesse,
who afterward (as shall appeare) comming to the pos-
session of the crowne as hir rightfull inheritance,
was at that time so farre from reuenge of iniuries
receiued, that whereas diuerse princes haue requited
much lesse offenses with losse of life, the neuer tou-
ched him either with danger of life, or losse of lands
or goods, nor neuer proceeded further than to dis-
charge him of the court: which manie thought was
the thing that pleased him best. At whose departing
from hir presence, she bled onelie these words, or the
like in sense: God forgive you that is past, and we
do: and if we haue anie prisoner whome we would
haue hardlie handled and straitlie kept, then we will
send for you.

Rich, Grafton

Quem Elix-
abetha
words to
the king
field her
butcherie
her in the
time
of her
captiuitie.

The arrivall
the prince
of Spaine in
the Hampton.

¶ The nine and twentieth of Aprill, the erle of Denon-
shire was brought out of the tower at thre of the
clocke in the morning, sir Thomas Tresham knight,
50 and maister Chamberlaine of Suffolke, with cer-
teine of the gard, being appointed to attend on him
to Fordingham castell in Northamptonshire, where
he was assigned to remaine vnder custodie of the
said sir Thomas Tresham and others. ¶ On the tenth
of June, the foresaid doctor Bendleton preached at
Pauls crosse, at whome a gun was shot, the pellet
wherof went verie nere him, and light on the church
wall: but the shoter could not be found. ¶ The ele-
uenth of June the lord John Greie, brother to the
late duke of Suffolke, was arraigned at Westmin-
ster in the Kings bench, and there condemned: but
yet through the painfull trauell and diligent sute
of the ladie Greie his wife, his pardon was obtained,
and so he escaped with life, and was at length set at
libertie, as after it shall appeare.

A gun shot at
the preacher:
the pellet
hit the
pag. 110.

Anno Reg. 4.
The lord
John Greie
arraigned,
pardoned, and
released.

is receiued
the nobilitie
of lordes.

¶ The two and twentieth of June was proclama-
tion made, for bidding the shooting in handguns, and
bearing of weapons. The fifteenth of Iulie, Eliza-
beth Cross, a wench about eightene yeares old, stand-
vpon a scaffold at Pauls crosse all the sermon time,
where she confessed, that she being moued by diuerse
lewd persons thereunto, had vpon the fourteenth of
March last before passed, counterfeited certeine spea-
ches in an house without Aldersgate of London,
through

Abt. Fl. et
I. Scow. 109.
A spirit in a
small boat
without
the bridge
both prelate
and
Pauls crosse
for rebelling
the people, &c.

concerneth
the church
were the
one was
sent to
the other
to in-
forme him.

m. 1554.

la. Reg. 2.

The table of
Isabellye
lured out of
the tower.

Sir Henrie
Wentworth
knight.

"Elisabetha.

Rich. Grafton

Queene Eli-
sabetha
swore to be
mingfield his
butcherie
her in the time
of hir durance

A gun shot at
the preachers
Saw before
page 1102.
Anno Reg. 2.
The lord
John Greie
arrested,
pardoned, and
released.

Abr. Fl. ex
1. Scow. 1091.
A spirit in a
swail without
Widergate
both perished
Dawles crosse
for abusing
the people, &c.

Departure of
the prince of
Spain to
England.

His Grace
the duke of
Burgundie
came from
Spain to
England.

Arrival
of the prince
of Spain in
England.

His Grace
the duke of
Burgundie
came from
Spain to
England.

Arrival
of the prince
of Spain in
England.

through the which the people of the whole citie were
wonderfullie molested, for that all men might heare
the voice, but not see his person. Some said it was
an angell, some a voice from heauen, some the holie
ghost, &c. This was called the spirit in the wall: the
had laine whistling in a strange whistle made for that
purpose, which was giuen him by one Daakes: then
were there diuerse companions confederat with him,
which putting themselves amongst the prease, toke
vpon them to interpret what the spirit said, expres-
sing certeine seditious words against the queene, the
prince of Spaine, the masse, and confession, &c.]

But now in this meane while that these things
thus passed here in England, the prince of Spaine
prepared for his hither comming, vnto whome had
bene sent the earle of Bedford lord priuie seale, and
the lord Fitzwaters, accompanied with diuerse no-
ble men and gentlemen, who arriuing at the Cozone
in Galisia, were receiued verie honorablie. And for-
somuch as the prince was then at vale Solido, dis-
tant from thence nere hand an hundred leagues,
they were desired to staie there for their better ease,
till he might haue convenient oportunitie to repaire
thither: which neuerthelesse he could not do so sone
as he pretended to haue desire thereto, as well by
reason of the sickenesse of his sister, the princes Do-
wager of Portugall, as by other weightie affaires.
But being at length rid of such incumbers, & come
into Galisia, the English ambassadors met him at
saint James de Compostella. And after he had in
presence of a great number of noble men and gen-
tlemen there ratified the contract, and sware to ob-
serue the covenant, he departed towards Cozone,
where within a few daies after he imbarked, and ac-
companyed with the number of an hundred and fiftie
saile, directed his course toward England.

The lord admerall hauing continuallie bene a-
broad on the seas for the space of thre moneths or
more, with a nauie of eight and twentie ships and o-
ther vessels, accompanied also with the viceadme-
rall of the low countreies, that had vnder his gouer-
nance fourtene ships of the emperours, met with
the said prince the nineteenth of Iulie, about the
Fledles, and from thence accompanied him vnto
Southampton, where he arriued the next morn-
ing after the twentieth of Iulie, the earle of Arundell lord tre-
surer of the queens house being sent from him to pre-
sent to him the George and the garter of the order (of
the which fellowship he was at the last chapter hol-
den by the confessors chosen one of the companie) met
him vpon the water, and at his comming to land,
presented the said George and garter vnto him. At
his landing he was receiued by the lord treasurer,
the bishop of Lincolne, the lord Saint-John, and o-
thers, by whom he was first conueied to the church,
and from thence to his lodging.

After his landing, the lord chancellor accompa-
nied with diuerse gentlemen, was sent from the
queene to bid him welcome on his behalfe; & so was
he visited by diuerse noble personages whilst he re-
mained at Southampton, sent thither for that pur-
pose. And he on the other part sent diuerse on his
noble men to visit his maiestie on his behalfe. Spon-
daie the thre & twentieth of Iulie, he departed from
Southampton towards Winchester, whither the
was the saturday before remoued from Bishops
Waltham. On the waie he was accompanied, be-
side the noblemen & gentlemen of his owne traine,
with the marques of Winchester, the earles of Ar-
rundell, Darbie, Worcester, Bedford, Rutland, Den-
broke, Surrie: the lords Clinton, Cobham, Wil-
longbie, Darcie, Pattrauers, Walbot, Strange,
Fitzwarren, and forth, with manie other noblemen
and gentlemen, and their traines, to the number of

two thousand horses. At his comming to the church
in Winchester, the lord chancellor accompanied
with the bishops of Durham, Ely, London, Lin-
colne, Chichester, and diuerse other prelates, were rea-
die to receiue him. After he had made his prayers, he
was conueied to his lodging prepared for him in the
deans house.

The queene his selfe was lodged in the bishops pa-
lace, whither his highnesse the next daie came, and
was receiued by him in the hall, in most courteous
& louing maner. And after such salutations & talke
ended, as was thought conuenient for the time, he
returned to his lodging, where he continued all that
night: and the next daie being the five and twentieth
of Iulie, the mariage was openlie solemnized. At
the which were present, the ambassadors of the em-
perour, the king of Romans, the king of Bohem,
of Venice, Florence, Ferrare, and Sauoie, with cer-
teine agents of other states in Italie. As for the
shot of ordinance, the diuerse kinds of musicke, the
sumptuous and costlie apparell, trappers, and other
furniture, readie prouided against the receiuing of
him, with other ceremonies vsed alwell about the
mariage, as in other places where he was to be
receiued, were such, and euerie thing done
in such good order, as better for such a purpose might
not lightlie be deuised. Nobles of Spaine were,
the duke of Alua, the duke of Medina celi, the
admerall of Castilla, the marques of Bergues, the
marques of Pescara, the marques of Saria, the mar-
ques of Walli, the marques of Aguillar, the earle of
Cgmond, the earle of Horne, the earle of Fferia,
the earle of Chinchon, the earle of Aluarez, the
earle of Saldana, the earle of Rodica, the earle of
Fuentelida, the earle of Landisano, the earle of
Castellar, Don Rui Gomes, the bishop of Cuenca,
Don John de Benauides; and diuerse others.

The queens
lodging in the
bishops pa-
lace.

The mariage
solemnized
and what
states of Ita-
lie & Spaine
were present
at it.

The traines of
the noble men
that came ouer
from Spaine
with the
prince.

An abstract of the conditions of this
mariage betweene both the princes.

But now forsomuch as some would hap-
pily be desirous to know the conditions
of this memorabie mariage betwixt these
two high princes, the consequence wher-
of might haue proued of so great importance, al-
though by the queens decease the effect was made
void, I haue thought good to recite in briefe the chiefe
articles thereof.

1 It was couenanted that he should enioy the
title and name of king, during the matrimonie, and
should ad his highnesse (being his wife) in the admi-
nistration of his realmes and dominions: but yet he
should permit and suffer him to haue the whole dispo-
sition of all benefices, offices, lands, reuenues, and
fruits of the said realmes and dominions, and that
the same should be bestowed vpon such as were his
naturall borne subjects, and that all matters of the
said realmes and dominions should be treated and
handled in the same tongue, wherein of old they haue
bene wont to be treated.

He to be intit-
uled king dur-
ing the ma-
trimonie, &c.

2 That the queene by vertue of the said mariage
should be admitted into the societie of the realmes
and dominions of the said prince of Spaine, as well
such as he now presentlie hath, as such other also as
during the matrimonie may come to him.

She to be in-
titled to his
dominions
during the
mariage.

3 And for his dowrie, in case she ouerliued him, she
was appointed to receiue yerlie thre score thousand
pounds, after the value of fortie groats Flemish
monie the pound, to be allotted vpon all the realms,
lands, and patrimoniall dominions of his father the
emperour, that is to saie, fortie thousand pounds to be
assigned vpon the realms of Spaine, Castile, and
Aragon,

His dowrie
if he forsaie
him.

preserved to the use and profit of the said realme,
and by the naturall bozne of the same.

7 We shall not suffer anie ship, guns, ordinance
whatsoever of warre or defense, to be removed or
conveied out of the same realme: but shall contrari-
wise cause them diligentlie to be kept and viewed
when need requireth; and shall so prouide that the
same maie be alwaies readie in their strength and
force for defense of the realme.

8 Item the realme of England by occasion of
this matrimonie, shall not directlie nor indirectlie
be intangled with the warre that is betwene the
emperor father to the said prince of Spaine, and
Henrie the French king; but he the said prince (as
much as in him maie lie) on the behalfe of the said
realme of England, shall see the peace betwene the
said realmes of France and England obserued, and
shall giue no cause of anie breach, by which covenant
the latter treatie of a strict amitie should not be in a-
nie point derogated, but the same still to remaine in
the former force, &c.

But now to returne where we left. At the time
of the solemnization of the foresaid marriage holden
at Winchester (as before ye haue heard) the empe-
rors ambassadoys being present, openlie pronoun-
ced, that in consideration of that marriage, the em-
peror had giuen and granted to the said prince his
sonne the kingdome of Naples and Ierusalem, with
diuerse other seats and signories. The solemnitie
of that marriage ended, the king of heralds called
Carter, openlie in the church in the presence of the
king, the queene, & the lords as well of England as
Spaine, all the people being present, solemnlie
proclaimed the title and stile of those two princes, as
followeth: Philip and Marie by the grace of God
king and queene of England, France, Naples, Je-
rusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, princes
of Spaine and Sicilie, archdukes of Austria, dukes
of Millaine, Burgundie, and Brabant, counties of
Halpurge, Flanders, and Tiroll. The proclamati-
on being ended, the trumpets blew, and the king
with the queene came forth of the church hand in hand
and two swords bozne before them, and so returned
to their palace.

By this time report had sufficientlie sounded a-
broad all that happened, speciallie the solemnities ex-
ecuted about this roiall marriage; whereby some
supposed that this land would haue become a golden
world, and that such amitie would haue ensued be-
twene both nations, as nothing should dissolue. But
others were of a contrarie opinion, supposing (as it
came to passe indeed) that the peoples minds would
be alienated and estranged from the disposition
whereto they were addicted in king Edwards daies,
and that manie would become heauie hearted upon
heare-saie of this conjunction; much more penlike &
griued at the meditation of the miseries which were
like immediately to follow; as C. O. noteth in dis-
coursing on this matter, saieing as here follo weth:

*Succedit regi defuncto, scepra capeiens
Femina, cui nomen Maria est, soror una duarum
Ex stirpe Henrici: qua paucis nupta diebus
Post homini externo consanguineoque Philippo,
Coniugio tali subtristes reddidit Anglos,
Namque duas gentes raro coalescere cernas
Fraternas patria plerumque & amore diemptas.*

Of this marriage (saith maister Fox) as the pa-
pists chiefe seemed to be verie glad, so diuers of
them after diuers studies, did shew forth their in-
ward affections: some made interludes and page-
ants, and some by way of genealogies, deriving his
pedegree from Edward the third, and John of
Gant; some made verses. Amongst all other ma-

ster White then bishop of Lincolne in his poeticall
vetne, being drunken with iote of the marriage,
spued out certaine verses; the copie whereof we haue
here inserted, to impart vnto common knowlege.

Philippi & Mariæ genealogia, qua am-
bo principes ex Iohanne de Gandauo Eduardi ter-
tij, Angliæ, Franciæque regis filio descendisse
ostenduntur, Whito Lincolniense authore.

*Ille parens regum Gandaua ex urbe Iohannes
Somersetensem comitem profert Iohannem.
Somersetensis venit hoc patre dux Iohannes,
Qui Margaretam Richemundi habuit comitissam.
Hec dedit Henricum, qui regni septimus huius
Henrico octauo solum regale reliquit.
Hoc patre propitio, & fausto quasi scdere natâ
Iure tenes sacram, tenesque Maria coronam.*

20 Verses of maister White bishop of Lin-
colne, concerning the marriage of Phi-
lip and Marie.

*Nubat ut Angla Anglo, regina Maria Philippo,
Inque suum fontem regia stirps redeat,
Noluit humani generis demon vetus hostis,
Sed Deus Anglorum prouida spes voluit.
Nollet Scotus inops, timidusque ad prelia Gallus,
Cesar, & Italia, & Flandria tota volet.
Noluit Hæreticus (stirps Caipha) pontificum grex
Pontificum sed grex Catholicus voluit.
Ostio uxori Patres in demone nolent:
Quinque Cathenati pro pietate volent.
Noluit Iohannes Dudley Northumbrius vsus,
Sed fidum regni Concilium voluit.
Noluit atavis nostra Catilina Piatum,
Sed proceres & plebs & pia turba volet.
Nollet Graius dux, & Cantia terra rebellans:
Nos quoniam Dominus sic voluit, volumus.
Clavus effectus repetat sua limina sanguis,
Cum sit Philippo iuncta Maria viro.*

But to proceed. As soon as the seasting & solem-
nity of the said marriage was ended, the king and
queene departed from Winchester, and by easie iour-
nies came to Windsor castell, where the first of Au-
gust being sundae, he was staled according to the
order of the garter, and there kept S. Georges feast
himselfe in his roiall estate, and the earle of Suffr-
was also the same time staled in the order. At which
time an herald toke downe the armes of England
at Windsor, and in the place of them would haue
set the armes of Spaine, but he was commanded to
set them vp againe by certaine lords. The seuenth of
August was made a generall hunting with a toile
raised of fourte or fife miles in length, so that manie
a deere that day was brought to the quarrie. The
eleuenth of August they removed to Richmond, and
from thence the 27 of the same month they came by
water to London, landing at the bishop of Winchester
s house, through which they passed both to South-
wiche parke, and so to Suffolke place, where they
lodged that night: and the next daie being saturday
and the nineteent of August, they being accompa-
nied with a great number of nobles and gentlemen,
rode from thence ouer the brydge, and passed through
London vnto Westminster.

Now as the king came to London brydge, & as he
entered at the drawbrydge, was a vaine great specta-
cle set vp, two images representing two giants, one
named Corineus, and the other Gogmagog holding
betwene them certaine Latine verses, which for the
vaine ostentation of flatterie I ouerlasse. And as
they passed ouer the brydge, there was a number of
ordinaries

These
verses are
answe-
red in
maister
Fox by
the let-
ter.

King Philip
staled at
Windsor.

Iohn Fox,

A generall
hunting.

The king and
queene come
through Lon-
don to West-
minster.

Abr. Flex
Ioh. Foxi
martyrologio.
Latine page-
ants of Lon-
don.

Winchester
cannot abide
the booke cal-
led Verbum
Dei.

The painter
sent for to the
bishop of Win-
chester.

The painters
answer.

Five Philips

The erecting
up of the rood
at Paules.

Bishop Bon-
ners god the
rood of Paules
set up with
Te Deum.

Salutation to
the rood of
Paules.

ordinance shot at the tower, such as by old mens re-
port the like hath not bene heard or sene these hun-
dred yeres. From London bidge they passed to
the conduit in Stratous street, which was finelie
painted, and among other things, the nine worthies,
whereof king Henrie the eight was one. He was
painted in harnesse hauing in one hand a sword, and
in the other hand a booke, whereupon was written
Verbum Dei, deliuering the same booke (as it were) to
his sonne king Edward, who was painted in a cor-
ner by him. But hereupon was no small matter
made, for the bishop of Winchester lord chancellor,
sent for the painter, and not onelie called him knaue
for painting a booke in king Henries hand, and spe-
ciallie for writing thereupon *Verbum Dei*: but also
ranke traitor & villen, saing to him that he should
rather haue put the booke into the queenes hand (who
was also painted there) for that she had reformed the
church and religion, with other things according to
the pure and sincere word of God indeed. The painter
answered and said, that if he had knowne that that
had bene the matter therefore his lordship sent for
him, he could haue remedied it, and not haue trou-
bled his lordship.

The bishop answered and said, that it was the
queenes maiesties will and commandement, that he
should send for him; and so commanding him to wipe
out the booke and *Verbum Dei* too: he sent him home.
So the painter departed, but fearing least he should
leauie some part either of the booke, or of *Verbum Dei*,
in king Henries hand: he wiped a waie a peece of his
fingers withall. Here I passe ouer and cut off other
gauds and pageants of pastime shewed vnto him in
passing through London, with the flattering verses
set by in Latine, wherein were blazed out in one place
the five Philips, as the five worthies of the world,
Philip of Macedonia, Philip the emperor, Philippus
Audax, Philippus Bonus, Philip prince of Spaine
and king of England. In another poetrie king Phi-
lip was resembled by an image representing Dipe-
us, and all English people resembled to brute and
sauage beasts following after Dipeus harpe, and
dancing after king Philips pipe. Not that I repre-
hend the art of the Latine verses, which was fine
and cunning; but that I passe ouer the matter, ha-
uing other grauer things in hand, and therefore passe
ouer also the sight at Paules church side, of him that
came downe vpon a rope tied to the battlements with
his head before, neither staing himselfe with hand or
foot: which thortlie after cost him his life.

But one thing by the waie I cannot let passe, tou-
ching the yong flourishing rood newlie set by against
his present time, to welcome king Philip into
Paules church. The setting up of which rood was this,
and may make as good a pageant as the best. Anno
2. Marie Boner in his rosaltie, and all his prebenda-
ries about him in Paules quere, the rood laid along
vpon the pavement, and also all the doores of Paules
being shut, the bishop with other said and long di-
uers praiers by the rood: that being done they ap-
pointed the rood with oile in diuers places, and after
the anointing crept vnto it and kissed it. After that
they toke the said rood and wetted him by and set him
in his old accustomed place, and all the while they
were doing thereof, the whole quere sang *Te Deum*,
and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not on-
lie for ioy, but also for the notable and great fact they
had done therein.

Not long after this, a merrie fellow came into
Paules, and spied the rood with Marie and John new-
lie set by, wher to (among a great sort of people) he made
loud curtise & said: Sir, your maister ship is welcome
to towne, I had thought to haue talked further with
your maister ship, but that ye be here clothed in the

queenes colours. I hope ye be but a summers bird,
for that ye be dressed in white & graine. The prince
thus being in the church of Paules, after dinner
Harpesfield had finished his oration in Latine, set
forward through Fleetstreet, & so came to White hall,
where he with the queene remained foure daies af-
ter, and from thence removed vnto Richmond. Af-
ter this, all the lords had leaue to depart into their
countrie, with strict commandement to bring all
their harnesse and artillerie into the tower of Lon-
don with all speed. Now remained there no English
lord at the court but the bishop of Winchester.

From Richmond they removed to Hampton
court, where the hall doze within the court was con-
tinuallie shut, so that no man might enter, vnlesse
his errand were first knowne: which seemed strange
to Englishmen that had not bene used thereto. The
seuententh daie of September, was a proclamati-
on in London, that all bagabonds and masterlesse
men, as well strangers as Englishmen, should de-
part the cite within five daies: and stricte charging
all inhoblers, vittelers, tawncers, and alehouseke-
pers, with all other that sold vittels, that they (after
the said five daies) should not sell anye meat, drinke,
or anye kind of vittels or relashe to anye seruiceman
whatsoeuer, vnlesse he brought a testimoniall from
his master to declare whose seruant he was, & were
in continuall household with his said master, vpon
paine to runne in danger of the law if they offend
herein.]

In September, the duke of Norfolk departed
this life at Ffremingham castell in Norfolk, and
there was honozable buried among his ancelors.
The 26 of October, a Spaniard was hangd at Cha-
ringcrosse for killing an Englishman, there was of-
fered for his life by other strangers 500 crownes, but
all that would not saue iustice. On fridaie the same
26 of October, those honest men that had bene of
Elizabeths quest, being in number eight (for the
other foure were deliuered out of prison, for that
they submitted themselves, and said they had offen-
ded like weakelings, not considering truth to be
truth, but of force for feare said so) these eight men I
saie (whereof maister Emanuel Lucar and maister
Whetston were chiefe) were called before the coun-
cell in the Starre chamber, where they affirmed that
they had done all things in that matter according to
their knowledge, and with good consciences, euen
as they should answer before God at the daie of
iudgement. Where maister Lucar said openlie be-
fore all the lords that they had done in the matter
like honest men, and true and faithfull subiects: and
therefore they humbly besought my lord chan-
cellor and the other lords, to be meanes to the king and
queenes maiesties, that they might be discharged
and set at libertie: and said that they were all con-
tented to submit themselves to their maiesties, sa-
uing and reseruing their truth, consciences, and ho-
nesties.

The lords taking their words in marvellous cum-
part, iudged them worthy to paie excellent fines.
Some said they were worthy to paie 1000 pounds
a peece. Other said that Lucar and Whetston were
worthy to paie a thousand marks a peece, and the rest
five hundred pounds a peece. In conclusion, sentence
was giuen by the lord chancellor that they should
paie a thousand marks a peece, he that paid least; and
that they should go to prison againe, and there re-
main till further order were taken for their punish-
ment. The thirtieth of October being tuesday, the lord
John Greie was deliuered out of the tower, and set
at libertie. Upon saturday the tenth of Nouember,
the thirties of London had commandement to take
an inventarie of each one of their goods, which were

I proclama-
on for the
winding of
masterlesse
men out of
the cite of Lon-
don.

Death of the
Duke of Nor-
folk
I Spaniard
hangd
John Snow.

Eight of the
men
maister
Whetston
appeared in the
Starre chamber

The hard
iudgement of
the lords
gaind in the
eight hundred
men.

The L. J.
Greie
maister
Whetston
appeared in the
Starre chamber

John Fox.

parlement
whereat the
king & queene
were present.

Cardinal
Bale arri-
ued at Dover

Not for the
situation in
the card-
inal house.

Cardinal
Bale cometh
into the parli-
ament house.

The words of
the bishop of
Winchester
were lord
chancellor.

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John Grafton.

The effect of
the coronation
sermon in the
chamber of
parlement.

The L. J.
Greie
maister
Whetston
appeared in the
Starre chamber

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1 parliament
before the
king & queene
present.

cardinal
gale
pope Douer

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cardinal
gale
pope Douer

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of maister Throckmorton's quest, & to scale by their
dores, which was done the same date.

Maister Whetston, and maister Lucar, and ma-
ster Kightlie, were adjudged to paie two thousand
pounds a peece, and the rest a thousand markis
a peece, to be paid within one fortnight after. From
this payment were exempted those foure which con-
fessed a fault, & thereupon had submitted themselves,
whose names are these: maister Doe, maister Point-
ter, maister Bewwicke, and maister Cater. The 12
of November being mondate, the parliament began
at Westmynster, to the beginning whereof both the
king and queene rode in their parliament robes, ha-
ving two swordes borne before them. The earle of
Penbroke bare his sword, and the earle of West-
merland bare the queenes. They had two caps of
maintenance likewise borne before them: whereof
the earle of Arundell bare the one, and the earle of
Shrewsburie the other. During this parliament,
cardinal Pole landed at Douer upon wednesdaie,
being the 21 of November, who being receiued with
much honor in all other countries through which he
had passed, was receiued here at the first, with no
great show, for the causes aboue mentioned. The
same daie on the which he arrived, an act passed in
the parliament house, for his restitution in blood, by
terlie repealing (as false and most slanderous) that
act made against him in L. Henrie the eighths time.
And on the next daie being thursdaie and the 22 of
November, the king and queene both came to the
parliament house to giue their roiall assent, and to es-
tablish this act against his coming. On saturdaye
the foure and twentieth of November, he came to the
court, and after went to Lambeth where his lodging
was prepared.

On wednesdaie following in the after none, he
came into the parliament house, being at that pre-
sent kept in the great chamber of the court of the
White hall, for that the queene by reason of sicknesse
was not able to go abroad (where the king and queene
sitting under the cloth of estate, and the cardinal sit-
ting on the right hand, with all the other estates of
the realme being present) and the knights and bur-
geses of the common house being also called thither,
the bishop of Winchester being lord chancellor, spake
in this manner. My lords of the upper house, and you
my maisters of the nether house, here is present the
right reuerend father in God, my lord cardinall
Pole, legat A Latere, come from the apostolike see of
Rome, as ambassadoz to the king and queenes mai-
esties, upon one of the weightiest causes that e-
uer happened in this realme, and which appertaineth
to the glorie of God, and your vniuersall benefit, the
which ambassage, their maiesties pleasure is to be
signified vnto you all by his owne mouth, trusting
that you will receiue and accept it in as beneuolent
and thankfull wise, as their highnesse haue done,
and that you will giue attentive and inclinable care
vnto his grace, who is now readie to declare the
same. So toone as the lord chancellor had ended his
tale, the cardinall began and made a long & solempne
oration, the which for shortnesse sake I haue collect-
ed into these few articles, remitting the reader to mai-
ster Foxes Acts and Monuments, where they shall
find the same wholie and entierlie as by him it was
uttered.

1 First, he praised most heartie thanks to the
king and queene, and next vnto the whole parliament;
that of a man crieled & banished from this common-
weale, they had restored him againe to be a member
of the same, and to the honour of his house and fami-
lie, and of a man having no place, neither here nor
elsewhere within the realme, to haue admitted him
into a place where to speake, and to be heard.

2 Secondlie, that his especiall comming was for
the restitution of this realme to the ancient estate,
and to declare that the see apostolike hath a speciall
care of this realme aboue all other: and chieflie for
that this Island first of all other prouinces of Eu-
rope, receiued the light of Christs religion from the
see of Rome.

3 Thirdlie, he exhorted that though the realme had
swarued from the catholike vnitie, that yet being
better informed, we ought to returne into the bo-
some of the church, most open to receiue all peni-
tents. For the perswasion wherof he brought a num-
ber of old examples, what perill and hurt hath hap-
ened vnto them that haue swarued and gone from the
church of Rome, namelie Grece and Germanie.

4 Fourthlie, how much we are bound to God for
the king and queens maiesties, and how miraculou-
lie God had saued and defended our queene from her
enemies in most dangerous times: and also that he
hath provided to soine with hir in marriage, such a
noble prince as king Philip was, & one of hir owne
religion.

5 Fifthlie, he exhorted them all to obedience of
these two princes, and to call vpon God for issue to
be had betwene them, adding that king Phillips fa-
ther the emperour, had amongst other princes tra-
uelled most for the restitution of the peace and vnitie
of the church. But as almighty God said vnto Da-
uid, though he had a mind and will to build his tem-
ple: yet because he had shed blood, he should not
build it. And so because the emperour hath had so ma-
nie warres, and shed so much blood: therefore he
could not attaine to bring perfect peace to the church.
But trulie (said he) this gracious prince king Philip
his sonne, as I conceiue, is appointed of God to it,
considering now the calling of him to be ioined with
so catholike a prince, as is the queene of this
realme, one without all doubt sent likewise of God,
for the restoring of the said realme to the vnitie of the
church, from whence it hath erred and gone astray,
as it doth and maie manifestlie appeare.

6 Sixthlie, he protested that his commission was
not to presubice anie person, for he came not to de-
stroe, but to build; he came to reconcile, and not to
condemne; he came not to compell, but to call a-
gaine; he came not to call anie thing in question al-
readie done: but his commission was of grace and
clemencie to all such as would receiue it. For tou-
ching all matters past, and done, they should be cast
into the sea of forgetfulnesse, and neuer moze to be
thought vpon.

7 Finallie (said he) the meane whereby to receiue
this high benefit, is first to reuoke and repeale all
such lawes as are impediments, blocks and barres
to this most gracious reconciliation. For like as he
himselfe had no place to speake there, before such
lawes were abrogated and remoued as stood in his
waie: euen so they could not receiue the grace offer-
red from the see apostolike, vntill these like impe-
diments of lawes made against the see of Rome, were
vnterlie abolished and repealed. And so in conclusion
aduertised them, first for the glorie of God, and next
for the conseruation and suertie of the wealth and
quietnesse of the whole realme, that they should ear-
nestlie trauell therein, and that then he would make
them participants of the benefit of his commission.

The next daie the whole court of parliament dre-
w out the forme of a supplication, and the next daie fol-
lowing, when the king, the queene, and the cardinall,
with all the nobles and commons were assembled a-
gaine in the great chamber of the White hall afore-
saide, the bishop of Winchester there shewed that the
parliament had determined concerning the cardin-
als request, and then offered to the king and queene
pp p p p p.

He sheweth
the speciall
cause of his
coming into
England.

He exhorted
to a geneall
returne into
the bosome of
the church.

He declareth
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preserued Q.
Marie.

He exhorted
to obedience
and reuerence
of restoring this
realme to the
vntie of the
church.

He protested
that he ment
the presubice
of no man, &c.

He sheweth
the meane of
procuring the
foresaid recon-
ciliation.

the said supplication, to be by them presented to the cardinall. Wherein would be noted the readinesse of the assemble to submit themselves to antichristian slavery: but omitting to give judgement, make the their supplication, the copie whereof followeth.

A supplication exhibited to cardinall.

Poolle by the parlement.

Whe lords spirituall and temporall, and commons in this present parlement assembled, representing the whole bodie of the realme of England and dominions of the same, in the name of our selues particularlie, and also of the said bodie vniuersallie, offer this our most humble supplication to your maiesties, to this end and effect; that the same by your gracions intercession and meane maie be exhibited to the most reuerend father in God the lord cardinall Poolle legat, sent spectallie hither from our most holie father pope Julie the third, and the see apostolike of Rome. Wherein we doe declare our selues verie soile and repentant of the long schisme and disobedience happening in this realme, and the dominions of the same, against the see apostolike, either by making, agreeing, or executing of auncient lawes, ordinances or commandments against the primacie of the same see, or otherwise doing or speaking that might impugn or prejudice the same. Offering our selues, and promising by this our supplication, that for a token & knowledge of our said repentance, we be and shall be ever ready, vnder and with the authorites of your maiesties, to the uttermost of our power, to do that shall lie in vs, for the abrogation and repealing of all the said lawes and ordinances, made and enacted to the prejudice of the see apostolike, as well for our selues as for the whole bodie whome we represent. Whereupon we humbly beseech your maiesties, as persons vnderfild in offense of his bodie towards the said see, which neuertheless God by his providence hath made subiect to you, so to set forth this our humble suite, as we the rather by your intercession maie obtaine from the see apostolike, by the said most reuerend father, as well particularlie as generalie, absolution, release, and discharge from all dangers of such censures and sentences as by the lawes of the church we be fallen into. And that we maie as children repentant, be receiued into the bosome and vnitie of Christs church: so as this noble realme, with all the members thereof, maie in this vnitie & perfect obedience to the see apostolike, and popes for the time being, serue God and your maiesties to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glorie, Amen.

This supplication being first openly read, the same was by the chancelor deliuered to the king and queene, with petition to them, to exhibit the same to the lord cardinall. And the king and queene rising out of their seats, and doing reuerence to the cardinall, did deliuer the same vnto him. The cardinall perceiving the effect thereof to answer to his expectation, did receiue it most gladly at their maiesties hands. And then, after that he had in few words giuen thanks vnto God, and declared what great cause he had to reioyce aboue all others, that his coming from Rome into England had taken such most happy successe; then he caused his commission to be read (wherby it might appeare he had authoritie from the pope to absolve them) which commission was verie long and large. And that being done, and all the parlement on their knees, this cardinall, by the popes authoritie, gaue them absolution in manner following.

An absolution pronounced by cardinall Poolle to the parlement house.

Our lord Iesus Christ, which with his most pretious blood hath redeemed and washed vs from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase vnto himselfe a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the father hath appointed head ouer all his church; he by his mercie absolve you. And we by the apostolike authoritie giuen vnto vs by the most holie lord pope Julius the third (his vicegerent in earth) do absolve and deliuer you, and euerie of you, with the whole realme, and the dominions thereof, from all heresie and schisme, and from all and euerie iudgements, censures and paines for that cause incurred. And also we do restore you againe to the vnitie of our mother the holie church, as in our letters of commission more plainelie shall appeare.

After this generall absolution receiued, the king and the queene, and all the lords with the rest, went into the kings chappell, and there sang *Te Deum* with great ioy and gladnesse, for this new reconciliation. The report whereof with great speed flew to Rome, as well by the French kings letters, as also by the cardinals. Whereupon the pope caused solemne processions to be made in Rome, namelie one, wherein he himselfe with all his cardinals were present, passing with as great solemnitie and pompe as might be, giuing thanks to God with great ioy, for the conuersion of England to his church. At what time also he not a little commended the diligence of cardinall Poolle, and the deuotion of the king and queene. And on Christmas euen next following, he set forth by his bulls a generall pardon to all such as did reioyce in the same reconciliation.

The eight and twentieth of Nouember next following, it was commonlie reported, that the queene was quicke with child, & therefore commandement was giuen by Edmund Bonner then bishop of London (and as it was said not without the commandement of the counsell) that there should be made in most solemne manner one generall procession in London, wherein the maior, and all the companies of the citie were in their liveries, at whose returne to the church of Pauls, there was song verie solemne *Te Deum* for ioy thereof. The same daie at this procession was present ten bishops with all the prebendaries of Pauls. The copie of the counsels letter implieng the aforesaid commandement touching the generall procession here followeth, *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*.

A copie of a letter sent from the counsell vnto Edmund Bonner bishop of London, concerning queene Marie conceived with child.

After our hartie commendations vnto your god lordship. Where as it hath pleased almightie God amongst other his infinite benefits of late most gracionlie powred vpon vs and this whole realme, to extend his benediction vpon the queens maiestie in such sort, as she is conceived & quicke of child; wherby (his maiestie being our naturall liege ladie, queene and vndoubted inheritor of this imperiall crowne) god hope

This supplication was exhibited to the king and queene.

Promise in signe of repentance to make full amends by being reconciled to the catholic church

The king and queene exhibit the supplication to Poolle the proud prelat.

If Queene Marie were quicke with child on the 18th of the month of November and afterwards did labour in the month of June, then went the als most tenen moneths quicke with child.

Pope Julius the third was cardinall Poolle his mother.

Solemn processions at Rome for the new reconciliation of England to the catholic church.

I reported the queene was with child.

The words of Dr Richard Southwell in the parlement house for his young maister.

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hope of certeine succession in the crowne is giuen vnto vs, and consequentlie, the great calamities, which for want of such succession might otherwile haue fallen vpon vs & our posteritie shall by Gods grace be well avoided, if we thankfullie acknowledge this benefit of almighty God, in deuoting our selues with earnest repentance to thanke, honor, & serue him as we be most bounden. These be not onelie to aduertise you of these good newes, to be by you published in all places within your dioces; but also to prae and requite you, that both your selfe doe giue God thanks with vs for this his especiall grace, and also giue order that thanks maie be openlie giuen by singing of *Te Deum* in all the churches within your said dioces; and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiasticall ministers, in their masses and other diuine seruices, may continuallie prae to almighty God, so to extend his holie hand ouer his maiestie, the kings highnesse and this whole realme, as this thing being by his omnipotent power gracioussie thus begun, may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glorie of his name. Wherevnto albrist we doubt not ye would of your selfe haue had speciall regard without these our letters: yet for the earnest desire we haue to haue this thing done out of hand, & diligentlie continued, we haue also witten these our letters, to put you in remembrance: & so bid your lordship most hartlie well to fare. From Westminster the 27 of Nouember. 1554.

Your assured and louing friends

- | | |
|--|---|
| { S. Winton. Chancel.
Arundell.
F. Shrewesburie.
Edward Darbie,
Henrie Suffex. | { John Bathon,
R. Rich.
Thomas Warthom.
John Huddilstone.
R. Southwell. |
|--|---|

Upon this letter of the counsels sent to bishop Bonner (signifying the good newes of queene Marie to be not onelie conceived, but also quicke with child, which was in the moneth of Nouember, the eight and twentieth daie) it is out of count what great talke began at this time to rise in euerie mans mouth, with busie preparation and much adoe, especiallie among such as seemed in England to carrie Spanishe hearts in English bodies. In number of whome here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condisigne commendation for his worthy affection toward his prince and his issue, one sir Richard Southwell, who being the same time in the parliament house, when as the lords were occupied in other affaires and matters of importance, suddenly starting by for fulnesse of joy, burst out in these words following: Tush my maisters (quoth he) what talke ye of these matters? I would haue you take some order for our yong maister that is now comming into the world apace, least he find vs vnproouted, &c. By the which words both of him, and also by the foresaid letters of the counsell, and the common talke abroad, it may appeare what an assured opinion was then conceived in mens heads of queene Marie, to be conceived and quicke with child. In somuch that at the same time, and in the same parliament, there was effronies a bill exhibited, and an act made vpon the same, the words whereof for the more euidence, I thought here to exemplificat.

The words of the act.

Albeit we the lords spirituall & temporall, & the commons in this present parliament assembled, haue firme hope & confidence in the goodnes of almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculoussie preferred the queenes maiestie from manie great imminent perills and

dangers; such so he will of his infinit godnesse giue hir highnesse strength, the rather by our continuall praers to passe well the danger of deliuerance of child, wherewith it hath pleased him (to all our great comforts) to blesse hir: yet for so much as all things of this world be uncerteine, and hauing before our eyes the dolorous experience of this inconsistent government during the time of the reigne of the late king Edward the first, do plainlie see the manifold inconueniences, great dangers and perills that maie insue to this whole realme, if foresight be not used to preuent all euill chanches, if they should happen. For the eschewing hereof, we the lords spirituall and temporall, & the commons in this present parlement assembled; for and in consideration of a most speciall trust and confidence that we haue and repose in the kings maiestie, for and concerning the politike government, order, and administration of this realme in the time of the yong yeeres of the issue of issues of hir maiesties bodie to be bozne, if it should please God to call the queenes highnesse out of this present life, during the tender yeeres of such issue of issues (which God forbid) according to such order & maner as hereafter in this present act his highnesse most gracions pleasure is, should be declared and set forth, haue made our humble sute by the assent of the queens highnesse, that his maiestie would bouchsafe to accept & take vpon him the rule, order, education & government of the said issue of issues to be bozne as is aforesaid, vpon which our sute being of his said maiestie most gracioussie accepted, it hath pleased his highnesse, not onlie to declare, that like as for the most part his maiestie verely trusteth that almighty God (who hath hitherto preferred the queens maiestie) to giue this realme so good an hope of certeine succession in the blood roiall of the same realm, will assist hir highnesse with his graces and benedictions to see the fruit of hir bodie well brought forth, liue and able to gouerne (whereof neither all this realme, ne all the world besides, should or could receiue more comfort than his maiestie should & would) yet if such chance should happen, his maiestie at our humble desires is pleased & contented not onlie to accept & take vpon him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, and government of such issues, as of this most happie marriage shall be bozne betwene the queenes highnesse and him: but also during the time of such government, would by all waies & means studie, traueell and imploie himselfe to aduance the weale, both publike & priuat, of this realme & dominions there, to belonging, according to the said trust in his maiestie reposed, with no lesse good will & affection than if his highnesse had bene naturallie bozne among vs. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the king & the queens most excellent maiesties, by assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, & the commons in this present parlement assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, &c: as it is to be seene in the act more at large ratified and confirmed at the same parlement, to the same intent and purpose.

Thus much out of the act and statute I thought to rehearse, to the intent the reader maie vnderstand, not so much how parlements maie sometimes be deuised (as by this child of queene Marie may appere) as rather what cause we Englishmen haue to render most earnest thanks vnto almighty God, who so mercifullie against the opinion, expectation, and wrong of our aduersaries, hath helped and deliuered vs in this case: which otherwile might haue opened such a window to the Spaniards, to haue entred and replenshed this land, that peradventure by this time Englishmen should haue inioied no great quiet in their owne countrie. The Lord therefore make vs

perpetu

Order taken by parliament for queene Maries child.

Trust disposed.

Parlements maie be deuised.

Dope Julie be third gaardall

Doleme pcession at Rome for the ex reconcilement of Cene

I report that re queene was with yild.

he counsell ter to bishop sonner of the re me conuincing of rld.

pl. Queene Marie were

The words of the act

perpetuallie mindfull of his benefitts, Amen.

Thus we see then how man doth purpose, but God disposeth as pleaseth him. For all this great labor, piousness, and order taken in the parlement house for their young maister long looked for, comming so surely into the world; in the end appeared neither young maister nor young maistresse that anie man yet to this date can heare of. Furthermore as the labor of the late lost was herein deluded, so no lesse ridiculous it was to behold what little effect the praierers of the popes churchmen had with almightie God, who trauelled no lesse with their processions, masses, and collects, for the happie deliuerance of this young maister to come, as here followeth to be seene.

A praier made by doctor Weston
deane of Westminster, daile to be
said for the queenes
deliuerance.

The praierers
of the papists
of what little
effect they are
with God.

A praier for
queene Marie
and hir child,
turned out of
Latine into
English.

O most righteous Lord God, which for the offense of the first woman, hast threatned vnto all women a common, sharpe, and inuincible malediction, and hast insoined them that they should conceiue in sinne; and being conceiued, should be subiect to manie and grauious torments, and finally be deliuered with the danger and ieopardie of their life: we beseech thee for thine exceeding great goodnesse and bottomlesse mercie, to mitigate the strictnes of that law. Allwaie thine anger for a while, and cherish in the bosome of thy fauor and mercie our most gracious queene Marie, being now at the point of hir deliuerance. So helpe hir, that without danger of hir life, she maie overcome the sorrow, and in due season bring forth a child, in bodie beautifull and comelie, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward the forgetting the trouble, maie with ioye, laud and praise the bountifullnesse of thy mercie; and together with vs, praise and blesse both thee and thy holie name world without end. This (O Lord) we desire thee, we beseech thee, and most hartlie craue of thee. Heare vs (O Lord) and grant vs our petition. Let not the enemies of thy faith and of thy church saie; Where is their God?

A solemne praier made for king Philip
and queene Maries child, that it maie be
a male child, well fauored
and wittie, &c.

A deuout praier
made by the
catholikes
for queene
Marie being
great and
quicke with
child.

O most mightie Lord God, which regardest the praier of the humble, and despitest not their request, how downe from thine high habitation of the heauens, the etres of thy mercie vnto vs wretched sinners, bowing the knees of our hearts, and with manie and deepe sighs beualling our sinnes and offences humble with eyes intent, and hands dispiayed, praiering and beseeching thee, with the shield of thy protection, to defend Marie thy seruante and our queene, who hath none other helper but thee, and whome through thy grace thou hast willed to be conceiued with child; and at the time of hir trauell graciouslie with the helpe of thy right hand deliuer hir, and from all danger with the child in hir conceiued, mercifullie preserve. It hath seemed good in thy sight (mercifull father) by thy seruante Marie to worke these wonders, that is to saie; in hir hands to vanquish and ouerthrow the stout enimie, and to deliuer vs thy people out of the hands of heretikes, infidels, enemies to thee, and to the crosse of thy beloued sonne Iesus Christ, that of thy seruante thou mightest speake in farre countries. Therefore for these wonderfull workes which thou doest to thy seruants, thou art magnified Lord

The papists
call the pro-
testants here-
tikes and en-
emies to the
crosse of
Christ, euen
as Achab cal-
led Elias the
disturber of
Israel, when
he was onelie
the disturber
himselfe.

God for euer, & we thy people blesse thee the God of heauen, which hast wrought vpon vs this great mer-
cie, and hast excluded from vs the heretike, the en-
mie of truth, and the persecutor of thy church. We
know, we know that we haue grieuouse (Lord)
sinned, that we haue bene deceived by banitie, and
that we haue forsaken thee our God. Our iniqui-
ties be multiplied on our head, and our sinnes be in-
creased vnto heauen, and we our selues haue offen-
ded, and our princes and our priests: for these our
sinnes haue deserued an hypocrite to our prince, our
sinnes haue deserued a tyrant to our gouernor that
should bring our life vnto bitterness. We be not
worthy to haue so gentle and mercifull a queene,
so goodlie a ruler, and finally so vertuous a prince. At
the verie beginning of whose reigne, a new light, as
it were of Gods religion, seemed to vs for to spring
and arise. The Jewes did blesse the widow Iudith
with one voice, saying: Thou art the glorie of Jeru-
salem, thou art the ioye of Israel, thou art the honor
of our people, for that thou hast loued chastite, and
thou shalt be blessed for euer.

And we the English people with one agreeable
consent doe cry: Thou Marie art the glorie of Eng-
land, our ioye, the honour of thy people, for that thou
hast embraced chastite: thine hart is strengthened,
for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and
therefore thou shalt be blessed for euer. But how
downe, O most mercifull father thine eare, and open
thine eyes, and behold our affliction, and our humble
confession. Thou knowest Lord, that against Ihu-
lup, not by humane, but by thy ordinance our king,
and against thy seruante Marie by thy prouidence
our queene, the restorers and maintainers of thy tes-
tament, and of the faith and most constant defenders
of thy church; thou knowest (I saie) that against
these our two gouernours (the enemies of thy holie
testament, and of the church thy spouse) be most
ranke rebels, and spitefull murmurers, walking af-
ter their lusts, whose mouth speaketh words of pride,
to the end they maie set vp the kingdome of here-
tiques and schismatickes. By the power of their hands
they would change thy promises, and destroye thine
inheritance, and stop and shut vp the mouths of them
that praise thee, and extinguishe the glorie of thy catho-
like church and altar.

It is manifest and plaine, how manie contenti-
ons, how manie conspiracies & seditions, how great
warres, what tumults, how manie and how great
troublefome variations, how manie heresies and
schismes (for these be the most reade deuises and en-
dent tokens of heretikes) for our sinnes do hang ou-
er vs, if thy seruante be taken from this life: for we
acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath
pitched his dwelling place in the middell of his peo-
ple, to the intent to deliuer vs out of the hands of our
enemies. Turne therefore thy countenance vnto vs,
shew vnto vs, O Lord, thy face. Punish vs for our
sinnes according to thy will and pleasure, onelie now
deliuer vs. We bowing the knees of our heart, be-
seech thee that thou wilt not reserve vnto vs punish-
ment for euer, and we shall praise thee, all the daies
of our life. Heare our crye, and the praier of thy pro-
ple, and open to them the treasure of thy mercie, thy
gracious fauour, the spring of liuelie water. Thou
that hast begun, make in the hand of thy seruante
a perfect worke. Suffer not, we praie thee, the faithlesse
rebels to saie of thy seruante and hir counsellors, that
they haue deuised matters which they can not per-
forme. And grant vnto thy seruante an happie and an
easie trauell. For it is not impossible to thy power,
nor indecent to thy iustice, nor vntoward vnto thy
mercie.

It is well knowne vnto vs, how marvellouslie thou

me to Sa-
and Chas-
beth: so wil
be not to
queene Ma-
rie.

It is not b-
such one to
granted vnto
you for bein-
like Iphighe-
Joseph, Mo-
ses, and Sa-
lomon, he mu-
chance smel-
our pour cor-
rupt doctrine
and to detel
your bloudie
tyrannie, &c.

An other
praier for
the same.

Cardinal
Bole come
meth to
Pauls crosse
with great
trump.

Carline
praier of
Stepha Car-

Queene Ma-
rie comparo-
of the papists
to queene Ju-
dith.

Wherby
re comparo-
of the papists
to queene Ju-
dith.

The res-
ment set
by onelie
glorie of
Christ.

It the chur-
ging of God
promises, do
through his
inheritance,
dropping the
mouths of
Gods people
if contented,
warres, and
schismes be
tokens of
heretikes, who
forget great
things as the
papists be.

Crie by loud
der you
priests per-
nenture your
god is a
liar.

The Lord
gave a prai-
er

sent to Sara
and Eliza
with: so did
not to
quaint Ag-
a.

thou diddest worke in Sara of the age of fourescore
and ten yeares, and in Elisabeth the barren, and also
sare stricken in age: for thy counsell is not in the
powler of men. Thou Lord that art the searcher of
hearts and thoughts, thou knowest that thy seruant
neuer lusted after man, neuer gaue hit selfe to wan-
ton companie, nor made hir selfe partaker with them
that walke in lightnesse: but thes consented to take
an husb and with thy feare, and not with hir lust. Thou
knowest that thy seruant toke an husb and, not for
carnall pleasure, but onelie for the desire and loue of
posteritie, wherein thy name might be blessed for e-
uer and euer. Give therefore vnto thy seruants Ihi-
sup our king, & Marie our queene, a male issue, which
maie sit in the seat of thy kingdome. Give vnto our
queene thy seruant, a little infant in fashon and bo-
die comelie and beautifull, in pregnant wit notable
and excellent.

It is not best
such one to be
granted unto
you, for bring-
ing Abraham
Joseph, Mo-
ses, and Da-
vid, he maie
change small
of your cor-
rupt doctrine,
and to detest
your bloudie
covenant, &c.

Grant the same to be in obedience like Abraham, in hospitalitie like Lot, in chastitie and brotherlie loue like Joseph, in meekenesse and mildenesse like Moses, in strength and valiantnesse like Samson. Let him be found faithfull as Dauid after thy heart. Let him be wise among kings as the most wise Salomon. Let him be like Job, a simple and an vpryght man, fearing God and eschewing euill. Let him shall be garnished with the comelinesse of all vertuous conditions, and in the same let him warre old and line, that he maie see his chyldrens chyldren to the third and fourth generation. And glue to our soueraigne lord and ladie, king Philip and quene Marie, thy blessing and long life vpon earth. And grant that of them maie come kings and quenes whiche maie stedfastlie continue in faith, loue, and holinesse. And blessed be theyr seed of our God, that all nations maie know thou art onelic God in all the earth, whiche art blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

Another praier for queene Marie, and
hir conceived child.

O Almighty father, which diddest sanctifie the blessed virgine and mother of Marie in hir conception, ¶ in the birth of Christ our sauour, thy onelie sonne; also by thy omnipotent power diddest fauour the prophet Jonas out of the whales bellie. Defend O Lord we beseech thee, thy seruant Marie our queene, with thy child, conceived, and so bisit hir in and with thy goodlie gift of health, that not onelie the child thy creature withy in hir contained, maie soisallie come from hir into this world, and receiue the blessed sacraments of baptisme and confirmation, inioieng therewith daile increafe of all princelie and grauous gifts both of bodie and soule; but that also she, the mother, through thy speciall grace and mercie, maie in time of hir trauell auoid all excessiue dolour and paine, and abide perfect and sure from all perill and danger of death, with long and prosperous life, thorough Christ our Lord, Amen. ¶ And thus much shall suffice touching this great aduocate quene Marie and hir babe.]

The second date of December being sundate, cardinal Pole came to Pauls church in London with great pompe, having before him a crosse, two pillars and two pollares of silver, and was there solemnlie received by the bishop of Winchester, chancelor of England, who met him with pprocession. And shortly after, king Philp came from Westminster by land, being accompanied with a great number of his nobles. And the same date, the bishop of Winchester preached at Pauls crosse, in the which sermon he declared, that the king and quene had reformed the

pope to his right of primasie; & that the three estates assembled in parlement, representing the whole bodie of the realme, had submitted themselves to his holinesse, and to his successours for ever. And in the same also, he greatly praised the cardinnall, and set forth the passing high authoritie that he had from the see of Rome, with much other glorious matter, in the commendation of the church of Rome, which he called the six apostolike. This sermon being ended, the king and the cardinnall riding together, returned to White hall, and the king had his sword borne before him, and the cardinnall had onely his croise, and no more.

The seauen and twentieth daie of the said moneth, Crimauell Philibert earle of Sanois and prince of Piemount came into England, accompanied with diuerse other lordes and gentlemen strangers, who were receiued at Craneuend by the earle of Bedford lord prince of Wales, and conueied by water through London bidge to White hall, where the king and queene then lay. On the ninth of Ianuarie next following, the prince of Orange was in like manner receiued at Craneuend, and from thence conueied to the court, being at White hall. The twelfth of Ianuarie, the said prince of Orange, with other lordes, was conducted by the lord chamberlein to the tower of London, where was shewed unto him the ordnance, artillerie, munitions, and armorie, with the mint, &c: and so was brought into the white tower, from whence, as he returned through the long gallery, all the prisoners saluted him: unto whom the prince said, he was sorie for their captiuitie, and trusted the king and queene would be good unto them. At his departing from the tower, he gaue the gunners ten peeces of Flemmish gold at five shillings the peece, and the warders other ten peeces, as a reward.]

Upon Wednesday the 12 of December, five of the eight men which laie in the Fleet, that had passed upon Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's trial, were discharged and set at libertie upon their fines paid, which was two hundred and twentie pounds a peece. The other three put by a supplication, therein declaring their goods did not amount to the summe of that which they were appointed to paie: and so upon that declaration, paied three score pounds a peece, they were deliuered out of prison on saint Thomas daie before Christmas, being the one & twentieth of December. The two and twentieth of the same moneth, the parlement (which began the two and twentieth of Nouember before) was dissolved, wherein among other acts passed there, the statute *Ex officio*, and other lawes made for punishment of heresies were renewed. But chiefele, the popes most liberal bull of dispensation of abbey land was there confirmed, much to the contentation of manie, who not without cause suspected by this new union, to lose some peece of their late purchase. ¶ On new yeares daie at night was a great tumult betwene Spaniards and Englishmen at Westminster, whereof was like to haue ensued great mischief, though a Spanish frier which got into the church and roused alarum. The occasion was about two whores which were in the cloister of Westminster with a sort of Spaniards, whereof whilist some plaid the knaues with them, other some did keepe the entrie of the cloister with dogs and harnesse. In the meane time certaine of the deanes men came into the cloister, and the Spaniards discharged their dogs at them, and hurt some of them. By and by the noise of this doing came into the streets, so that the whole towne was up almost, but neuer a stroke was stricken. notwithstanding, the noise of this doing with the deanes men, and also the ringing of the alarum made much ado,

Diners (ser-
mon.

The king and
the cardinal
ride together,

Prince of
Dienmont
commieth into
England.

I. Stow. 1053.
Prince of Da
range.

Five of
Chockmor:
tong iurie re-
leased.

Parliament dissolved.

Abr. Fl. ex
Moh. Foxi mar-
tyrologio.
A Hurre be-
wéne the
Spaniards
and English-
men at West-
minster.

h Queene Ma
rie compared
of the papist
to queene Ju
dith.

e Marke how
forgetting his
prayer he said
leth to the
praising of
queen Marie

The testa-
ment setteth
vp onelie the
glorie of
Christ.

e All the chan-
n ging of Gods
promises, dea-
10 strong his
inheritance,
stopping the
t mouths of
t Gods people
if contentious,
d warres, and
schismes be
tokens of hea-
retikes, who
e so great heres-
y tikes as the
nasticks be?

2 Crie by lowde
t der you
priests perad
venture your
god is a
slape.

The Lord
gave a pro

1555
15 pag. 1095.

Prisoners de-
livered out of
the tower.

Trouble and
persecution
for religion.

Ambassadors
out of Eng-
land to Rome.

William Fe-
therstone, alias
Constable a
boie, nameth
himselfe king
Edward the
sixt.

John Stow.

at, and a great number also to be soze afraid.] Upon fridaie the eighteenth of Januarie, all the counsell, by name, the lord chancellor, the bishop of Elie, the lord treasurer, the earle of Shrewsburie, the comptroller of the quene's house, secretarie Bourne, and sir Richard Southwell master of the ordinance and armorie, went to the tower, and there the same daie discharged and set at libertie all the prisoners of the tower, or the more part of them, namelie the archbishop of York, the late duke of Northumberland's sonnes, the lords Ambrose, Robert, and Henrie; also, sir Andrew Dudley, sir James Croftes, sir Nicholas Throckmorton, sir John Rogers, sir Nicholas Arnold, sir George Harper, sir Edward Warner, sir William Sentiow, sir Gawen Carew, William Gibbes esquier, Cutbert Waughan, and diuerse others.

Moreover, about this season diuerse learned men being apprehended, and in prison for matters of religion, were brought before the bishops of Winchester and London, and other the bishops and commissioners appointed therefore: who upon the constant standing of the said learned men in their opinions, which they had taken upon them to mainteine, as grounded upon the true word of God, as they protested, proceeded in iudgement against them, and so diuerse of them were burned at London in Smithfield, and in diuerse other places. Some not onelie by fire but by other torments were the good christians persecuted, whose zeale was hot in religion and defiance of the pope: insomuch that then he was counted Gods enimie, which toke not the pope for the friend of Christ (whome he hateth with hostility) as C.O. noteth verie trulie in his *Elisabetha*, saying:

nam creditur hostis

Esse Dei, papa: si quis pius asserit hostem

Esse Dei, veros Christi qui tollit honores.

In February next following, doctor Thirlebie bishop of Elie, and Antonie lord Pontacute, with a verie honorable traine of gentlemen and others, rode forth of the citie of London towards Rome as ambassadors sent from the king and quene, to confirme this new reconciliation to the pope. A young scripling, whose name was William Fetherstone, a millers sonne, about the age of eightene yeares, named and banted himselfe to be king Edward the first, whereof when the quene and the counsell heard, they caused with all diligence inquirie to be made for him, so that he was apprehended in Southwiche, or (as other haue) at Eltham in Kent the tenth of Maie, and brought before the counsell at Hampton court, and there examined. And it was demanded of him why he so named himselfe: To which he counterfeiting a manner of simplicitie, or rather stensie, would make no direct answer, but praied pardon; for he wist not what he said: affirming further, that he was counselled so to saie, and to take upon him the name, whereof he accused certeine persons: but his talke was not found true, wherefore he was committed to the Marshalse, as a lunatike sole.

On the eight and twentieth daie of Maie next following, the aforesaid counterfet prince was brought in a cart from the Marshalse thorough the citie of London, with a paper over his head, wherein was written, that he named himselfe king Edward. And from thence was conueied to Westminster, being led round about the hall, and shewed to all the people there: and afterward he was taken out of the cart and stripped, and then whipped round about the palace at the same carts taile, and then thorough Westminster into Smithfield, and then banished into the north, in which countrie he was borne, and had bene sometime lackie to sir Peter Petotas, and without moze punishment was discharged, and set

at libertie. But the next yeare following, for that he had spied abroad that king Edward was alive, and that he had spoken with him, he was againe apprehended, and arraigned of high treason, whereof being condemned, he shortly after was drawne unto Tyburne, and there hanged and quartered the thirtieth of March. Here, as in a fit and convenient place, the obseruation of the daie and moneth offering no lesse, it is not amisse to set downe the speech of quene Marie uttered to sundrie of hir lords, touching a motion which no doubt certeine popish prelates had put into hir mind; the effect whereof followeth as I find it in master Fox.

Before I passe this moneth of March (saith he) I cannot but leaue a little memorandum of the words or consultation of quene Marie, held to certeine of the counsell, the eight & twentieth daie of the said moneth of March, touching the restoring againe of the abbete lands. Who after she had called unto hir presence foure of hir priuie counsell, the daie and moneth aforesaid: the names of which counsellors were these: William lord marquisse of Winchester high treasurer of England, sir Robert Rochester knight, the quenes comptroller, sir William Peter knight, secretarie, sir Francis Inglesfield knight, master of wards; the said quene Marie inferred these words: the principall effect & summe thereof here followeth. You are here of our counsell, and we haue willed you to be called to vs, to the intent ye might heare of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions as well of monasteries, as other churches whatsoever being now presentlie in my possession. First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken awaie from the churches aforesaid, in time of schisme, and that by vnlawfull means, such as are contrarie both to the law of God and of the church. For the which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to deteine them: and therefore I here expresselie refuse either to claime or to re-
fine the said lands for mine: but with all my heart frelie and willinglie without all paction or condition, here and before God I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions or inheritances whatsoever, & do renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken as shall seme best liking to our most holie lord the pope, or else his legat the lord cardinal, to the honour of God and wealth of this our realme.

And albeit you may obiect to me againe, that considering the state of my kingdome, the dignitie thereof, and my crowne imperiall cannot be honorablie maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid: yet notwithstanding I set more by the saluation of my soule, than by ten kingdoms: and therefore the said possessions I utterlie refuse here to hold after that lost and title, and giue most hartie thanks to almightie God, which hath given me an husband likewise minded, with no lesse good affection in this behalfe, than I am my selfe. Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor (with whom I haue conferred my mind in this matter before) and you foure, to morrow together do resort to the most reuerend lord legat, and do signifie to him the premisses in my name, & giue your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdome, and of the foresaid possessions accordingly, as you your selues do vnderstand the matter, and can informe him in the same. This charge (as the sequele gaue proofe) was followed with no lesse diligence of the lords, than it was imposed with willingnes upon them by the quene: insomuch that shortly after (as anon you shall heare) she performed hir promise to the pith.

But to le this matter passe, till due time & place require

The countess
of Arundell
being
cousin
to the
king.

Abt. Fox
Ioh. Fox
martyrologia

The moneth
of the coun-
sellors called
before quene
Marie.

The effect of
quene Maries
speech touching
the lands to
be restored.

The quene
taketh a con-
science in her
giving abbete
lands.

The quene
surrendereth
from hir selfe
the possession
of abbete lands.

Promitteth
the restoration
of abbete lands.

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the death of
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of his lands.

the death of
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the first

require a declaration of the conclusion thereof; I am
here (saith master Fox, as occasion seruet) to in-
treat of pope Julius death, for so much as he made
his end about the latter end of this foresaid moneth
of March. Concerning the deeds and acts of which
pope, to make a full declaration, it were not so much
tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good cares.
Under this Julius florished the archbishop of Bene-
dictians, a florentine, named Iohannes a Casa,
deane of the popes chamber, and chafe legat to the
Venetians: who well declaring the fruit of that fil-
thy sex, so farre forgot both honestie and nature, that
he named not onelie to plate the filthy Sodomite
himselfe, and to boast openlie of the same: but also
toke upon him most impudentlie in Italian metre,
to all mens eares, to set forth the praise and com-
mendation of that heathen indiguitie, saieing that he
himselfe neuer used other: and this booke was printed
at Venice, by one Troianus Nauus. And yet the
pope could suffer this so great iniquitie and shame,
lesse heathenlike; even under his nose in his owne
chamber, which could not abide the true doctrine of
Christ in Christian bookes;

Amongst other pranks and deeds of this foresaid
pope, in his Jubilee, and in the spoud of Trent, and in
confirming of the idol of Lauretane, this is also re-
ported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in
porke flesh and peacocks. Upon a time when he was
admonished of his physician to abstaine from all
swines flesh; for that it was noisome for his gent,
and yet would not follow his counsell: the physician
afterward gaue warning to his steward or orderer
of his diet, that he should set no more porke flesh be-
fore him. Whereupon when the pope perceived the
said porke flesh to be lacking in his accustomed ser-
uice; where (saith he) is my porke? And when his stew-
ard had answered that his physician had forbidden
anie porke to be serued: then the pope bursting out
in great rage, said in these wordes; Bring me, said he,
my porke flesh. *Al. dispetto di Dio*: that is to saie in
English, In the despite of God.

At another time, he sitting at dinner, pointing to
a peacocke vpon his table, which he had not touched;
kepe (saith he) this cold peacocke for me against sup-
per, and let me sup in the garden, for I shall haue
ghosts. So when supper came, and amongst other hot
peacocks, he saw not his cold peacocke brought to
his table: the pope after his wonted manner, most
horrible blaspheming God, fell into an extreame
rage, at. Whereupon one of his cardinals sitting by,
desired him saying: Let not your holinesse, I praye
you, be so moued with a matter of so small weight.
Then this Julius the pope answering againe; What
(saith he) if God was so angrie for one apple, that he
cast our first parents out of paradise for the same,
what maie not I being his vicar, be angrie then for a
peacocke, which is a peacocke is a greater matter
than an apple? Behold here good reader, by this pope,
the holinesse of that blasphemous sex: and yet thou
shalt see here, what affection was borne vnto this
pope here in England, by the driges, hearles, and
funerals commanded to be had and celebrated in all
churches by the queene and hir counsell, as may ap-
peare by the copie of their letters here following.

A letter from the bishop of Winchester
(being lord chancellor) vnto Boner bishop
of London, touching the celebrating of
the popes funerals.

After my hartie commendations to
your good lordship. The king and
queenes maiesties hauing certeine
knowledge of the death of the popes hol-

ness, thought good there should be as well
solemne obsequies said for him throughout
the realme, as also these prayers (which I
send you herein inclosed) used at masse
times in all places at this time of vacati-
on; and therefore willed me to signifie their
pleasures vnto you in this behalfe, that
thereupon ye might proceed to the full ac-
complishment thereof, by putting the same
in due execution within your owne dio-
cese, and sending word to the rest of the bi-
shops to do the like in theirs. Thus doubt-
ing not but that your lordship will be such
diligence in this matter at this time, as
shall be necessarie, I bid your lordship har-
tille well to fare. From my house at Ather,
the tenth of Aprill. 1555.

Your assured freend and brother,
Stephanus Winton. Cancel.

Prayers commanded to be used in

the funerall masses for the pope,
Apostolica sede vacante.

*Suppliche Domine humiliate deposcimus, ut tua immen-
sa pietas sacrosancte Romanæ ecclesie concedat pontificem
illum, qui et pro in nos studio semper tibi gratus, et tuo popu-
lo pro salubri regimine sit assidue ad gloriam tui nominis ve-
nerandus, per Dominum nostrum.*

Secreta.

*Tue nobis Domine pietatis abundantia indulgeat, ut gra-
tum maiestati tue pontificem sancte matris ecclesie regimini
preesse studeamus per Dominum nostrum.*

Post communionem.

*Pretiosi corporis et sanguinis tui Domine sacramento re-
fectos, misericordia tua maiestatis gratia de illius summi pontificis
assumptione letificet, qui et plebem tuam virtutibus instru-
at, et fidelium mentes spiritualium aromatum odore perfun-
dat, per Dominum nostrum.*

Upon this commendement, on wednesdate in Ca-
ster weeke there were hearles set vp, & diriges song
for the said Julius in diuerse places. At which time
it chanced a woman to come into S. Magnus church
at the bridgefoot in London, & there seeing an hearle
and other preparation, asked what it meant: and o-
ther that stood by, said, that it was for the pope, and
that the must praye for him. Saie (quoth she) that will
I not, for he needeth not my prayer: and seeing he
could forgive vs all our sinnes, I am sure he is clean
himselfe: therefore I need not to praye for him. She
was heard speake these wordes of certeine that stood
by: which by and by caried hir vnto the cage at Lon-
don bridge, and bad hir cole hir selfe there.

And here (saith master Fox) commeth to be re-
membred the notable working of Gods hand vpon
a certeine priest in Kent named Highingall, par-
son of Cronball besides Canturburie: who vpon
Shrouesundate, which was about the third daie of the
said moneth of March, and yeare of our Lord afore-
said, reioicing belike not a litle at this alteration of
religion, began to make a sermon to his parishio-
ners, taking his theame out of the wordes of saint
John: He that saith, he hath no sinne, is a lier, and
the truth is not in him, &c. And so vpon the same,
verie impertinentlie, declared to them all such arti-
cles as were set forth by the popes authoritie, and by
the commendement of the bishops of this realme;
saieing moreouer vnto the people in this wise: Note
masters and neighbors reioice and be merrie, for the
prongall sonne is come home. For I knowe that the
most part of you be as I am: for I knowe your
hearts

collected for
the pope.

Another pray-
er for chusing
of the pope.

A woman of
S. Magnus
parish im-
prisoned for
not praying
for the pope.

A terrible ex-
ample of
Gods seuerer
punishment
vpon High-
ingall par-
son of Cron-
ball in Kent.

blasphemie
to Christ
not yet puni-
shed.

The lord
Courtneie go-
eth ouer into
Italye.

The lord
Courtneie
descended of
the blond
roall.

Ambassadors
sent to treat
a peace be-
twene the
French king
and the em-
perour.

Abr. Fl. cx
I. S. 1097.

The necessitie
of the page re-

hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this wake past. I was before my lord cardinall Wolles grace, and he hath made me as cleane from sinne, as I was at the font stone: and on Thursday last being before him, he hath appointed me to notice (I thanke him for it) the same unto you. And I will tell you what it is. And so reading the popes bull of pardon that was sent into England, he said, he thanked God that euer he had liued to see that date: adding moreover that he beleued, that by the vertue of that bull he was as cleane from sinne, as that night that he was borne: and immediatlie upon the same fell suddenlie downe out of the pulpit, and neuer stirred hand nor foot, and so laie he. Testified by Robert Austen of Cartham, which both heard and saw the same, and is witnessed also by the whole countie round about.]

About this time, Edward Courtneie, earle of Devonshire, of whom before ye haue heard, how he was appointed to remaine at Ffordingheie vnder safe custodie, at length was set at libertie, came to the court, and got licence to passe the seas, went into Italye, where shortly after he sickened, and died within fourtene daies after his sickness first took him: he was honorable buried in Paduwaie. This Courtneie was the onelie sonne and heire of Henrie, marquisse of Excester, cousine germaine to king Henrie the eight, as is said before. For the said king and he were descended of two sisters, Elizabeth and Katharine, two of the daughters of king Edward the fourth, which propinquitie of blood notwithstanding the said marquisse, for points of treason laid against him, suffered at the tower hill, the thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, to the great dolor of the most of the subiects of this realme, who for his sundrie vertues bare him great fauour and goodwill.

After whose death, this yong gentleman his sonne, being yet a child, was committed prisoner to the tower, where he remained vntill the beginning of the reigne of this queene Marie (as before you haue heard). This gentleman (as it appeared) was borne to be a prisoner, for from twelue yeares of age vnto thirtie, he had scarce two yeares libertie, within the which time he died, and obtained quiet, which in his life he could neuer haue. In the moneth of Aprill next following, cardinall Wole, who had bin a great labourer for peace betwene the French king and the emperour, being accompanied with Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester and chancelor of England, the erle of Arundell lord steward, and the lord Paget, were sent by the king and queene ouer the sea to Calis, from thence went to the towne of Marke where they met with the ambassadors of the emperour and the French king. From the emperour were sent the bishop of Arras with others. From the French king was sent the cardinall of Lozaine, and the countable of France. In this treatie, cardinall Wole sat as president and vmpier in the name of the queene of England. This peace was greatlie laboured, where at the first, there was much hope, but in the end nothing was concluded: wherefore the thirteenth daie of June, this assemble was dissolved, and the English ambassadors returned againe into England.

In this moneth of August, in Suffolke, at a place by the sea side, all of hard stone and pibble, called in those parts a thesse, lieng betwene the towne of Driford and Alborough, there neuer grew grasse, nor any earth was euer sene, there preached in this barren place suddenlie to spring by without any tillage or sowing, great abundance of peasen, whereof the poore gathered (as men iudged) aboue an hundred quarters; yet remained some ripe, & some bloss-

ming, as manie as euer there were before. To the which place rode the bishop of Norwich, and the lord Willoughbie with others in great number, who found nothing but hard reekie stone for the space of three yards vnder the roots of those peasen, which roots were great and long, and verie swart in tast to the mouth of the eater, &c.

On Bartholomew euen, after the Lord maior and aldermen of London had rid about Bartholomew faire, they came to Wyntes hospitall within Newgate, where they heard a disputation betwene the scholers of Paules schole, saint Anthonies schole, and the scholers of the said hospitall, for whom was provided three games, which was three penes: the best pen of silver and gilt, valued at five shillings, wonne by a scholer of saint Anthonies schole, and the maister of that schole had six shillings eight pence; the second, a pen of silver parcell gilt, valued at six shillings, wonne by a scholer of Paules schole, & his maister had five shillings in monie: the third, a pen of silver, valued at three shillings, wonne by a scholer of the said hospitall, and his maister had four shillings. And there were two preests maisters of arts appointed for iudges, which had each of them a silver rule for their paines, valued at six shillings eight pence the peece. The disputation being ended, the maior and aldermen entred the hall, where the children of the hospitall be to dine, and had fruit & wine, and so departed.

King Philip went ouer seas, and landed at Calis on the fourth of September, where he was honorably receiued by the lord deputie, & the maior of the staple of Calis, an alderman of London named sir Andrew Jud, presenting his maiestie with a purse & a thousand marks of gold in it: that night the king was lodged in staple inne: and on the morrow he departed from Calis towards Bussels in Babant, to visit the emperour his father: he gaue at his departing among the souldiours of the towne of Calis, a thousand crownes of gold, and there accompanied him in his iourneie of English lords, the earle of Arundell lord steward of the queenes house, the earle of Penbroke, the earle of Huntington, and others. On Michaelmas euen, the prisoners that laie in the counter in Breadstreet, were remoued to a new counter made in Woodstreet of the citie purchase & building, the which remouing was confirmed by a common counsell assembled at the Guildhall for that purpose.

On the last of September, by occasion of great wind and raine that had fallen, was such great floods, that that morning the kings palace at Westminster, and Westminster hall was ouerfloved with water, vnto the flaire foot, going to the chancerie and kings bench: so that when the lord maior of London should come to present the shrikes to the barons of the exchequer, all Westminster hall was full of water. And by report there, that morning, a whirrmann rowed with his bote ouer Westminster bydige, into the palace court, and so through the staple gate: and all the wall staple into the kings street, and all the marshes on Lambeth side, were so ouerfloved, that the people from Pelwington church could not passe on foot, but were caried by bote from the said church to the pinfold, nere to saint Georges in Southwoike.]

About this time, the bishop of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Wyssol, were sent in commission to Driford by the popes authoritie, to examine Kideie and Latimer, vpon certeine articles by them preached, which if they would not recant, and consent to the popes doctrine, then had they power to proceed in sentence against them as heretikes, and to commit them ouer to the secular power. Those two doctors neuer

Disputation
at Wyntes
hospitall, as
had bene ac-
cused at saint
Bartholomew
newes in
Smithfield,
being an-
nounced
to young
scholers.

Stablelie.
Lion.

King Philip
went ouer
to Flanders.

This shrike
was executed
by the
chancery
the death of
Stephen
Gardiner
bishop of
Winchester.

Ab. Fl. cx I. F.
encyclopio.
The reporter
of this addi-
tion of
win.

Great lands
waters were
by direction
quented place
was ouerfloved.

Anno Reg.
Commission-
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Driford by the
popes authori-
tie, & who

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Mr. Reg. 3.

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king Philip
went ouer into
Flanders.

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Great lands
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niented pla
es swers
uerflowne.

anno Reg. 3.
Commissio-
ers sent to
Oxford, by the
open autho-
ritie. & whp.

The one and twentieth of October, a parlement was holden at Westmynster, in the which amongst other things the quene being perswaded by the cardinal (and other of hir clergie) that she could not prosper, so long as she kept in hir handes any possesions of the church, did frankelie and traile resigne and render unto them all those reuerues ecclesiasticall, which by the authoritie of parlement, in the time of king Henrie, had bene annexed to the crowne, called the first fruits and tenths of all bishoppsicks, benefices, and ecclesiasticall promotions. The resignation wherof was a great diminution of the reuerues of the crowne. ¶ In this parlement was granted to the king & quene a subsidie of the lattie from five pounds to ten pounds eight pence of the pound, from ten pounds to twentie pounds twelue pence of the pound, & from twentie pounds byward sixtene pence of the pound, and all strangers double, and the clergie granted six shillings of the pound.

At length, about foure of the clocke commeth his
seruant posting in all possible speed from Wyford,
brynging intelligence to the bishop what he had heard
and scene : of whom the said bishop villigently inquir-
ing the truth of the matter, & hearing by his man,
that fire most certeinlie was set vnto them, com-
meth out reioysing to the duke: Now saith he, let vs
go to dinner . Wherevpon, they being set downe,
meat immediatlie was brought, and the bishop be-
gan merilie to eate : but what followed? The blon-
die tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the sudden
stroke of God his terrible hand fell vpon him in such
sort, as immediatlie he was taken from the table, &
is brought to his bed, where he continued the space of
foure daies, in such intolerable anguish and tor-
ment, as hee could not beleeue.

But whatsoeuer he was, seeing he is now gone, I
refferre him to his iudge, to whom he shall stand o-
fall. As concerning his death and manner thereof, I
would they which were present therat, would testi-
fie to vs what they saw. This we haue all to thinke
that his death hapened so opportunelie, that Eng-
land hath a mightie cause to giue thanks to the Lord
therfor: not so much for the great hurt he had done
in times past in peruerting his princesse, in bringing
in the six articles, in murdering Gods saints, in de-
spising Christs sincere religion, &c: as also expecta-
tion for that he had thought to haue brought to passe
in murdering also our noble quene that now is. For
whatsoeuer danger it was of death that she was in,
it did (no doubt) proceed from that blouidie bishop,
who was the cause thereof. And if it be certaine which
we haue heard, that hir highnesse being in the to-
wer, a tort came downe from certeine of the coun-
cill for hir execution, it is out of controuersie, that
holie Winchester was the onelie Medals and fran-
mer of that engine. Who (no doubt) in that one daie
had brought this whole realme into iudicall ruine,
had not the lords most gracions counsell, thorough
maister Bridges then the lieutenant, comming in
hast to the quene, certified hir of the matter, and pre-
uented Achitophels blouidie deuises. For the which
thanks be to the same our Lord and Saviour, in the
congregation of all English churches. Amen.]

¶ And now forasmuch as in the beginning of the
moneth of June about Whitsuntide, the time was
thought to be nie, that this young maister should come
into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurses
with the cradle and all, were prepared and in a readi-
nesse, suddentlie upon what cause or occasion it is but
certeine, a certeine vaine rumoz was blazone in
London of the prosperous deliuerance of the quene
and the birth of the child: insomuch that bels were
rong, bonifiers and processions made, not onelie
in the citie of London, and in most other parts
of the realme, but also in Antwerpe guns were shot
off upon the river by the English ships, and the mari-
ners thereof were rewarded with an hundred piffo-
lets or Italian crownes by the ladie regent, who
was the quene of Hungarie. Such great reioysing
and triumph was for the quenes deliuerie, and that
there was a prince borne. Yea, diuers preachers
namelie one the person of saint Anne within Alder-
gate, after procession and *Te Deum* song, took vpon
him to describe the proportion of the child, how faire,
how beautifull, and great a prince it was, as the like

Stephan
Gardiner
especiallie
hunteth for
the life of ladie
Elizabeth.
M. Elizabeth
preferred.

M. Bridges
 Rescued the
 Lords organ
 in saving the
 ladie Eliza-
 beths life.

The arch-
shop of York
lord chancelor.
John Stow.

Abr. Fl. ex I. F.
martyrologio.
Rochers and
nurses pre-
ceded for ques-
tionary child

processions
and bonfires
in London for
joy of the young
prince.

Triumph at
Antwerpe for
the same.

had not bene sene.

In the middell of this great adoe, there was a simple man (this I speake but vpon information) dwelling within foure miles of Bartolike, that neuer had bene before halfe waie to London, which saith concerning the benefices made for queene Maries child; Here is a sofall triumph, but at length all will not proue worth a messe of postage, as in deed it came to passe: for in the end all proued cleane contrarie, and the joy & expectations of men were much decelued. For the people were certified, that the queene neither was as then deliuered, nor after was in hope to haue anie child. At this time manie talked diuerslie. Some said this rumour of the quenes conception was spread for a policie: some other affirmed that the was decelued by a timpanie or some other like disease, to thinke hirselfe with child, and was not: some thought she was with child, and that it did by some chance miscarie, or else that she was betwixhed: but what was the truth therof, the Lord knoweth, to whome nothing is secret. One thing of mine owne hearing and seeing I cannot passe ouer but witnessed.

Q. Maries child would not come.

What became of Q. Maries child no man can tell.

There came to me, whome I did both heare and see, one Isabell Spalt, a woman dwelling in Aldersgate street in Hoxe alle, not farre from the house where this present booke was printed, who before witness made this declaration vnto vs, that she being deliuered of a man-child vpon Whitsundaie in the morning, which was the eleuenth daie of June Anno 1555, there came to hir the lord North, and another lord to hir unknowne, dwelling then about old Fifth street, demanding of hir if she would part with hir child, and would sweare that she neuer knew nor had no such child. Which if she would, hir sonne (they said) should be well prouided for, she should take no care for it, with manie faire offers if she would part with the child.

After that came other women also, of whome one (she said) should haue bene the rocker: but she in no wise would let go hir sonne, who at the writing hereof being alive and called Timothie Spalt, was of the age of thirtene yeares and vppward. Thus much (I saie) I heard of the woman hir selfe. What credit is to be giuen to hir relation, I deale not withall, but leaue it to the libertie of the reader, to beleue if they that list: to them that list not, I haue no further warrant to assure them. Among manie other great preparations made for the quenes deliuerance of child, there was a cradle verie sumptuoullie and gorgeously trimmed, on the which cradle for the child appointed, these verses were written, both in Latine and in English, as they are set downe here in record:

De testimonio eiusdem puerperę Londoniensis.

The young princes cradle

Verbes vpon the cradle.

Quam Maria sobolem Deu optime summe dedisti,

Angli incolumem redde, tuere, rege.

The child which thou to Marie,

o Lord of might hast send,

To Englands ioie in health

prelerue, keepe and defend.

About this time there came ouer into England a certeine English booke, giuing warning to the Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certeine close practises for recouerie of abbete lands, which booke was called A warning for England, whereof ye shall vnderstand much more at large where we speake of the Spanissh inquisition. So that by the occasion of this booke, vpon the thirtenth daie of this moneth came out a certeine proclamation, set forth in the name of the king and the queene, repealing and disanulling all manner of bookes written or printed, whatsoever should touch anie thing the impairing of the popes dignitie, whereby not onelie much goodlie edification was hindered, but also great perill grew among the people. This procla-

I. Fox in mart. sub tit. Hen. 8.

mation is recorded at large with other appendents, in the Actes and Monumentes, vnder the title of queene Marie.]

In this yeare died sir John Cressham, who bare the office of lord maior of London 1547, a man of a mercifull nature, and good deuotion both to God and his countrie. He founded a free schole at Holt, a market towne in Suffolke, & gaue to euerie ward in London ten pounds to be distributed to the poore; and to threescore poore men and women, euerie one of them thre yeards of bode cloth of eight or nine shillings the yarde, to be made in golowes readie to their backs. He gaue also to maids marriages, and to the hospitals in London, about two hundred pounds in readie monie. A blasing starre was sene at all times of the night, the first, seuenth, eight, ninth, and tenth of March.]

About this time, Wrokes bishop of Glocester was by the cardinall sent downe as commissioner from the pope to Wyford, there to sit vpon the examination of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Cantuarie, in such things as should be laid to his charge by John Storie and Thomas Martin, doctors in the lawes, sent speciallie in commission from the queene. At which time the said archbishop making low obsequance to them that late in the quenes name, shewed no token of reuerence to the bishop that was the popes commissioner: who neuertheless proceeded against him as iudge, and conuicted him of heresie. According to the which sentence, the one and twentieth daie of March next following, he was disgraced by Edmund Boner, and Thomas Thirkelbie, bishops of London and Ely, sent downe for that purpose, and he was burned in the same place where Kildie and Latimer before had suffered.

Before his death by the persuation of a Spanissh frier, named frer John, a reader of diuinitie in Wyford, and by the counsell of certeine other that put him in hope of life and pardon, he subscribed to a recantation, wherein he submitted himselfe wholie to the church of Rome, and continued in the same mind to outward appearance, vntill he was brought out of prison, to go to the fire. Afoze whose execution, a sermon was made by doctor Cole deane of Pauls, in saint Martins church in Wyford. And in the end of his sermon, the said doctor Cole praised the people to incline their eares to such things as the said Cranmer would declare vnto them by his owne mouth. For (saith he) he is a man verie repentant, and will here before you all reuoke his errors.ouertheless he did cleane contrarie. For when he came to the place where the holie bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Kildie were burnt before him, for the confession of the truth, kneeling downe he praised to God, & not tarrying long in his praises, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himselfe to death. His shirt was made long downe to his feet: his feet were bare. Likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare, that one heare could not be sene vpon it. His beard was long and thicke, couering his face with maruellous grautie. Such a countenance of grautie moued the hearts both of his friends and of his enimies.

And as for the recantation aforesaid, with manie tears he protested, that he had subscribed to the same against his conscience, onelie for feare of death, and hope of life. Which seemed true: for when he came to the stake, & the fire kindled, he put his right hand into the fire, and held it there a good space, saying: that the same hand should first burne, because it held the pen to subscribe against his Lord God. Vpon the death of this Cranmer I find these reuerend verses:

Infornate est Felix, qui numine laeso,

Quousin gaudet commoditate boni.

I. Scow. 1556. Hoit, with the other charges of the 30. Cris.

Blasing starre.

Wrokes bishop of Glocester.

His appointment to examine Cranmer.

Ch. Cranmer archbishop of Cantuarie condemned.

He is burned.

The archbishop brought to the place of execution.

John Fox.

The delation of his person.

Cardinall Pole made archbishop of Cantuarie.

Perfection of religion.

Paragate set on fire.

A conspiracy.

I. Scow. pag. 1150.

The names of the conspirators and their names. Sir Anthony Kingston departed this life. Executions by treason, felonies, and rebellion.

John Stow.

Anno Reg. 4.

Execution.

I. pag. 1101.

Conspiracy begun by one Elmer and his brethren called Lincolne.

In Cranmer's enemies. Harri. Cantuarie. neuer see mo: the bo shall al trouble the the kee don, & strawe the tin The: racie b in the t wheree the tre ster, c: there i sand pi be able it fell o conspi was in the con ell, Di Stant into A knight and die and two cleale. & quarl likewi dike, as fense. ger son mas & and of the set boemer carts c gion ti The: yeare o John & dead, i were b one C. Porffe Lincol haue g which t an hun appoint of his, thep th man ce with al that cci other pl an bou which r and tolt diatlie i

*Infelix ille est verò feliciter, orbi
Inuisus quisquis tristia fata subit.
Hoc Cranmere probas, vita presentis amore,
Dum quæris sanctam dissimulare fidem,
Et dum consilis tandem melioribus usus,
Præponis vita funera seua tue.*

Immediatlie after the death of the said bishop Cranmer, cardinall Pole (a popish prelat, and a foze enimie to the religion receiued & established in king Henrie the eighths time) was made archbishop of Canturburie, who (during the life of the other) would neuer be consecrated archbishop. Who so desireth to see moze of this matter, maie see the same at large in the booke of the monuments of the church, where you shall also find, that about this time manie were in trouble for religion. The eight and twentieth daie of the aforesaid moneth of March, by the negligence of the keepers maid of the gaile of Newgate in London, who had left a candle where a great deale of straw was, the same was set on fire, and burnt all the timber worke on the northside of the same gate.

The Summer next following was a new conspiracie brought to light, which was, to haue raised war in the realme against the queene, for maintenance whereof, their first enterprise was to haue robbed the treasure of the queens exchequer at Westminister, called the receipt of the exchequer, in the which there was of the queens treasure about fiftie thousand pounds the same time, to the intent they might be able to mainteine warre against the queene, as it fell out afterwards in profe. The offerer of which conspiracie was one Whittle, who at the beginning was made priuie to the same, whereupon diuerse of the conspiracie, namelie, Henrie Beckham, Daniel, Dethicke, Udall, Throckmorton, and capteine Stanton, were apprehended, and diuerse other fled into France. Whereouer, sir Anthonie Kingston knight was accused and apprehended for the same, and died in the waie comming to London. The eight and twentieth of Aprill, Throckmorton and Richard Cleale, were drawn to Tiborne, and there hanged & quartered. The nineteenth of Maie Stanton was likewise executed. The eight of June, Koffie, Kedike, and Wedell suffered at Tiborne for the same offense. The eighteenth of June, one Sands, younger son to the lord Sands, was executed at St. Thomas Waterings, for a robberte committed by him and others to the value of thre thousand pounds. The seven and twentieth of June, eleuen men & two women, were had out of Newgate, and in thre carts conueied to Stratford the bow, where for religion they were burnt to ashes.

The eight of Iulie, in the beginning of this fourth yeare of the queens reigne, Henrie Beckham and John Daniell were executed, and after they were dead, were headed on the tower hill: their bodies were buried in Barking church. About this time one Clobber, which sometime kept a schole at Dis in Dorsetshire, with thre brethren, whose names were Lincolne, pretended an insurrection, and would haue gathered the people at a marriage, vnto the which the brethren promised either of them to bring an hundred horse with men. At which time by them appointed, the said Clobber gaue charge to a seruant of his, to watch in a lane nigh to the church where they should meet, and as soone as he saw anie horse man comming thitherward, to giue him warning with all speed. So it chanced (by the will of God) that certeine men riding through that lane, to some other place about their businesse, came about such an houre as Clobber had appointed. Upon sight of which men, his said seruant returned to his maister, and told him that his friends were come: and immediatlie the said Clobber stood by in the parish church of

Parleie, and read a traitorous proclamation of purpose prepared: which being ended, and seeing his part was too weake, for that his mates were not come, began to flee. But one maister Shireman pursued and toke him at a towne called Cie in Suffolke, and was kept in prison untill the next sessions at saint Edmundsburie, and his thre mates being brought to him, were there all together drawne, hanged, and quartered.]

This yeare, the hot burning fevers and other strange diseases, which began the yeare before, consumed much people in all parts of England; but namelie, of most ancient and graue men: so that in London, betwene the twentieth of October, and the last of December, there died seuen aldermen, whose names were Henrie Heardson, sir Richard Dobs late maior, sir William Laxton late maior, sir Henrie Hobblethorne late maior, sir John Champneis late maior, sir John Aleph late shiriffe, and sir John Gregham late maior. The one & twentieth of Nouember, John Secknam late deane of Pauls in London, now made abbat of Westminister, was strangled, and toke possession of the same: and fourteene monks moze receiued the habit with him that daie of the order of saint Benet. The said one and twentieth of Nouember, a man was brought from Westminister hall riding with his face to the horse taile, and a paper on his head, to the scaffold in Cheape, and there set on the pillorie, and then burned with an hot iron on both his cheekes, with two letters F. and A. for false accusing one of the court of the common pleas in Westminister of treason.

The sixteenth of December, Gregorie Carpenter smith, and a Frenchman borne, was arraigned for making counterfeit keies, wherewith to haue opened the locks of Newgate, to haue slaine the keeper, and let forth the prisoners. At which time of his arraignment, hauing conueied a knife into his sleeve, he thrust it into the side of William Whittents his fellow prisoner, who had giuen witness against him, so that he was in great perill of death thereby. For the which fact he was immediatlie taken from the barre into the street before the iustice hall, where his hand being first stricken off, he was hanged on a gibbet set by for that purpose. The keeper of Newgate was arraigned & indicted, for that the said prisoner had a weapon about him, and his hands loose, which should haue bene bound. The fourth of Ianuarie, a ship before Greenewich (the court being there) shot off his ordnance, one peece being charged with a bullet of stone, which passed through the wals of the court, and did no moze hurt.]

About this time came to London an ambassador to the queene from the emperour of Cathaye, Gulcovia, and Kulland, who was honorable receiued at Tottenham by the merchants of London, hauing trade in those countries, riding in velvet coates and chaines of gold, who bare all his costs and charges from the time of his entrie into England out of Scotland: for thither by tempest of weather he was driven, and there forced to land. The lord Spontacut with the queens pensioners met him at Flinton townes end; and at Smithfield barres the lord maior and aldermen in scarlet receiued him, and conueied him through the citie vnto maister Dimmocks house in Fanchurch street, where he lodged untill the twelfe of Maie, all which time he wanted no resort. And after his message and ambassage done to the queene, he departed againe with thre faire ships from Grauesend into his countrie, when he had remained here by the space of two moneths and moze.

A traitorous proclamation read, and the reader apprehended.

Great death.

Seuen aldermen of London dead in one yeare.

Ab. Fl. ex I. Stow. 1103. Secknam abbat of westminster.

Falle accuser set on the pillorie & burnt in both cheekes; wound to God all such accusers were so well marked.

A stranger should haue murdered the keeper of Newgate.

A gun shot into the court at Greenewich.

1557 An ambassador out of Cathaya.

John Stow.

I. Stow. 1037. A free scale of their charite deos of Sir Jo. Gregh.

A blessing of Harre.

A shobes bishop of Westminister appointed to examine Cranmer.

Th. Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie condemned.

His bones

The archbishop brought to the place of execution.

John Fox.

The description of this person.

Cranmer made archbishop of Canturburie.

Execution of Cranmer.

Newgate set on fire.

Conspiracie.

Stow. 1103.

Names of conspirators and their execution.

Stow.

Stow. 1103.

Execution.

Stow. 1103. Conspiracie begun by one Clobber and his brethren.

The lord
Sturton
committed
a shameful
murder.

Also about this time, the lord Sturton, for a verie shamefull and wretched murder committed by him upon two gentlemen, the father and the son, of the surnames of Hargill, bring his nere neighbors, whom he caused to be smitten downe with clubs, then their throtes to be cut, and after to be buried in his owne house sikkene fast deepe; for the which heinous offense he was apprehended and committed to the tower of London. And although the quene seemed to fauour him much, as one professing the catholike religion: yet when she vnderstood the truth of his vile deed, she abhorred him, & commanded that he should be vsed according to iustice; wherefore shortly after, he was brought to Westminister, & there arraigned & found guiltie, & had iudgement as a murderer to be hanged. And for the same fact were likewise condemned foure of his seruants. And the second daie of March next following, the said lord with his foure seruants were conueied by the quens gard from the tower of London through the citie, he hauing his armes pinioned at his backe, & his legs bound vnder the horse belite, and so caried to Salisbury, where the first daie of March next, he was hanged in the market place, and his foure seruants were hanged in the countrie nere vnto the place where the murder was committed.

The lord
Sturton hanged.

Abr. Fl. ex
L. S. 1105.
Dearth and
plentie.

This yere before haruest, wheat was sold for foure markes the quarter, malt at foure & fortie shillings the quarter, beans & rie at fortie shillings the quarter, & pease at six and fortie shillings and eight pence: but after haruest wheat was sold for five shillings the quarter, malt at six shillings eight pence, rie at three shillings foure pence. So that the penie wheat loose, that weied in London the last yere but eleuen ounces Troie, weied now six and fiftie ounces Troie. In the countrie, wheat was sold for foure shillings the quarter, malt at foure shillings eight pence; and in some places a bushell of rie for a pound of candles which was foure pence. The seauenth of September, at seauen of the clocke at night, in a blacke rainie cloud in the west was seene a rainbow, the mone in the east risen one houre before, and faire shining, and at the full the daie before. This present moneth of March king Philip, who a long season had bene in Flanders to take possession & government of the low countries (as is also said) did now returne into England, and passed through London, being accompanied with the quene and diuerse nobles of the realme.

John Caius.

The returne
of king Philip
into Eng-
land.

The foure and twentieth of Aprill Thomas Stafford, second sonne to the lord Stafford, with other to the number of two and thirtie persons, comming forth of France by sea, arrived at Scarborough in Yorkshire, where they took the castell, and held the same two daies, and then were taken without effusion of blood by the earle of Westmerland. The said Stafford and Richard Sanders, other wise called capteine Sanders, with three or foure others, of the which one was a Frenchman, were sent by to London, & there committed to prison in the tower. The said Stafford and foure others were arraigned and condemned. Whereupon the eight and twentieth of Maie, being fridaie, the said Stafford was beheaded on the tower hill; and on the morrow three of his companie, as Strrellie, Bradford, and Bodocot, were drawn from the tower to Tyborne, and there executed. Their heads were set ouer the bridge, and their quarters ouer the gates about the same citie. Capteine Sanders had his pardon, and so escaped. The first of Maie Thomas Persie was made knight, and after lord, and on the next daie he was created earle of Northumberland. The quene gaue vnto him all the lands which had bene his ancestors, remaining at that time in his hands.

Thomas
Persie created
earle of North-
umberland.

Queene Marie.

An. Dom. 1557.

In this season, although the French king (as was said) was verie loth to haue warres with England, yet the quene tangling hir selfe contrarie to promise in hir husbands quarrell, sent a defiance to the French king by Clarenceur king of armes; who comming to the citie of Remes, where the said king then late, declared the same vnto him the tenth of June, being the mondaie in Whitsonweeke. On the which daie, Carter and Bozreie king of armes, accompanied with other heralds, and also with the lord maior and certeine of the aldermen of the citie of London, by sound of three trumpets that rode before them, proclaimed open war against the said French king, first in Cheape side, and after in other parts of the citie, where customarilie such proclamations are made: the shiriffes still riding with the heralds, till they had made an end, although the lord maior brake off in Cheape side, and went to saint Peters to heare seruice, and after to Pauls, where (according to the vsage then) he went on procession. King Philip because of the warres towards, betwixt him and the French king, the first of Julie passed ouer to Calis, and so into Flanders, where on that side the seas he made prouision for those warres: at which time there was great talke among the common people, muttering that the king making small account of the quene, sought occasions to be absent from hir.

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Heuerthelesse, the shortly after caused an armie of a thousand horsemen, and foure thousand footmen, with two thousand pioners to be transported ouer to his aid, vnder the leading of diuerse of the nobilitie and other valiant capteins, whose names partly follow: the earle of Penbrooke capteine generall, sir Anthonie Wyotone vicount Pontacute lieutenant generall vnder the said earle, the lord Greie of Wiltton lord marshall, the earle of Rutland generall of the horsemen, the lord Clinton earle of Lincoln colonell of the footmen, the lord Russell earle of Bedford, the lord Robert Dupleie earle of Leicester and master of the ordinance, the lord Thomas Howard, sir William West lord de la Mare, sir Edward Windsoze after lord Windsoze, the lord Bate, sir Edmund Wyges lord Shandois, the lord Ambrose Dupleie earle of Marwike, the lord Henrie Dupleie, Edward Randall esquier sergeant maior, master Whitteman treasurer of the armie, Edward Chamberleine esquier capteine of the pioners, sir Richard Leigh trenchmaster, John Higate esquier prouost marshall, Thomas Harue esquier mustermaster, sir Peter Carew, sir William Courtneie, sir Giles Stranguish, sir Thomas Finch master of the campe, and other nobles, knights, and gentlemen of right approued valiance: although diuerse of them were suspected to be protestants. Furthermore, to make king Philips power the stronger, there came aid vnto him from sundrie places; where by as his armie increased in number, so likewise grew the same more puissant in strength. The people that assisted him are thus remembred by C. O. in his discourse of this warre, as here followeth:

*Misi in auxilium Germania lecta virorum
Corpora ferratas acies peditumque catervas.
Nec deerat miles Latius de gente cruentus,
Dalmata non deerat bello huic nec desuit Hunnus.
At tamen ante alios, fiducia summa locata est
In quibus armatus valide conuenerat Anglus.
Fœdus amicitie vetus id pascibat, & vxor.
Cui cum reges fuit socii commune periculum.*

The fiftenth of Julie, the ladie Anne of Cleme departed this life at Chelcie, and was honorablie buried at Westminister the first of August: a ladie of right commendable regard, courteous, gentle, a good housekeeper, & verie bountifull to hir seruants.

Yair given
in execution
Philip.

The death of
the ladie Anne
of Cleme.

An. Reg.

the king of
France
the king of
France

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Queene Marie
proclaimeth
open warfare
against the
French king

Queene Marie
proclaimeth
open warfare
against the
French king

King Philip
passed over
to Flanders

The names
of the cap-
tains over the
queens forces

Marie gentle
in exercise
Philip

The death of
the lady Anne
of Cleve

John of
France
died

The com-
mission of
France
died

John of
France
died

The death of
the lady Anne
of Cleve

The eighteenth of August was a solemn obsequie celebrated in the church of S. Paule in London, for John king of Boztingale, who departed this life in Julie last past. The lord treasurer was chiefe mourner. The queenes armie being transported ouer to Calis (as befoze ye haue heard) marched to foine with king Philips power: the which already being assembled, had invaded the French confines, and being come befoze saint Quintins, planted a strong siege befoze that towne. To the rescue whereof, the French king sent a great armie both of horsemen and footmen, under the leading of the constable of France: which armie consisted of about nine hundred men at armes, with as manie light horsemen, seven or eight hundred Roissers, two & twentie ensignes of lancequenets, and sixteen ensignes of French footmen. They had also with them sixtēne pièces of great artillerie, to wit, six double canons, foure long culuerings, the rest bastard culuerings, and other pièces of smaller mould. The constable being garbed upon saint Laurence daie, which is the tenth of August, approached the towne, meaning to put into the same succours of more soldiers, with Dandelot the admirals brother, that was within the towne not furnished with such a garrison as was thought expedient for the defence thereof, against such a power as king Philip had prepared against it.

The duke of Savoie and other capitains of the armie that laie at siege befoze the towne, advertised of the constables coming towards them, assembled the most part of their horsemen together, and with all speed made towards a passage distant from the place where the French armie stood houching about a two English miles: and being got ouer, they divided themselves into eight troopes of horsemen, led by the earles of Egmond, Horne, Pausfield, the dukes of Brunswike and others, being in all to the number of five thousand men of armes, beside the swart Kutters and light horsemen. Which gaue such a furious & cruell charge upon the Frenchmen, that they not able to resist the same, were altogether defeated, and their battels as well horsemen as footmen put to flight. Whereof king Philip having knowledge, pursued them with all his force, in which pursuit there were slain of the Frenchmen a great number, the chiefe whereof were these that follow. John of Bourbon duke of Anguien the vicount of Tarraine & eldest sonne of Koch du Maine, the lord of Chandenier, with a great number of other gentlemen that bare armes in the field. There were taken these prisoners following; the duke of Montmorencie constable of France hurt with an harquebus shot in the hand, the duke of Montpensier hurt in the head, the duke of Longueville, the marshall of saint Andrews, the lord Leives brother to the duke of Pantos, monsieur de Classe, the baron of Curton, monsieur de la Koch du Maine, the Kingraue coronell of the Almans: moreover the counte de Koch Foucault, monsieur d'Obignie, monsieur de Peru, monsieur de Pontbuzun, monsieur de Biron, sonnes to the constable, monsieur de la chapelle de Biron, monsieur de saint Heran: beside manie other gentlemen and capitains of good account and estimation. Yet there escaped the more part of the French horsemen, and manie of their footmen, with certeine of their capitains of honor; as the duke of Pevens, the prince of Conde brother to the king of Navarre, the earle of Montmorencie eldest sonne to the constable, the earle of Sancerre, monsieur de Burdillon, and other of the barons of France.

Within two or three daies after this overthrow, king Philip with the English armie, under the government of the earle of Penbroke, and others, came to the siege afoze saint Quintins, & so was the

siege greatly reinforced; and on the tenth and twentieth of August by the speciall aid & helpe of the Englishmen, the towne of saint Quintins was taken. For when the other soldours, after diverse assaults were repelled and gaue ouer, the Englishmen of a stout courage gaue a new onset, by reason whereof the towne was taken. And in reward of their well doing, king Philip granted them the sacage of the said towne. But then the swart Kutters, which kepte rule when they be strongest, set upon the Englishmen, in taking of the spoile, and killed a great number of them. This grudge was with much difficultie appeased, & men thought that if the Englishmen being much fewer in number had not bene oppressed with the multitude of the other, that it would haue growne to a great slaughter on both parts. At the assault the lord Henrie Dudleye, youngest sonne to the duke of Northumberland was slain with the shot of a great peece, as he stooped upon his approach unto the wall, and staid to rip his hose ouer the knee, thereby to haue bene the more apt and nimble to the assault. This was his end, of whome one saith thus:

Henricus Dudleius heros,
Ille annis generosam animam iuuenilibus efflat,
Quem referunt socij slentes in castra peremptum;
Pius christicolæ est, velatum sudone, genus.

After the winning of this towne, newes in post were brought into England to the queene, who caused generall processions to be made, and Te Deum to be song, giuing all laud and praise to almighty God for this great victorie. And in the streets of euerie citie and towne of the realme were made bonafires with great reioysing: which sudden shot of gunnes turned verie horrible after to great & long sorrow. For if ought were to be had of saint Quintins, England got nothing at all, for the gaine thereof came onlie to king Philip. But the losse of Calis, Hammes and Guines, with all the countie on that side the sea (which followed some after) was such a buffet to England, as happened not in more than an hundred yeares before; and a dishonor, wherewith this realme shall be blotted, untill God shall giue power to redub it with some like requitall to the French.

Doctor Weston being (as you haue heard befoze) prolocutor of the conuocation house, was at this time in displeasure with cardinall Pole, and other bishops: because he was unwilling to resigne his deanrie of Westminister unto the queene, whose purpose was to place there (as in old time befoze) the religion of monks, whome in deed he fauoured not, although in all other things he stood with the church of Rome. Wherefore, by verie importunate sute, or rather compulsion, he with his colleagues resigned the deanrie of Westminister. In recompence whereof he was made deane of Windsor, where not long after he was taken in adulterie, and for that fact was by the cardinall depprived of all his spirituall livings, from whose sentence he appealed unto the court of Rome. For the following of which appeale he sought secretlie to depart the realme: but he was apprehended by the waite, and committed to the tower of London, where he remained prisoner, untill by the death of queene Marie) queene Elizabeth came unto the crowne, by whome he was set at libertie, and shortly with fell sicke and died.

The common talke was, that if he had not so suddenly died, he would haue disclosed the purpose of the chiefe of the clergie, meaning the cardinall, which was to haue taken by the Henries bodie at Windsor, and to haue burned it, as manie thought. The thirtieth of Nouember, being saint Andrews daie, in the forenoone, the queene came from saint James to hir palace at Westminister, where she heard masse: at the which, sir Thomas Cresham knight received

taken and
lacked.

The lord
Henrie Dud-
leye slain
with the shot
of a gun.

Doctor West-
on resigneth
the deanrie of
Westminster
by compulsion
and is recom-
pensed.

The malice
of cardinall
Pole against
king Henrie
the eight.

Sir Thomas
Cresham
made lord of
saint Johns
of Jerusalem.

Calis not furnished with a sufficient number of men.

The losse of saint Quintins nettled the French king.

The duke of Guise with a great armie cometh toward Calis.

Guise entrench the English frontier.

1558.
Anno Reg. 5.

Newnambridge taken by the French.
The master gunners head smitten cleane off with a gun.

the order of the crosse, & was instituted lord of saint Johns of Jerusalem in England. At this time, although there was open hostilitie and warre between England & France: yet contrarie to the common custome before used, the towne of Calis and the forts thereabouts were not supplied with anie new accrewes of soldiors, but rather witholdne from thence, and discharged. Which negligence was not unknowne to the enimie, who long before had practised the winning of the said towne and countrie.

The French king therefore being sharplie nettled with the late losse of saint Quintins, and a great peece of his countrie adioining, and desirous of reuenge, thought it not meet to let slip this occasion, but rather to aduance the same with all expedition, according vnto the plot lated by the conestable before hand. The king yet neuertheless hauing an armie in a readinesse (although the conestable were now prisoner, and therefore could not be present himselfe) to imploy where most aduantage should appeare, determined with all speed to put in proue the enterprise of Calis, which long and manie times before was purposed vpon, as it was well knowne. This practice was not secret, but that the deputies of Calis and Guisnes had some intelligence thereof, and informed the queens and hir counsell accordingly, as well by letters, as by sufficient messengers: for not onelie John Hiesfield master of the ordinance was sent from thence to giue due aduertisement of the French kings purpose, & to haue a supplie of things necessarie for mounting of the great artillerie where of he had charge; but also sir Rafe Chamberleine, capteine of the castell, was likewise sent to giue the like aduertisement, who returned not past two or thre daies before the duke of Guise came thither with the armie. And so either by wilfull negligence, or lacke of credit by the queens counsell here, this great case was so slenderly regarded, that no prouision of defense was made, vntill it was somewhat to late.

The duke of Guise being generall of the French armie, proceeded in this enterprise with marvellous speed and no lesse policie. For approaching the English frontier vnder colour to vittell Bullongne and Ard, he entered the same vpon a sudden on Newyears daie, a sozie little plot of ground, intrenched at Sandgate, and then diuided his armie into two parts, sending one part with certeine peeces of great artillerie along the dolones by the sea side towards Ricebanke: and the other part furnished also with batterrie peeces, marched straight forth to Newnambridge, meaning to batter these two forts both at one time. Which thing he did with such readie dispatch, that comming thither verie late in the evening, he was master of both by the next morning: where at the first shot discharged at Newnambridge, the head of the master gunner of that peece, whose name was Hozlie was stricken off.

The capteine hauing sent vnto the lord deputie of Calis for some supplie of men, was answered that if he perceived the enimies force to be such, whereby his peece should grow to be in anie danger: that then he should choke by the artillerie, and retire with his men vnto Calis for defense of the towne, where they stood in great want of men also, even to the perill of losing the whole, if the enimies came forwards to besiege it. Whereupon the capteine within Newnambridge perceiuing he might haue no succors, retired with his soldiors vnto Calis, in such secret wise, that the Frenchmen perceived it not of a ppetie while; insomuch that they shot still at the fort, when there was not a man within it to make resistance: and by that time that they were come to Calis, the other part of the French armie that went by the sea side with their

batterie, had twone Ricebanke, being abandoned to their hands. The next daie the Frenchmen with two double canons and thre culuerings began a batterie, from the Sandhills next Ricebanke against the curteine betwixt the watergate and the soldiors prison on the wall, and continued the same by the space of two or thre daies, vntill they had made a little breach next vnto the watergate, which neuertheless was not yet assaultable: for that which was broken in the daie, was by them with in the towne made by againe in the night stronger than before. But the batterie was not begun there by the French, for that they intended to enter in that place, but rather to aduise the English, to haue the lesse regard vnto the defense of the castell, which was the weakest part of the towne, and the place where they were ascertained by their espials to win easie entrie. So that while our people travelled fondlie to defend that counterfet breach of the towne wall, the duke had in the meane season planted sixtene double canons against the castell. Which castell being considered by the rulers of the towne, to be of no such force as might resist the batterrie of the canon (by reason it was old and without anie rampiers) it was deuised to make a traine with certeine barrells of powder to this purpose, that when the Frenchmen should enter (as they well knew that there they would) to haue fired the said traine, and blotne by the keepe, and for that purpose lest neuer a man within to defend it.

But the French hauing passed through the ditch full of water, & thereby with their cloths wazinging wet as they passed ouer the traine, they moisted so the powder, that it would not take fire when it was giuen. Whereupon the Frenchmen esping the traine, auoided the same; so as that deuise came to no purpose, and without anie resistance they entered the castell, and thought to haue entered the towne by that waie. But by the prouesse and hardie courage of sir Anthonie Ager knight, & marshall of the towne, with his soldiors they were repelled, and driuen backe againe into the castell, and so hard followed, that our men forced them to close and shut the castell gate for their suertie, lest it should haue bene recovered against them, as it was once attempted by sir Anthonie Ager; who there with his sonne and betre, and a purseruant at armes called Calis, with diuise others to the number of thre or foure score Englishmen lost their liues.

The same night after the recule of the French men, whose number so increased in the castell, that the towne was not able to resist their force, the lord Wentworth being deputie of the towne, appointed Nicholas Fellow, alias Guisnes, and Richard Turpine, alias Hammes, to go to the French within the castell, to demand parloe: whereunto they assented, put forth of the posterne two French gentlemen, and in pledge for them receiued into the castell John Hiesfield master of the ordinance, and Edmund Wall one of the conestables of the staple. Whereupon they falling in talke about a composition: at length after some long debating of the matter, they concluded in this sort. First that the towne, with all the great artillerie, vittels, and munitions, should be freely yelded to the French king, the liues of the inhabitants onelie saued, to whome safe conduct should be granted to passe where they listed: sauing the lord deputie, with sike such other as the duke should appoint, to remaine prisoners, and be put to their ransom. The next morning, the Frenchmen entered and possessed the towne: and forthwith all the men, women, and children, were commanded to leaue their houses, and to go to certeine places appointed for them to remaine in, till order might be taken for their sending awaie.

The duke of Guise proclaimed to bring in money and plate, &c.

The duke of Guise has power.

The English men found sense.

The French fail to spoiling and rifling.

The French men discompoint the Englishmens deuise.

Sir Anthonie Ager and his sonne slain.

The lord Wentworth.

A parloe demanded of the French.

Carlisle of soldiors that were in Calis.

Calis delivered to the French.

the bankes
in by the
rench.

The duke of
Gaules pro-
clamation to
bring in mo-
ne and plate,
to

the duke of
Gaules pro-
clamation to
bring in mo-
ne and plate,
to

the English
ens fond
nle.

The French
firing
morning.

the French
in disap-
point the
nightly men
use.

the French
in disap-
point the
nightly men
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the lord
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The report
of the French
out of
Calis.

General
of the French
in Calis

his desire
to the
ench

The places thus appointed for them to remaine in, were the cite founte, the two churches of our ladie, and saint Nicholas, the deputies house, and the staple, where they rested a great part of that daie, and one whole night, and the next daie till thre of the clocke at afternone, without either meat or drinke. And while they were thus in the churches, and those other places, the duke of Galle in the name of the French king, in their hearings made a proclamation, strictly charging all and euerie person that were inhabitants of the towne of Calis, hauing about them any monie, plate, or iewels, to the value of one groat to bring the same forthwith, and laie it downe upon the high altars of the said churches upon paine of death; bearing them in hand also, that they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation, there was made a great & sorrowfull offeratorie. And while they were at this offering within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and rifled the same, where was found inestimable riches and treasure: but speciallie of ordnance, armour, and other munitions.

Thus dealt the French with the English in lieu and recompence of the like vltage to the French when the forces of king Philip prevailed at St. Quintins: where not content with the honour of victorie, the English in sacking the towne sought nothing more than the satisfieng of their greedie desire of countenance, with an extreme neglect of all moderation. So likewise did the Spanish soldiers, and the rest that could come to finger any thing of value: insomuch that neither monie nor plate, either of silver or gold, rich hangings, bedding, nor household stuffe, was spared: but what they could not carrie awaye for cumbersome, they sold dogcheape; were the same necessarie furniture seruiceable for the chamber, the kitchen, or any other roome in a mans house. Pearls and precious stones, iewels and ornaments, the rich ornaments of the French daimes were they bought and sold at a low price, which a long time had bene kept shut up vnder locke and key: all laid open now to the greedie eye of the soldiers, who like landlords kept possession of houses, as C. O. noteth, of whom I haue borrowed the report of this reuel roist, saieing:

*Amatis viros formosissimos occupat verba
Militibus victor, dominantur in edibus alis
Iam vacuis veterum dominorum Marce phalanges
Conspicue.*

About two of the clocke the next daie at after none, being the seventh of Iannarie, a great number of the meanest sort were suffered to passe out of the towne in safetie, being guarded through the armie with a number of Scottish light horsemen, who bled the Englishmen verie well and stendlie: and after this euerie daie for the space of thre or foure daies together, there were sent awaye diuerse companies of them till all were auoided, those only excepted that were appointed to be reserved for prisoners, as the lord Wentworth, & others. There were in the towne of Calis siue hundred English soldiers ordinarie, and no more: and of the townesmen not fullie two hundred fighting men (a small garrison for the defense of such a towne) and there were in the whole number of men, women, and children (as they were accounted when they went out of the gate) foure thousand and two hundred persons. But the Lord Wentworth deputie of Calis, sir Rafe Chamberleine capitaine of the castell, John Harrison capitaine of Kicebanke, Nicholas Alexander capitaine of Newmansbridge, Edward Grimstone the comptroller, John Rogers surueyor, with others, to the number of fiftie (as aforesaid) such as it pleased the duke of Galle to appoint, were sent prisoners into France.

Thus haue ye heard the discourse of the overthrow

and losse of the towne of Calis, the which enterprisse was begun and ended in lesse than eight daies, to the great maruell of the world; that a towne of such strength, and so well furnished of all things as that was (sufficient numbers of men of warre onlie excepted) should so suddenly be taken and conquered, but most speciallie in the winter season, what time all the countrie about (being marishy ground) is commonly ouerflowed with water. The said towne was won from the French king by R. Edward the third, in the time of Philip de Valois then French king: and being in possession of the kings of England two hundred and eleuen yeares, was in the time of Philip and Marie king & queene of England lost within lesse than eight daies: being the most notable fort that England had. For the winning whereof, king Edward aforesaid, in the 21 yeare of his reigne, was faine to continue a siege eleuen moneths and more. Wherefore it was iudged of all men, that it could not haue come so to passe, without some secret trecherie.

Here is also to be noted, that when queene Marie and hir counsell heard credible of the Frenchmens sudden approach to that towne, the with all speed possible (but somewhat too late) raised a great power for the rescue thereof, the which comming to Douer, staid thereabouts till the towne was wonne, either for that their whole number was not come together, or for that there were not ships readie sufficient to passe them ouer, although the wind and weather serued verie well to haue transported them thither, till the sundais at night after the towne was deliuered: for then began a marvellous sore and rigorous tempest, continuing the space of foure or fife daies together, that the like had not bene seene in the remembrance of man. Wherefore some said that the same came to passe through necromancie, and that the diuell was raised up and become French, the truth whereof is knowne (saith master Grafton) to God. True it is that after the said tempest began, for the time it lasted, no ship could well bryoke the seas, by reason of the outrageous stormes. And such of the queenes ships as did then aduenture the passage, were so shaken and tozned with the violence of the weather, that they were forced to returne in great danger, & not without losse of all their tackle and furniture: so that if this tempestuous weather had not chanced, it was thought that the armie should haue passed to haue gotten some succors to Guines, and to haue attempted the recouerie of Calis.

But if the same armie might haue bene readie to haue transported ouer in time, before the losse of Calis, and whilest the weather was most calme and sweet, as was possible for that time of the yeare, the towne might haue bene preserved; and the other peeces which through want of timelie succours came into the enemies possession. And thus by negligence of the counsell at home, conspracie of traitors elsewhere, force and false practise of enemies, holpen by the rage of most terrible tempests of contrarie winds and weather, this famous fort of Calis was brought againe and left in the hands and possession of the French. & How were he worthy of a kingdome, that could sensible and significantlie set forth the insolent triumphs and immoderate reioicing of the French for the recouerie of Calis so long possessed by the English, and now in forren tenure. In describing whereof a man had need of manie heads fraught with extraordinary inuention, and of many hands readie to deliuer in writing his rare conceits in this case. For as they are a people depending wholly upon extremities in their actions: so in this they used no measure, insomuch that euen the learnedest sort among them, namelie Turnebus, An-

Calis conquered and lost in lesse than eight daies.

How long Calis was in possession of the kings of England.

As good neuer as too late.

A terrible tempest.

Rich, Grafton.

The queenes ships sore shaken with storme and tempest.

Abr. Fl. ex opere historico Schardij collectio

ratus, Bellaius, and others did both pen and publish pamphlets in Latine verse, replenished with scoffs and unreuerend termes against the English, calling them *Persidos*, and in flowing sort *Disus orbe Britannos*; but aduancing to the skies their Henric, their Guise, and the rest of the roset that were adons in this conquest. A sight of which verses in some part I may not omit (for it requireth a booke to transcribe all) least I might be thought to impose upon them a false charge. This therefore in the forme of a dialog betweene a poet and the people writeth Auratus the French kings publike reader in the Greeke tongue:

N. *Clamate Galli nunc ter io io.*

V. *Qua leta Gallis inflat oratio?*

N. *Capti Caletes. V. Multa paucis*

Digna nouo memoras triumpho.

N. *Picere Galli, sed duce Gualo.*

V. *Io triumphe, nunc ter io io.*

N. *Picere Victores Britannos.*

V. *Nunc ter io, ter io triumphe.*

N. *Annos ducentos ferua Britannia*

Pris libera est. V. Nunc ter io io,

N. *Migrate iam prisici coloni.*

V. *Nunc ter io, ter io triumphe, &c.*

And thus proceedeth he in his od beine of inuenti- on, concluding with a question, whether the king of France or the duke of Guise are the more happie and blessed person? The answer is made that they are both blessed, the king for the duke sake, and the duke for the kings; and therefore his poise must of force sing and sound to them both thise, that is, often times *Ter io triumphe, ter io triumphe*. But I would to God the English had not bene so soon and so suddenlie turned out of their old possession, nor the French fondlings obtained such a fast cause of inmoderate ioy and outrageous triumph.]

But to leaue Calis in the present state, you shall vnderstand, that so soon as this duke of Guise (contrarie to all expectation) had in so few daies gained this strong towne of Calis (as fore thought impregnable) and had put the same in such order as best seemed for his aduantage, prouid of the spoile, and pressing forward vpon his good fortune, without giuing anie long time to the residue of the guides or capteines of the forts there, to breathe vpon their businesse, the 13 daies of the said moneth being thursdaie, with all prouision requisite for a siege, marched with his armie from Calis, vnto the towne and fort of Guisnes, five miles distant from thence. Of which towne and castell at the same time there was capteine a valiant baron of England, called William lord Greie of Wilton, who not without cause suspending a siege at hand, and knowing the towne of Guisnes to be of small force, as being large in compasse, without walles or bulwarks, closed onlie with a trench, before the Frenchmens arrivall had caused all the inhabitants of the towne to auoid, and so manie of them as were able to beare armes he caused to retire into the castell, which was a place well fortified with strong and massie bulwarks of bricke, hauing also an high and mightie tower, of great force and strength, called the Keep.

The towne being thus abandoned, the Frenchmen had the more easie approach to the castell, who thinking to find quiet lodging in those vacant houses, entered the same without any feare. And being that night at their rest (as they thought) a chosen band of souldiours appointed by the lord Greie, issued out by a posterne of the said castell, and slew no small number of their sleepe theifs, & the rest they put out of their new lodgings, and manie the duke and all the French power, consumed all the houses of the towne with fire. That notwithstanding, the said duke with all diligence began his trenches. And albeit the shot of the

great artillerie from the castell was terrible, & gaue him great impeachment: yet did he continue his worke without intermission, and for examples sake wrought in his owne person as a common pioner or labourer. So that within lesse than three daies, he brought to the number of five & thirtie batterie peeces, hard to the belym of the castell ditch, to batter the same on all sides, as well forthright as acrosse. But his principall batterie he planted against the strongest bulwke of all, called *Sparte bulwke*, thinking by gaining of the stronger to come more easilie by the weaker.

On mondaie morning therefore by breake of the daie, they had laid two batteries to the said bulwke, thirtie canons in the one, and nine in the other, with which they piled it so well, as that by none they had not onlie dismounted their counter batterie within, but also cleane cut a waie the hope of bricke off the whole forefront of their bulwarks, thereof the filling being but of late digged earth, did crumble a waie. Which the enimie finding about two of the clocke in the same afternoone, sent fortie or fiftie forlorne boies with swoords and targets to view and assaile the breach. The ditch at that place before the batterie was not foure and twentie fot broad, now assuredlie not a dozen, nor in depth above a mans knees, therefore with small ado they came to the breach, and with as little paine came vpon the same, the clime was so easie; from whence hauing discharged certaine pishols vpon the Englishmen, and received a few pusses of the pike, they retired. And making report of the easinesse of the breach, strait a band or two of Gascoignes (as it was thought) threw themselves into the ditch, and by they came. Then a little more earnestlie the Englishmen leaped to their tackling, their flankers walked, their pikes, their culuers, their pots of wild fire were lent them, the harquebush saluted them, so as tollie master Gascoigne was set downe with more hast than he came vpon with good speed: and so ended mondaies worke, sauing that vpon the retice from the assalt, they gaue seven or eight such terrible tires of batterie, as toke cleane away from them within the top of their batture and maunds, leauing them all open to the canons mouth. Whereby surelie but for night that came on, the Englishmen had bene forced to haue abandoned the place.

At this assalt was flaine of gentlemen, one capteine Bourne an Englishman, vertie valiant, also a Spanish gentleman, and common souldiours to the number of fortie or fiftie. There was also sore hurt at the same assalt, one other Spanish capteine, with diuerse others, whom for the auoiding of tediousnesse I let passe. At night the lord Greie came to the bulwke, and hauing rendred thanks to God for that daies good successe, did greatly commend them all for their manfull defense and valiant behaviour, exhorting them to continue therein, as the onlie thing wherein their safetie and good name did rest. The batterie (as before is told) hauing laid the bulwke open, they within were enforced for winning of a new batture, to intrench within the bulwke fir fot daie, and nine in thickness, which marvellouslie did strengthen the pece, the same being of no great largenesse before. By the next daie being tuesday, they had planted two batteries more; the one in the market place of the towne, to beate a curtaine of the bodie of the castell, of six canons; the other vpon the rampire of the towne of three peeces, to beat the Cat and a flanker of the Barbican, which two garded one side of the *Sparte bulwke*.

This morning they bestowed most in battering at the flankers, which the daie before they had felt, and in dard wane euerie one from them within, sauing

Ex romo sertio
historiarum
Schardij de capto
Caletio pag. 1973
&c.

The duke of
Guise marcheth to the
fort and town
of Guisnes.

The L. Greie
capteine of
Guisnes.

The L. Greie
taketh the
French at a
sleepe aduan-
tage.

The Gas-
coignes put
backe with
more hast than
they came vpon
with good
speed.

The number
flaine at this
assalt.

The lord
Greie com-
mendeth his
souldiours.

The souldiers
of Gascoignes
were the
assalt.

The manhood
of the Spani-
shes against
the French.

Batteries at
the flankers.

Rabutine,

Batterielld
to the Sparie
bulwourke,

The Cal-
coignes put
backe with
more halt than
they came by
with good
speed.

The number
slaine at this
assault.

The lord
Greie com-
mendeth his
souldiours.

Batteries at
the flankers.

Certaine
Swisses and
French ap-
proched
the ditch
as if
they would
have assailed.

Exchange
between lord
Greie and
the Spaniards
may upon a
war with
engulment.

The Swisses
and French
were the
cause.

Frenchman
and Spaniard
were against
each other.

ning that of the Cat, which laie high and somewhat se-
cret, and another at the end of a brate by the gate on
the other side of the bulwourke; all the rest, as those of
the Garden bulwourke which chællie beheld the maine
breach of the Barbican, and of the Ræpe, were quite
bereaved them. And besides the enimie continuallie
intertained the breach, with eight or nine tires the
houre. In the afternone, about the same houre that
they made their attempt the daie afore, a regiment
of Swisses, with certeine bands of Frenchmen ap-
proched the ditch, as if presentlie they would have gi-
uen the assault; but there they did staie, tending to the
breach onelie a capteine or two, seeking thereby to
have discovered what flankers yet were left to them
within; where in they were prevented, the lord Graie
having before warned the gunners not to disclose
them, but upon extremitie. And thus after an houres
plaie with the harquebush onelie, and a light offer or
two of approach, this people retired them, and gave
the canon place againe, which by night had driven
them within anew to become moldwarps, and to
intrench themselves with all speed possible.

The morrow being Wednesday, by the peepe of
daie, all the batteries began, and without intermissi-
on held on till one of the clocke in the afternone, and
especiallie that in the market place so prevailed, as
having cleane ruined the old wall, did drive through
the rampire, and a new countermure of earth raised
upon the same, where the lord Greie himselfe sitting
upon a forme, with sir Henrie Palmer, and master
Lewes Dine his lordships counsell and deputie, made
a faire escape, the forme being stricken asunder un-
der them, without anie further harme to anie of
them; though sundrie other that daie and the next
following lost their lues on the same curteine by the
foresaid battie, which full in flanke did beat it, where-
in yet was his lordships onelie abode as his chæfest
place, to view and regard the behauiour and need of
all the other lims, from which also a quost might be
tholue into Sparie bulwourke. The enimies canon
(as is said) having plaied thus all the morning, and
well searched (as they thought) euerie corner that
flankers might lurke in, about the foresaid houre of
one of the clocke, the Englishmen might descrite the
trench before the breach to be stuffed with ensignes.
The L. Greie straight expecting that which followed,
gave word incontinently to euerie place to stand on
their gard, encouraging euerie man to continue in
their well begun endeuor. A tower that was called
Webs tower, and yet standing, which flanked one
side of the beaten bulwourke, he stuffed with twentie
of the best shot with curriers. These things no sooner
thus ordered, but that eight or nine ensignes of
Swisses, and three of Calcoigns, did present them-
selves upon the counterscarfe; and without staie the
Calcoigns sue into the ditch, run by the breach,
whome they within receiue with harquebush shot,
but they requite the Englishmen againe with two
for one. The top of the baumure or rather trench,
the enimie boldlie approacheth, the pike is offered, to
handblowes it commeth. Then the Swisse with a
skatellie leasure steppeth into the ditch, and close togi-
ther marcheth by the breach, the fight increaseth, war-
eth verie hot, & the breach all couered with the eni-
mies. The small shot in Webs tower began now
their parts, no bullet that went in vaine. On the
other side againe 20 of the Spaniards on the inside
of the brates had laid themselves close till the heat
of the assault; and then shewing themselves, did no
lesse gall the enimies than the tower. Thus was it
no lussiter assailed than branelie defended. At last
after an houres fight and more, the gouernours with-
out, finding the great slaughter that theirs went to,
and small assault, and perceiving the two little cas-

mates of the tower and brates to be the chæfest an-
noyances, did cause a retire to be founded: and with
all three or foure of the canons in the market place,
to be turned upon Webs tower, the which at two
tires brought cleane downe the same upon the soldi-
ers heads, wherein two or three were slaine outright,
others hurt to death, and who escaped best, so maimed
or bused, as they were no more able to serue.

The enimie this while hauing breathed, and a brace
of an hundred shots put forth onelie to attend on the
few Spaniards that kept the corners of the brates
the assault afresh is begun, and their beaten bands
with new companies relieved. The lord Greie also
sent into the bulwourke two hundred fresh men. So
grew the fight heauie upon the Englishmen, all
their defense resting in the pike and bill, their chæ-
fest flankers being gone, their places to bestow shot
in taken from them, their fier-works in manner
spent, the Spanish shot on the other side so overlaid,
as not one of them but was either slaine or mard,
yet a quarter of the assault was past. The easinesse
of the fight thus alluring the enimie, unappointed
companies sue to the breach, and contrage was on
euerie side with them, what haucke they made it is
not hard to gesse. By lord Greie perceiving the ex-
tremitie, sent to the two forenamed flankers, that
they should no longer spare. They straight went off,
the ditches and breach being couered with men. These
vnloked for ghests made the enimie that was com-
ming to pause, and the other already come to repent
their hast. Three or foure boints of these salutations
began to cleare well the breach, though the ditch grew
the fuller at night. At last parted with no great tri-
umph of others winnings (for as the Englishmen
within went not scotfree) so tierlie no small number
of their enimies carcasses toke by their lodgings in
the ditch that night.

App lord Greie this night came into the bulwourke,
where after praise first to God, he gaue thanks and
commendations to them all. The slaine men he cau-
sed to be buried, the hurt to be removed and looked
vnto, saw the breach repaired, inquired of their lacks,
and (as he might) supplied the same. They that were
great could not be helped, as compowder, fier-works,
yea and pikes began to faile vs. The most part of
the night he here bestowed, and longer as was
thought had taried, had not a scaberdies sword about
one of the souldiours as he went in the throng & darke
amongst them, thrust him almost through the foot:
whereupon he withdrew him to be dressed, using first
vnto his souldiours an exhortation to acquite them-
selves no lesse valiantlie the next daie, assuring them
that one or two more such bankets as this last, gi-
uen to the enimie, would cole their courages for
anie more assaults.

This night now, great noise & working was heard
in the ditch, whereupon the bulwourke was once or
twice on alarm. At the last with cressets it was
espied that they were making a bridge. The morning
came, and then the same was seene to be finished,
emptie casks with ropes fastened together, & sawed
boards laid thereon. This yet did but put them with-
in, in a certaintie of that which before they accounted
of, and stood prepared for. To be short, the enimies
spent all the daie till it was full two of the clocke in
batterie, & beating at the two last flankers, which at
length they wone from them within, & the gunners
of either slaine. Whereupon the lord Greie taking
counsell of sir Henrie Palmer, master Lewes Dine
and Pontdragon the leader of the Spaniards: it
was resolved, that there might be order to make a
fucasse within the bulwourke, and presentlie to with-
draw all from thence, sauing a certeine for a face and
scale to toll in the enimie, and then to haue blowne it
by

A fresh as-
sault begun
and the light
hot and heauie
against the
English.

Enimies
slaine.

App lord
Greies worke
after the this
mish ended.

App L. Greie
hurt by mis-
chance.

The French
make bridges.

Consultation
betweene the
lord Greie and
the English
gentlemen.

Rich, Grafton.

The duke of
Guise and
monſieur Dan-
delot with
their powers.

Rabucine.

The desperat
adventure of
the French.The duke of
Guise in a
rage with his
soldiers.The English
forced to avoid
the enimie
entereth.

up whole to the destruction of them all.

In the meane time, the duke of Guise hauing giuen order to monſieur Dandelot cozonnell of the French ſoldiers, that he with his bands should be in a readinesse to giue the assault when ſigne should be giuen, did with draw him to an higher ground, from whence he might plainlie diſcouer the behauiour as well of his ſouldiours in the assault giuing, as also of the defendants in answering the same. And perceiuing not so manie of the English part appearing for defence (as he doubted there would) gaue order forthwith, that a regiment of his most forward lance, knights should mount the breach, to open the first passage: and that monſieur Dandelot with his French ſoldiers should backe them, which order was followed, with such hast & desperat hardines, that entering a deepe ditch full of water, from the bottome whereof to the top of the breach, in some places, was well neare fortye foot, without feare either of the water beneath, or the fire above, they mounted the breach.

And whereas the duke had prepared (as ye haue heard) byldges made of plankes boards, bozne up with calkes and emptie pipes, tied one to another, for his men to passe the said ditch: manie of them now at this assault, without care of those byldges, plunged into the water, and toke the next waie to come to the assault. Which hot hast notwithstanding, the assaults were at the first so stoutlie repelled and put backe by the defendants, being furnished with great store of wildfire, and other suchies for the purpose, that they were turned headlong one vpon another, much faster than they came up, not without great wast and slaughter of their best and most forward ſouldiours, to the small comfort of the stout duke, who (as is said before) stood all this while vpon a little hill to behold this businesse. Wherefore he not induring this sight any longer, as a man enraged, ran among his men, so reprooing some, and encouraging other, that the assault was hot renewed, with much more vehemencie and furie than before, and with no lesse sturdie obstinacie and desperation receiued by the defendants, whereby all the breach beneath was filled with French carcases.

This notwithstanding, the duke still redoubled his forces with fresh companies, and continued so manie assaults one vpon another, that at the last charge, being most vehement of all the other, the Englishmen being tired, and greatlie diminished in their numbers, by slaughter and bloudie wounds, were of fine force byuen to auoid, & so after halfe an hours fight, the enimie entered. Which when the lord Greie beheld, he leaped to the top of the rampire, wishing of God that some shot would take him. When one that stood next him, by the scarfe suddenie pulled him downe, otherwise the effects had well declared the earnestnes of the prater: for he was not yett vngaine, when a canon shot grated vpon the same place from whence he fell. And thus verie narrowlie he escaped the danger of that shot, which if it had hit him would (no doubt) haue wrought his dispatch. For what is the weake frame of a mans bodie to mightie forts and strong castles, builded of timber and stone, beside the iron worke therewith compact, oftentimes redoubling the strength of the same? And yett these (we say by experience) ruinated, battered, and laid leuell manie times with the thundering shot of this dreadfull artillerie: an engine of no great antiquitie, and not vsed among ancient warriours in former ages, but a late deuise of a Frenchman siter; pittie it is that euer he was borne to set abroad such a pestilent inuention, as the poet noteth, the giuing also the vs and the mischefeous effect therof as followeth:

*Tormenti genus est ex ferro aut are coactum,
Quod Franciscanus frater reperisse refertur.*

*Vi capias paucis validissima castra diebus,
Quae vix cepisses armis toto prius anno, &c.*

But to proceed. The fight within the bulwke yet lasted, to the great slaughter of them that defended it. Wherevpon my lord Greie presentlie called to maister Aelwes Diue, and others that were about him, to follow him to the gate. The maze was such, that besides his sonne maister Arthur Greie, and now lord Greie, maister Aelwes Diue, capteine Wyche-
well, and halfe a dozen of armed cossetts, not a man else did follow him. By this means the Englishmen were cleane driuen out of the bulwke, the enimie yet not daring to passe the braces, gaue them that escaped good leisure to recover the gate, where my lord Greie holding the watch himselfe, receiued them in. Vpon the taking of this bulwke, the ſouldiours of Whiteheies bulwke and the base court in discomfiture abandoned their charges, fleeing to the castle: so that more than the halfe and the bodie of the castle no part was free from the enimie. My lord Greie hauing receiued all his, caused the gates to be rammed up.

Thus were the chiefe bulwkes and better liues of the castle of Guines obtained by the French, on saint Sebastians daie, being the twentieth of January, but yett not without great expence of bloud on both sides: for of the French part there were slaine in those assaults about the number of eight or nine hundred, and of the English not manie fewer: amongst whom the greatest losse lighted vpon those few Spaniards and Mallons that were come to assist the English at that present. It was now night: when a trumpetter came to the ditch side in the base court, & sounded a summons: who being called vnto & asked what he would, told that he was sent to my lord Greie by the duke of Guise, with offer of a parlee if it would be harkened vnto. The ſouldiours no sooner heard these newes, but forsaking the walles came all in rovt together, & confusedlie speaking to their chiefeine the said lord Greie, prayed him to harken to the message, & to haue consideration of their liues, which so long as ante hope remained, they willingly had ventured. The lord Greies answer was, that he marvelled, either what causelesse mistrust of his caring for them was now come vpon them, or what sudden vnwonted faintnesse of mind had so assailed them, as to cause them in such disorder to forsake their places, and leaue the walles naked, and he willed them to returne to the same.

My lord Greie heresof toke counsell, and it was thought good not to reiect the offer, the extremitie on euerie side woked. The trumpetter receiuing answer, accordingly departed, & without long abode returned againe, requiring in the dukes behalfe hostages for a truce during the parlee from vs, he minding to deliuer the like into the castle. From him in fine monſieur Deslucres, and a gentleman of the kings chamber were sent in: and maister Arthur Greie my lordes sonne, and maister Aelwes Diue, were put out. Monſieur Dandelot in the braces receiued them, and carried them ouer the vnfortunate bulwke, being come vpon naked and new slaine carcases, some of them spalling yett and groning vnder their feet, where onlie the earth they trod on. So passing downe the breach somewhat to the ease of the former heauie fight, they saw it, and the ditch little lesse fraught with the enimies cossetts. Then to the campe they came, and were lodged in the said Dandelots tent.

The next daie in the morning, the lord Greie was to meet the duke abroad: betwene them willinglie one hour was spent in talking without agreement, onlie vpon this point, that the lord Greie would haue his bands depart with their ensignes displayed,

Arthur Greie
now lord
Greie.The enimie
dashed out
his兵
notwithstanding.

Rich. Grafton.

A trumpetter
from the base
of Guise to the
lord Greie.Hostages re-
quired on the
dukes part
from the lord
Greie during
the time of
the parlee, &c.The soldiers
of Guines
were there
lying and
lying.The duke
and the lord
Greie
haue come
mean an
whole hour.

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which would not be payed unto: so he returned, & the hostages also thereupon were sent in. Monsieur Desfrées not being yet come forth, my lord was no sooner entered againe, but that the souldiers chafed for taking the walls, willinglie & to the present cutting of all their owne throates (if monsieur Desfrées himselfe had not bene, with a few captaine & gentlemen of the lord Greie alone retaine) came and met him, crying upon him to have pitie upon them. The lord Greie herewith staid, and pausing a while, had this speech.

The onelie pitie (if fond I cannot save) that I have of you, hath caused me this daie to make such offers of composition, as neither your honesties, nor my honour, nor either of our duties in my thought maie well beare, which refused to take harder to the bitter defacing of our credits, with the best would blot it. If I would, souldiers, your selues (me thinketh) in vengeance thereof should turne your weapons upon me, and sacrifice so hartlesse a captaine, rather than to take it as a token of a pittifull captaine over you, and to pay thanks for the same. We have begun, as becommend us: we have yet held on as dutie doth bind us: let us end then as honestie and same doth will us. Neither is there anie such extremitie of despair in our case, but that we maie yet dearelie enough sell our skins yet we lose them. Let us then either march out under our ensignes displayed, or else herewith die under them displayed. The souldiers herewith in a mutinie stakie answered, that they for his bawling would not sell their lives. The desperatenesse of their case was not unknowne unto them (said they) and that their lives in other service might yet availe their prince and countrie. In this now further to venture, was but like oven to be thrust to the butcher. That his lordship was not to expect anie one blow at their hands.

Herewith in hast came one from monsieur Desfrées that stood at the rampire, advising him to send his souldiers to the walls, otherwise that the Swisses would assuredlie enter. So constrained, his lordship promised them to compound, and so he got them to the walls. Then my lord going to counsell, at length agreed upon these conditions. First, that the castell with all the furniture therein as well bittels as great artillerie, powder, and all other munitions of warre, should be wholie rendred without waisting, hiding, or minishment thereof. Secondarie, that the lord Greie with all the captaine, officers and others, having charge there, should remaine prisoners at the dukes pleasure, to be ransomed after the manner of warre. Thirde, that all the rest, as well souldiers as others, should depart with their armors, and baggage to what parties it seemed them best: neither to passe without sound of drum or trumpet, or ensigne, and to leave them behind. These articles sent by monsieur Desfrées to the duke were accepted, & so in the after noone, the duke himselfe came & received the keys of my lord Greie, who presentlie went out, and was given to the marshall Strozze, and from him sold to monsieur de Kandau, by whom he came into his brother the counte de Rochefort: call his hands, and there rested, till he was redeemed for foure and twentie thousand crownes.

The daie following, that is saie the two and twentieth of January, all the souldiers of the said fortreffe of Guines, as well English as strangers, with all the rest of the inhabitants, and other (excepted the lord Greie himselfe, master Arthur Greie his son, Sir Henrie Palmer knight, Pontdragon captaine of the Spaniards, and other men of charge referred by the composition) departed with their bag and baggage from thence towards Flanders. At whose issuing forth, there were esteemed to the number of

eight or nine hundred able men for the warre, part English & part Burgognians. Of Spaniards so few were left, as no account is to be made of them, in manner the whole number of them being slaine, and selling their lives right dearelie, according to the order of god & hardie souldiers. Thus endeth this siege, wherein for breuities sake we have left to saie anie thing of the provisions that the lord Greie made against the same, of the aduertisements that from time to time he sent to king Philip and queene Marie, and of their answers, of the sundrie adventures which they of Guines had with the enimie during their being about Calis, and of the great and manie booties that were there taken. Onelie in a word or two will I ad what bands of strangers were within the peece, because thereof as in another thing or two, I do find master Grafton in his chronicle speake at rousers. First came in Pontdragon, with two Spaniards more, verie valiant men, whome did follow within a daie or two, about foure or five and thirtie other Spaniards, all shot, of which (as I have heard) there went not five out of the castell.

There came one captaine Desquie a Burgognian, with two hundred souldiers, pikers most. This band was appointed to the Marie bulworke, whose captaine being full of the gout, and an impotent man, would not yet be from his charge, but in his bed ended his life in the bulworke. And so of this enough. But now after the winning of this towne and castell, the duke abusing well upon the place, and considering that if it should happen to be regained by Englishmen, what a noisome neighbor the same might be to Calis, now being French; and specially what impeachment should come thereby for the passage thither from France, considering also the neere standing thereof to the French kings fortreffe of Ard: so that to keepe two garrisons so nigh together should be but a double charge, and not onlie needlesse, but also dangerous for the cause afore rehearsed. Upon these considerations (as the Frenchmen write) he took order for all the great artillerie, bittels and other munition, to be taken forth, and the castell with all the bulworkes and other fortifications there, with all speed to be razed and throwne downe, and the stasse to be caried awaie, and employed in other more necessarie places.

Then rested nothing within all the English pale on that side unconquered, but the little castell or pile called Hammes, which though it were but of small force, made by art and industrie of mans hand, and being altogether of old workmanship without rampiers or bulworks: yet neuertheless, by the naturall situation thereof, being on all sides environed with fens and marshy grounds, it could not easilie be approached unto, either with great ordinance for the batterie, or else with anie armie to incampe there for a siege: but having one streit passage thereto by a narrow causeie, trauesed and cut through in diuerse places, with deepe ditches, alwaies full of water. Which thing being well foresene by Edward lord Dubleie then captaine there, having as good cause to suspect a siege there, as his neighbors had afore the Frenchmens coming to Guines, caused all the bridges of the said causeie being of wood to be broken, to give thereby the more impeachment to the French, if they should attempt to approach the same, as they did after they did, and kept diuerse of the passages.

But to deliver the duke and his souldiers from that care, there came to him glad newes from those that had charge to watch the said causeie, how the captaine having intelligence of the rendering of Guines, secretly the same night had conueied himselfe,

what bands of strangers were within the fort.

Rich. Grafton.

Hammes castell could not be easilie approached unto, and why.

The lord Edward Dubleie.

A point of
advantage for
the duke.

selfe, with his small garrison by a secret passage o-
uer the marsh into Flanders. Whereby the duke be-
ing now past care of anie further siege to be laid in
all the frontier, took order forthwith to setle the said
little fort into his own hands, as it was easie to do,
when there was no resistance. When this place
was once seized by the French, then remained there
none other place of defense nor strength of the Eng-
lish on all that side the sea, for the safeguard of the rest
of the country. Whereby the French king became
wholie and thoughtle lord & master of all the Eng-
lish pale: for now (as ye have heard) there was nei-
ther towne, castell, or other fortresse, more or lesse
on that side (saving Wots bulworke nere to Graue-
ling, which after king Philip kept as his) but that it
was either taken awate by force, or else abandoned,
and left open to the enimie. And (as the French
men write) besides the great riches of gold and sil-
uer, coine, Jewels, plate, wools, and other merchan-
dize (which was inestimable) there were found three
hundred peeces of brasse mounted on wheeles, and as
manie of iron, with such furniture of powder, pel-
lets, armour, vittels, and other munitions of war
scarcelie credible.

This was a
charuelous
rich bottie for
the enimie,
and a great
losse to the
partie contra-
rie.

Triumphs in
France for the
getting a-
gainst of Ca-
lis.

A. Fl. ex opere
historico Schar-
d. collectio.
pag. 197.

D. Powell in
hist. Camb. pag.
4, 5.

Thus have you heard the whole discourse of the
conquest of the noble towne of Calis, with all the
English fortresses and countrie adjoining made by
the duke of Guise. The news wherof when they
came to the French king, no need to aske how sover-
lie they were received, not onelie of him and all his
court, but also brinnerfallie through the whole realme
of France. For the which victorie, there was (as
the manner is) *Te Deum* sung, and bonifiers made e-
uerie where, as it is wont to be in cases of common
joy and gladnesse, for some rare benefit of God. In
so much that shortly upon the conquest, there was a
publike assemblie at Paris of all the estates of
France, who franklie in recompense of the kings
charges employed in the winning of Calis, and the
places aforesaid, and for maintenance of his wars to
be continued afterwards, granted unto him three
millians of French crowns: wherof the clergie of
France contributed one millian, besides their dis-
mes. And no marvell though the French did high-
lie reioise at the recouerie of Calis out of the Eng-
lishmens hands: for it is constantlie affirmed of
manie, that be acquainted with the affaires of
France, that ever since the same towne was first
wonne by Englishmen, in all solemn counsels as-
sembled to treat upon the state of France, there
was a special person appointed to put them in re-
membrance from time to time of Calis: as it were
to be wished that the like were used in England, un-
till it were regained from the French.

And here because thus much is said of the French
by waie of discourse concerning their exulting, and
immoderat ioyfulness manie waies testified, some-
what being already written thereof before: it is now
worthy, either for the increase of wit in vs, if it
were the fault of our folkie; or the aggravating of
their impudencie, if they blush not to publish a most
lowd and lewd lie; to remember what I have read
in verses set forth by a Frenchman; wherein a-
mong manie words & terms used touching this con-
quest of Calis & Guines (wherein also a prophesie of
Merline (of which name there were two, and both pro-
phets) is introduced, foretelling the revolution of the
same to be rather fatal to that nation, than recou-
uerable by prowess martiall (for thus he saith):

*Namque erat in fati redditurum haud ante Caletum
Ad veteres dominos, quam se regina marito
Tradere externo, veterumque propagine regum
Posthabita, nouus hic succederet advena regnis:
Ipse Valensia venturum à stirpe nepotem*

*Merlinus vates multo pradiixerat ante,
Sanguinis vltorem nostri cladisque futurum.)*

But this is not the matter that I meant (though
it containe somewhat wherewith men may muse) but a
further reach to the rebuke of rashnesse in some, if it
were their deed; and to the shame of others, if the re-
port be false. For thus saith the same author, whose
verses even now I rehearsed, speaking of the Eng-
lishmen, whose former vidozies (saith he) made he-
rie venterous, confident, and full of heart; and he-
sides that, to disdainfull and scornfull towards the
French, that they caused to be grauen in hard mar-
bell aloft at the entrie of the castell or fortresse in le-
gible letters (but he telleth not in what language,
no more than which of the Merlinus prophesie it was;
howbeit (saith he) thus much in effect in Latine:

*Tum demum Francus premet obsidione Caletum,
Cum ferrum plumbumque natabit suberis inflat.*

Then shall the Frenchmen Calis win,
When iron and lead like corke shall swim,

Thus report the French, but how trullie, let them
saie that are able (upon their owne knowledge) to
iudge: and thus much shall suffice for that matter.]
How seemed euerie daie a yeare to the French king
untill he personallie had visited Calis, and his new
conquered countrie. Wherefore about the end of Ja-
nuarie he took his viage thither, accompanied with
no small number of his nobilitie: and immediatlie
upon his arrival there, he perused the whole towne
and euerie part thereof from place to place, deuising
with the duke of Guise for the better fortification
thereof, what should be added unto the old, and what
should be made new, and what should be taken a-
wate. And after order taken for that businesse, he
placed there a noble man, & no lesse valiant knight
of the order, called monsieur de Thermes to be cap-
taine of the towne, and so departed he againe into
France.

After the French kings departure from Calis, he
made great hast for the accomplishment of the mar-
riage, moued betwene Francis his eldest sonne,
called the Dolphin, and Marie Steward daughter
& sole heire of James the sixt late king of Scotland:
which princeesse, if the Scots had bin faithfull of pro-
mise, as they seldom be) should have married king
Edward the first. For the breach of which promise be-
gan all the warre betwene England & Scotland, as
you heard in the latter end of the life of king Hen-
rie the eight, and in the beginning of king Edward
the first. This marriage (saith Grafton) though it be not
of my matter, I thought not to omit, for that manie
things were meant thereby, which thanks be to God
neuer came to effect. But one speciall point was
not hidden to the world, that by means of the same,
the realme of Scotland should for euermore haue
remained as united and incorporated to the crowne of
France: and that as the sonne and heire of euerie
French king doth succeed to the inheritance and pos-
session of a countrie called the Dolphin, & is therfore
called Dolphin; & like as the principallitie of Wales
appertineth to the eldest son of the king of England,
who therefore is called the prince of Wales: even
so the Dolphin heire of France should thereby haue
bene king of Scotland for euermore: which name
and title upon this marriage was accordinglye giuen
to Francis Dolphin and heire apparent of France,
to be called king Dolphin. The meaning wherof
was utterlie to exclude for euermore ante to be king
of Scotland, but onelie the eldest sonne of France.

This memorabile marriage was solemnized in
the citie of Paris the foure & twentieth daie of Ap-
rill, in the yere of Christ 1558, with most magni-
ficall pompe and triumph, and honored with the pre-
sence of the most part of the princes, prelates, lords
and

The queene
Dowager of
Scotland
with what the
can to procure
war against
England.

Ab. Fl. ex
15 pag. 1106.
3 p. 1107 to the
queene.

Thermes
made captain
of Calis.

The marriage
betwene the
Dolphin and
the princeesse
of Scotland.

A great death
of old people
through beche-
ment quare
these agues.

Why the king
and heire of
France were
king to call
the Dolphin

Ex loh.
fami mar-
tologio.
The old
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Stephan
Bermer
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pater of
Bulles.

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and barons of both the realmes, as it were for a confirmation of this new alliance. Which as it was much to the advantage and benefit of France: so nothing could be more prejudiciall & derogation to the crowne of Scotland, as a devise tending to the perpetuall abolishing and extinguishtment of the name & state of kings in that realme. In this meane time also the queene Dowager of Scotland had done what in hir laie, to procure the Scottis nobilitie to make warres against England: but they being not willing thereto, monsieur Doissell coronell of certeine hundredes of Frenchmen came to Almouth within six miles of Berwick, and fortified that place, making sundrie robes and invasions into England. In revenge whereof the Englishmen made the like invasions into Scotland, whereupon the Scottishmen in their defense (as some pretend) were driven to have warres: and thereupon the earle of Huntlye was made lieutenant of the Scots borders, who remaining there by the helpe of the Frenchmen did manie displeasures to the Englishmen. This warre was begun in the yere last past, and so continued: during the which manie skirmishes and diverse proper feats of armes were put in practise betwixt the parties (as in the historie of Scotland more at large it doth appeare) where we speake of the doings in the yeres 1557 and 1558.

A preft was granted to the queene by the citizens of London, of twentie thousand pounds, which was lent of the companies: for the which summe to be paid againe, the queene bound certeine lands, & also allowed for interest of the monie twelue poundes of enerie hundred for a yere. Also this yere within a mile of Bottingham, was a marvellous tempest of thunder, which as it came through two towne, beat downe all the houses and churches, the bels were cast to the out side of the churchyards, and some webes of lead foure hundred foot into the field, withen like a paire of gloves. The river of Trent running betwene the two towne, the water with the mud in the bottom was carried a quarter of a mile, and cast against the trees, the trees were pulled up by the roots and cast twelue score off. Also a child was taken forth of a mans hands two speares length hie, and carried a hundred foot off, and then let fall, where with his arme was broken, & so he died. Ifue or six men thereabout were slaine, and neither flesh nor skinn perished; there fell some hailestones that were sixtene inches about, &c. This yere in harvest time the quartane agues continued in like manner, or more vehemently, than they had done the last yere past, where through died manie old people, and speciallie prefts, so that a great number of parishes were unversed, and no curats to be gotten: and much corne was lost in the field for lacke of worke men & labozers. Whereupon ensued a great scarcitie, so that in the beginning of sir Thomas Leighs mayoraltie, corne rose to fourtene shillings the quarter, and wood wared scant in London, and was sold for thirtene and fouretene shillings the thousand of billets, and coles at ten pence the sacke, by reason of the great death and sicknesse the last summer for lacke of helpe and carriage. And here before we passe the yere 1558, it were a fowle oversight, not to make mention of a memorable discourse touching the ladie Katharine late dutchesse of Suffolke, a personage of honor, and worthy of commendation in chronicles for hir godlinesse to hir high praise: where manie a malefactor is recorded for their outrageous wickednesse to their immortall shame. Concerning the said ladie therefore thus writeth master Fox.

Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, furnishing the ladie Katharine baronesse of Willough, bis and Cressie, and dutchesse Dowager of Suffolke,

to be one of his ancient enemies, because he knew he had deserued no better of hir, denised in the holie time of the first Lent in quene Maries reigne, a holie practise of reuenge, first by touching hir in the person of hir husband master Richard Bertie esquier, for whom he sent an attachment (having the great scale at his deuotion) to the shiriffe of Lincolnshire, with a spectall letter, commanding most straitlie the same shiriffe to attach the said Richard immediatlie, and without baile to bring him vp to London to his great lordship. Master Bertie hir husband being cleare in conscience, and free from offense towards the queene, could not coniecture anie cause of this strange processe, unlesse it were some quarrell for religion, which he thought could not be so soze as the processe pretended.

The shiriffe, notwithstanding the commandement, aduentured onlie to take the bond of master Bertie, with two suerties in a thousand poundes for his apperance, to be made before the bishop on god fridaie following: at which daie master Bertie appeared; the bishop then lieng at his house by saint Marle Queries. Of whose presence when the bishop vnderstood by a gentleman of his chamber, in a great rage he came out of his gallerie into his dining chamber, where he found a prease of letters, saying he would not that daie heare anie: but came forth onlie to know of master Bertie, how he being a subiect durst so arrogantlie set at light two former processe of the queenes. Master Bertie answered, that albeit my lords words might seeme to the rest somewhat sharpe towards him, yet he conceived great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremitie to be attached, having used no obstinacie or contumacie: now he gathered of those words, that my lord ment not otherwise but to haue used some ordinarie processe; albeit indeed none came to his hands. Yea Marie, quoth the bishop, I haue sent you two *Sub panas*, to appeare immediatlie, and I am sure you receiued them: for I committed the trust of them to no worse man but to master solicitor, and I shall make you an example to all Lincolnshire for your obstinacie. Master Bertie denying the receipt of anie, humbly prayed his lordship to suspend his displeasure and the punishment, till he had god triall thereof: and then (if it pleased him) to double the paine for the fault, if anie were. Well quoth the bishop, I haue appointed my selfe this daie (according to the holinesse of the same) for deuotion, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I inioine you in a thousand poundes, not to depart without leaue, and to be here againe to morrow at seauen of the clocke.

Master Bertie well obserued the houre, and no fot failed. At the which time the bishop had with him master sergeant Stamford, to whom he moued certeine questions of the said master Bertie, because master sergeant was towards the lord Marthelle late earle of Southampton, & chancelor of England, with whom the said master Bertie was brought by. Master sergeant made bertie friendlie report of master Bertie of his owne knowledge for the time of their conuersation together. Whereupon the bishop caused master Bertie to be brought in; and first making a false traine (as God would, without fire) before he would descend to the quarrell of religion, he assaulted him in this manner. The queenes pleasure is (quoth the bishop) that you shall make present payment of foure thousand poundes due to hir father by duke Charles, late husband to the dutchesse your wife, whose executor he was. Pleaseth it your lordship (quoth master Bertie) that debt is effailed, and is according to that effallment trulie answered. Tush (quoth the bishop) the queene will not be bound

Master Richard Bertie husband to the dutchesse, attached by the bishop of Winchester.

Master Bertie appereth before bishop Gardiner.

Take hea-
tweene bishop
Gardiner and
master
Bertie.

The deuotion
of bishop
Gardiner to
god fridaie.

Master Bertie attached for debt of foure thousand poundes due to the queene.

The queene Dowager of Scotland had done what in hir laie, to procure the Scottis nobilitie to make warres against England.

The French king goeth to visit and for Calis.

1558. ex
Aug. 1106.
I past to the
past.

Monseigneur de Therines made captiue of Calis.

1558. ex
Aug. 1106.
I past to the
past.

The marriage betwene the Dolphin and the princess of Scots.

1558. ex
Aug. 1106.
I past to the
past.

Why the son and heire of curie French king is called the Dolphin.

1558. ex
Aug. 1106.
I past to the
past.

The marriage of the queene of Scots with the English.

Act capitaine
of the rebels
in Northfolke
in king Ed-
wards time.

to establishments, in the time of hets government, for
so I effome the late government. The establishment
(quoth maister Bertie) was appointed by king Hen-
rie the eight; besides, the same was by special com-
missioners confirmed in king Edwards time; and
the lord treasurer being an executor also to the duke
Charles solie and wholie, toke upon him befoze the
said commissioners to discharge the same.

If it be true that you saie (quoth the bishop) I
will shew you fauor. But of an other thing maister
Bertie, I will admonish you as mering you well. I
heare euill of your religion; yet I hardlie can think
euill of you, whose mother I know to be as god-
lie and catholike, as anie within this land, your selfe
brought vp with a maister, whose education if I
should disallow, I might be charged as authoz of his
erroz. Besides partlie I know you my selfe, and un-
derstand of my friends inough to make me your
friend: wherefoze I will not doubt of you, but I praie
you if I maie aske the question of my ladie your
wife; is she now as readie to set vp the masse, as she
was latelie to pull it downe, when she canied in hir
progresse, a dog in a rochet to be caried & called by
my name? Doth she thinke hir lambs now safe
inough, which said to me when I bailed my bonnet
to hir out of my chamber window in the towre, that
it was merie with the lambs now the wolfe was
shut vp? Another time my lord hir husband hauing
inited me and diuerse ladies to dinner, desired eu-
rie ladie to chosse him whome she loued best, and so
place themselves. My ladie your wife taking me by
the hand, for that my lord would not haue hir to take
himselke, said, that for so much as she could not sit
downe with my lord whome she loued best, she had
chosen me whome she loued worst.

Of the deuise of the dog, quoth maister Bertie, she
was neither the authoz nor the allower. The words,
though in that season they sounded bitter to your
lordship: yet if it should please you without offense
to know the cause, I am sure the one will purge the
other. As touching setting vp of masse, which she
learned not onelie by strong persuasions of diuerse
excellent learned men, but by vniuersall consent and
order whole six yeares past inwardlie to abhorre; if
she should outwardlie allow, she should both to Christ
shew hir selfe a false christian, and vnto hir prince a
masking subiect. You know my lord, one by iudge-
ment reformed, is more woorth than a thousand trans-
formed temporizers. To force a confession of religi-
on by mouth, contrarie to that in the heart, worketh
damnation where saluation is pretended. Pea ma-
rie (quoth the bishop) that deliberation would do
well if she neuer requited to come from an old religi-
on to a new. But now she is to retorne from a new
to an ancient religion: wherein when she made me
hir gossip, she was as earnest as anie.

For that, my lord (said M. Bertie) not long since,
she answered a friend of hers using your lordships
speech, that religion went not by age but by truth:
and therefore she was to be turned by persuasion and
not by commandement. I praie you (quoth the bi-
shop) thinke you it possible to persuade hir? Pea be-
relie (said maister Bertie) with the truth: for she is
reasonable inough. The bishop therevnto replieng,
said: It will be a marvellous grieve to the prince of
Spaine, and to all the nobilitie that shall come with
him, when they shall find but two noble personages
of the Spanishe race within this land, the quene, and
my ladie your wife, and one of them gone from the
faith. Maister Bertie answered, that he trusted they
should find no fruits of infidelitie in hir. So the bi-
shop perswading maister Bertie to travell earnestlie
for the reformation of hir opinion, and offering large
friendship, released him of his band from further ap-

Maister Ber-
tie released
from his band
of appearing.

pearance.

The duchesse and hir husband, dastie more and
more, by their friends understanding that the bishop
inrant to call hir to an account of hir faith, whereby
extremitie might follow, deuised waies how by
the quenes licence they might passe the seas. Ma-
ster Bertie had a redie meane: for there rested great
summes of monie due to the old duke of Suffolke
(one of whose executors the duchesse was) beyond the
seas, the emperor himselfe being one of those deb-
tors. Maister Bertie communicated this his purpo-
sed sute for licence to passe the seas, and the cause, to
the bishop; adding, that he toke this time most met
to deale with the emperor, by reason of likelihood of
marriage betwene the quene and his sonne. I like
your deuise well (quoth the bishop) but I thinke it
better, that you carrie the princes comming, and I
will procure you his letters also to his father. Pea
(quoth maister Bertie) vnder your lordships correc-
tion & pardon of so liberall speech, I suppose the time
will then be lesse conuenient: for when the marriage
is consummate, the emperor hath his desire; but
till then he will refuse nothing to win credit with vs.

By saint Marie (quoth the bishop, smiling) you
gesse she wolde. Well, proceed in your sute vnto the
quene, and it shall not lacke my helping hand. Ma-
ster Bertie found so good successe, that he in few
daies obtained the quenes licence, not onlie to passe
the seas, but to passe and repasse them so often as to
him seemed good, till he had finished all his businesse
and causes beyond the seas. So he passed the seas at
Douer about the beginning of June in the first
yeare of hir reigne, leauing the duchesse behind, who
by agreement and consent betwixt hir and hir hus-
band, followed, taking barge at Lion keie, berie ear-
lie in the morning, on the first daie of Januarie next
insuing, not without some perill. There was none
of those that went with hir, made priue to hir going
till the instant, but an old gentleman called maister
Robert Cranwell, whome maister Bertie had speci-
allie provided for that purpose. She toke with hir hir
daughter an infant of one yeare, and the meanest of
hir seruants: for she doubted the best would not ad-
uenture that fortune with hir. They were in number
foure men, one a Creke boie, which was a rider of
horses, an other a joiner, the third a brewer, the
fourth a sole one of the kitchen, one gentlewoman,
and a landpelle.

As she departed hir house called the Barbican,
betwixt foure and fise of the clocke in the morning,
with hir companie and baggage, one Atkinson an
herald, keeper of hir house, hearing noise about the
house, rose and came forth with a torch in his hand
as she was yet sitting out of the gate: where with
being amazed, she was forced to leaue a male with
necessaries for hir young daughter, & a milkepot with
milke in the same gatehouse, commanding all hir
seruants to spend them befoze awaite to Lion keie:
and taking with hir onelie the two women and hir
child, so lone as she was out of hir owne house, per-
ceiuing the herald to follow, she slept in at Carter-
house hard by. The herald comming out of the du-
chess house, and seeing no bodie stirring, not assur-
(though by the male suspecting) that she was depart-
ed, returned in: and while he staied ransacking par-
cels left in the male, the duchesse issued into the street,
and proceeded in hir iourne, he knowing the place
onelie by name where she should take hir boat, but
not the waie thither, nor none with hir. Likewise hir
seruants hauing diuided themselues, none but one
knew the waie to the said keie.

So she apparelled like a meane merchants wife,
and the rest like meane seruants, walking in the
streets unknown, she toke the way that led to Lion
keie.

The duchesse
with hir com-
panie taking
barge.

Maister Ber-
tie deuised
waies to passe
the seas.

The duchesse
remained in
Dolours
house by
Lion, vnder
the name of
the daughter.

The herd ad-
mire of the
duchess vpon
her loss.

The duchesse
when in
habant.
Bertie
with the du-
chess his wife
named an
infant.

The fre
stone of
which the
Barbican.

Protection
secured for
the duchesse,
the migra-
tion of
which.

M. Bertie &
the duchesse
danger of
being by the
shop of St.
as of St. M.

Further ca-
use of the
duchess and
her husband.

Da- waters prae-
 at sed how to
 like conuente the
 che duchesse ouer
 the seas with
 the quene's
 po- licence.
 , to Walther Ber-
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barie field, and the others walked the citie streets as they laie open before them, till by chance more than discretion, they met all suddenlie together a little within Bowe gate, from whence they passed directly to Lion keie, and there toke barge in a morning to mistie, that the steersman was loth to land out, but that they bzged him. So sone as the daie permitted, the counceill was informed of hir departure, and some of them came forthwith to hir house to inquire of the manner thereof, and toke an inuentarie of hir goods, besides further order deuised for search and watth to apprehend and staie hir. The same of hir departure reached to Leigh, a towne at the ians end, before hir approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Golling a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwells, whither the said Cranwell brought the duchesse, naming hir mistress White, the daughter of master Golling, for such a daughter he had whych neuer was in that countrie. There the reposed hir, and made new garments for hir daughter having lost hir olone in the male at Warbican.

When the time came that she should take ship, being constrained that night to lie at an inn in Leigh (where she was againe almost bewaiaied) yet notwithstanding, by Gods god working the escaping that hazard, at length as the tide and wind did serue, they went aboard, and being carried twise into the seas, almost into the coast of Zeland, by contrarie wind were giuen to the place from whence they came. And at the last recule, certaine persons came to the shore, suspecting she was within that ship: yet hauing examined one of hir companie that was one land for fresh Achates, and finding by the simplicitie of his tale, onelic the appearance of a mirane merchants wife to be a shipboord, he ceased anie further search. So he forth, so soone as the duchesse had landed in Mahant, she and hir women were apparelled like the women of Netherland with hakes, and so she and hir husband took their iourne towards Cleueland, and being arrived at a towne therin called Santon, took a house there, untill they might further deuise of some sure place where to settle themselves.

About five miles from Santon is a free towne called Wilell, under the said duke of Cleves dominion, and one of the Hauns towncs, privileged with the companie of the Stillard in London, whither diverse Mallons were fled for religion, and had for their minister one Francis Peruissell, then called Francis de Kiners, who had received some countesse in England at the duchesse hands. Master Wirtie being yet at Santon, practised with him to obtaine a protection from the magistrats for his abode and his wifes at Wilell: which was the sooner procured because the state of the duchesse was not discovered but onlie to the chiefe magistrate, earnestlie bent to shew them pleasure, whilst this protection was in making.

In the meane while, at the towne of Santon was a muttering, that the duchesse and hir husband were greater personages than they gaue themselves forth, and the magistrats not verie well inclined to religion; the bishop of Arras also being deane of the great minster, order was taken, that the dukes and hir husband should be examined of their condition and religion vpon the sudden. Which practise discouered by a gentleman of that countrie to master Vertie, he without delay taking no more than the dukes hir daughter, and two other with them, as though he meant no more but to take the aire, about thre of the clocke in the afternone in Februarie, on sat, with-
out hieing of horse or wagon for feare of discloeing his purpose, meant priuile that night to get to Willell, leaving his other familie still at Santon.

After the duchies and he were one English mile

from the towne, there fell a mightie raine of continuance, whereby a long frost and ice before congealed was thawed, which doubled more the wearinesse of those new lackies. But being now on the wale, and overtaken with the night, they sent their two ser-
uants (which onlie went with them) to villages, as they passed, to hire some car for their ease : but none could be hired. In the mene time master Bertie was forced to carrie the child, and the duches his cloke and rapier. At last betwixt fir and scaten of the cloche in the darke night, they came to Wilsell, and repairing to their innes for lodging and some repose after such a painfull iourneie, found hard interteimment : for going from inne to inne, offering large monie for small lodging, they were refused of all the inholders, suspecting master Bertie to be a lanceknight, and the duches to be his woman. The child for cold and sustenance cried pittifullie, the mother wept as fast, and the heauens rained as fast as the clouds could poure.

Maſter Bertie deſtitute of all other ſuccor of hoſpitalitie, reſolved to bring the duchefſe to the porch of the great church in the towne, and ſo to bnie coles, victuals and ſtraw for their miſerable repoſe there that night, or at leaſt till by Gods helpe he might provide him better lodging. Maſter Bertie at that time underſtood not much Dutch, and by reaſon of euill weather and late ſeaſon of the night, he could not happen vpon any that could ſpeake Engliſh, French, Italian, or Latine, till at laſt going towards the church porch, he heard two ſtriplings talking Latine, to whom he approached and offered them two ſliners to bring him to ſome Wallons houſe. By theſe boies, and Gods good conſud, he chanced at the firſt vpon the houſe where maſter Peruſell ſupped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magiſtrats of that towne. At the firſt knocke, the godman of the houſe himſelfe came to the doore, and opening it, asked maſter Bertie what he was. Maſter Bertie ſaid, an Engliſhman, that fought for one maſter Peruſells houſe. The Wallon willed maſter Bertie to ſtaie a while, who went backe and told maſter Peruſell that the ſame Engliſh gentleman, of whom they had talked the ſame ſupper, had ſent, by likelihold his ſeruant to ſpeake with him. Wherevpon maſter Peruſell came to the doore, and beholding maſter Bertie, the duchefſe, & their child, their faces, apparels, and bodies ſo farre from their old forme, deformed with dart, weather, and heauineſſe, could not ſpeake to them, nor they to him for feares. At length recovering themſelues, they ſaluted one another, & ſo together entered the houſe. God knoweth full ſolſollie: maſter Bertie changing of his apparel with the godman, the duchefſe with the good wiſſe, and their child with the child of the houſe.

Within few daies after, by maister Perneſels means, they hired a vertie faire houſe in the towne, and did not let to theſe themſelues what they were, in ſuch good loſt as their preſent condition permitted. It was by this time through the whole towne what diſcourteſie the inholders had ſhewed unto them at their entrie, in ſo much as on the ſundae following, a preacher in the pulpit openlie in ſharpe termes rebuked that great inciuilitie towards ſtrangers; by allegation of ſundrie places out of holie ſcriptures, diſcourſing how not onlie princes ſometime are reſcued in the image of priuat perſons, but angels in the ſhape of men, and that God of his iuſtice would make the ſtrangers one day in an other land, to haue more ſenſe of the afflicted heart of a ſtranger. The time was paſſing forth, as they thought theſe ſelues thus haplie ſetled, ſuddenlie a watchword came from ſir John Daſon, then queene Marias ambaiſadour in Netherland, that my lord Paget had ſained

The hard di-
stresse of the
duchesse by
euill wether;

The hard in-
tertainment
of M. Berté
& the duchesse
at their en-
tring into
Weßell.

Gods providence in time of distress.

The meeting
of w. Perusell
& the doctores
at welsch.

The citizens
of wesell ad-
monished by
their preacher
of their hard-
nesse toward
strangers.

A friendly
part of Sir
John Mason
towards the
Richelle.

A traine laid
for the dutches
by the lord
Dagert and
the duke of
Bunswicke.

My Bertie &
the dutchesse
remoued to
Winheim
under the
Dallgraues.

The helping
hand of the
Lord againe
in their neces-
sities.
Ioan. Alasco
a meane to
the king of
Pole for the
dutchesse of
Suffolke.

The dutchesse
inuitied into
Poleland by
the kings
letters.

My Barlow
a messenger
from the dute-
chesse to the
king of Pole.

The Palatine
of Silua a
great friend
of the dutches

The dutches
taket hie
iourne to-
ward Pole.

The troubles
happening
to the dute-
ches in hie iourne
to Poleland.

My Bertie in
great danger
of his life.

an errant to the bathes that waies: and whereas the duke of Bunswicke was shortly with ten ensignes to passe by Meseell for the seruice of the house of Arricke against the French king, the said dutchesse, and hir husband should be with the same charge and compaignie intercepted. Wherefore to prevent the crueltie of these enemies, master Bertie with his wife and child departed to a place called Winheim in high Dutchland under the Dallgraues dominion, where under his protection they continued till their necessities began to faile them; and they almost fainting under so heauie a burthen, began to faile of hope.

At what time, in the midst of their despaire, there came suddenlie letters to them from the Palatine of Silua and the king of Pole, being instructed of their hard estate by a baron named Ioannes Alasco, that was sometime in England, offering them large curesse. This puruision vnlooked for greatlie reuiued their heauie spirits. Yet considering they should remoune from manie their countriemen and acquaintance, to a place so farre distant, a countie not haunted with the English, and perhaps vpon their arriual not finding as they looked for, the end of their iourne should be worse than the beginning: they deuised therevpon with one master Barlow, late bishop of Chichester, that if he would vouchsafe to take some paines therein, they would make him a fellow of that iourne. So finding him prone, they sent with him letters of great thanks to the king & Palatine, and also with a set of principall iebels (which onlie they had left of manie) to sollicit for them, that the king would vouchsafe under his seale, to assure them of the thing which he so honourable by letters offered.

What lute by the forwardnes of the Palatine was as soone granted as uttered. Vpon which assurance the said dutchesse and hir husband, with their familie, entred the iourne in Aprill 1557, from the castell of Winheim, where they before laie, towards Francoford. In the which their iourne, it were long here to describe what dangers fell by the waie vpon them, & their whole companie, by reason of the Lantgraues capteines, who under a quarrell pretended for a spawell of master Berties, set vpon them in the high waie, with his horsemen, thrusting their borespears through the wagon where the children and women were, master Bertie hauing but foure horsemen with him. In the which babbie it happened the capteins horse to be slaine under him.

Wherevpon a rumor was sparled immediatlie through townes and villages about, that the Lantgraues capteine should be slaine by some Wallons, which incensed the ire of the countriemen there more fiercelie against master Bertie, as afterwards it proued. For as he was motioned by his wife to save himselfe by the swiftnes of his horse, and to recouer some towne thereby for his rescue, he so doing was in worse case than before: for the townesmen and the capteines, by other supposing no lesse but that the capteine had bene slaine, pressed so egerlie vpon him, that he had bene there taken and murdered among them, had not he (as God would) spung a ladder leaning to a window, by the same got vp into the house, and so gone vp in to a garret in the top of the house, where he with his dag and rapier defended himselfe for a space: but at length the Burghmaister comming thither with another magistrate, which could speake Latine, he was counselled to submit himselfe into the order of the law. Maister Bertie knowing himselfe cleare, and the capteine to be alieue, was the more bolder to submit himselfe to the iudgement of the law, vpon condition that the magistrate would receiue him vnder safe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promised, master Bertie putteth himselfe and his weapon in

the magistrates hand, and so was committed to safe custodie, while the truth of his cause should be tried. Then master Bertie writing his letters to the Lantgraue and to the earle of Erbagh, the next daie erlie in the morning the earle of Erbagh dwelling within eight miles, came to the towne whither the dutchesse was brought with hir wagon, master Bertie also being in the same towne vnder custodie.

The earle, who had some intelligence of the dutchesse before, after he was come, & had shewed such courtesie as he thought to hir estate was seemlie, the townesmen perceluing the earle to behaue himselfe so humble vnto hir, began to consider moze of the matter: and further vnderstanding the capteine to be alieue, both they, and especiallie the authors of the sir thynke awaie, and made all the friends they could to master Bertie and his wife, not to report their doings after the worst sort. And thus master Bertie and his wife escaping that danger, proceeded in their iourne toward Poleland, where in conclusion they were quietlie interteined of the king, and placed honorablie in the earldome of the said king of Poles in Sanogellia, called Crojan, where master Bertie with the dutchesse hauing the kings absolute power of government ouer the said earldome, continued both in great quietnesse and honor, till the death of queene Marie. Whole troublesome time (savouring altogether of bloudshed & merueille murdering of Gods saints, wherof the poet saith full trulie,

*sellus madefacta cruore
Christicolum regerit decursus sanguinis atros,
Hec carnem mollem puerorum deuorat ignis,
Femina masque perit, nulla ratione virilis
Famini aut fecus habita)*

being expired, and the peaceable reigne of gracions queene Elizabeth established, the said dutchesse and hir husband returned into England, where they lived in libertie both of bodie and mind; in which good state we will leaue them. And because we are entred into a discourse of troubles happening to personages of god account and name; it is necessarie that we adde another narration of like argument vnto the former, concerning the troubles and happie deliuerance of the reuerend father in God doctor Sands, first bishop of Worcester, next of London, and now archbishop of Dozke, as I find it word for word in master Fox, who beginneth and continueth the said discourse as followeth.

King Edward died, the world being vnto this of him, the duke of Northumberland came downe to Cambridge with an armie of men, hauing commission to proclame ladie Jane queene, and by power to suppress ladie Marie, who toke vpon hir that dignitie, and was proclaimed queene in Dozke. The duke sent for doctor Sands being bicechancellor, for doctor Parker, for doctor Will, and master Leauer, to sup with him. Amongst other speeches he said; Maisters, praeise for vs that we speed well: if not, you shall be made bishops, and we deacons. And euen so it came to passe: doctor Parker, and doctor Sands were made bishops, and he and sir John Gates, who was then at the table, were made deacons yet it was long after on the tower hill. Doctor Sands being bicechancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was short for such an auditors, and to speake of such a matter: yet he refused not the thing, but went to his chamber, and so to bed. He rose at three of the clocke in the morning, toke his bible in his hand, and after that he had praied a good space, he shut his eyes, and holding his bible before him, earnestlie praied to God that it might fall open where a most fit text should be for him to intreat of. The bible (as God would haue it) fell open vpon the first chapter of Iosua, where he found so conuenient

The text of
D. Sands
wherevpon
he made his
sermon.

My Sermon
with the
dutchesse
bicechancellor
of the
of Pole.

The duke &
nobles desire
D. Sands
to write his
sermon that
might be
printed.

My Sermon
where spake
truer than
peraduenture
he thought.

Abt. Fl. et
marryrolog
D. Sands
bicechancellor
when the
duke of North-
umberland
came downe
Cambridge
proclame the
ladie Jane
queene.

D. Sands
swore to the
duke touching
his come ter-
mon and the
dukes action.

Enil intended
against doctor
Sands.

ent a peece of scripture for that time, that the like he could not haue chosen in all the bible. His text was thus: *Respondentque ad Iosue, atque dixerunt, Omnia que precepisti nobis faciemus, & quocunque miseris ibimus: sicut obedimus in cunctis Moysi: ita obedimus & tibi, tantum sit Dominus Deus tuus tecum sicut fuit cum Moysi, qui contradixit ori tuo, & non obedierit cunctis sermonibus quos preceperis ei, morietur: tu tantum confortare & viriliter agere.* Who shall consider what was concluded by such as named themselves by the state, and withall, the auditoz, the time, and other circumstances, he shall easilie see that this text most fitlie serued for the purpose. And as God gaue the text, so gaue he him such order and utterance, as pulled manie teares out of the eyes of the biggest of them.

In the time of his sermon one of the gard lift vp to him into the pulpit a masse booke and a graile, which sir George Holward with certeine of the gard had taken that night in master Hurlestons house, where ladye Marie had bene a little before, & there had masse. The duke with the rest of the nobilitie required doctor Sands to put his sermon in wyting; and appointed master Leauer to go to London with it, and to put it in print. Doctor Sands required one daie and a halfe for wyting of it. At the time appointed he had made it readie, and master Leauer was readie boated to receive it at his hands, & carie it to London. As he was deliuering of it, one of the bedels named master Adams, came weeping to him, & praied him to shift for himselfe, for the duke was retired, and queene Marie proclaimed.

Doctor Sands was not troubled herewithall, but gaue the sermon wyritten to master Leiffield; master Leauer departed home, and he went to dinner to one master Howes a bedell, his great friend. At the dinner, mistress Howes seeing him merrie and pleasant (for he had euer a mans courage, and could not be terrified) dranke vnto him, saying: Master vicechancellor, I drinke vnto you, for this is the last time that euer I shall see you. And so it was, for the duke was dead before doctor Sands returned out of Germany. The duke that night retired to Cambridge, and sent for doctor Sands to go with him to the market place to proclame queene Marie. The duke cast by his cap with others, and so laughed, that the tears ran downe his cheekes for greefe. He told doctor Sands that queene Marie was a mercifull woman, and that he doubted not thereof: declaring, that he had sent vnto hir to know hir pleasure, and looked for a general pardon. Doctor Sands answered; My life is not deare vnto me, neither haue I done or said anie thing that vygeth my conscience. For that which I spake of the state, I haue instructions warrantred by the subscription of sixtene counsellors. Neither can I speake be treason, neither yet haue I spoken further than the word of God, and lawes of this realme doth warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you assured, you shall neuer escape death: for if they would saue you, those that now shall rule will kill you.

That night the gard apprehended the duke, and certeine groomes of the stable were as busie with doctor Sands, as if they would take a prisoner. But sir John Gates who late then in doctor Sands his house, sharplie rebuked them, and draue them awaie. Doctor Sands, by the aduise of sir John Gates, walked into the fields. In the meane time the vniuersitie (contrarie to all order) had met together in consultation, and ordered that doctor Howse and doctor Watther should repaire to doctor Sands lodging, and set awaie the statute booke of the vniuersitie, the keies, and such other things that were in his keeping, and so they did. For doctor Howse being an earnest protestant the daie before, and one whome doctor Sands

had done much for, now was he become a papist, and his great enimie.

Certeine of the vniuersitie had appointed a congregation at afternone. As the bell rang to it, doctor Sands commeth out of the fields, and tending for the bedels, asketh what the matter meaneth, and requirerth them to wait vpon him to the scholes, according to their dutie. So they did. And so sone as doctor Sands, the bedels going before him, came into the regent house and toke his chaire: one master Spitch with a rabble of vniuersitie papists went into a by-schole, and conspired together to pull him out of his chaire, and to vse violence vnto him. Doctor Sands began his oration, expostulating with the vniuersitie, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring that he had said nothing in his sermon, but that hee was readie to iustifie, and that there case was all one with his: for they had not onelie concealed, but consented to that which he had spoken.

And thus while he remembred vnto them how benedictiall he had bene to the vniuersitie, and their vnthankfulnesse to him againe, in commeth master Spitch with his conspirators about twentie in number. One laich hand vpon the chaire to pull it from him, another told him that that was not his place, and another called him traitor. Whereat he perceiving how they vsed violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had dispatched some of them as Gods enimies; if doctor Will and doctor Blith had not fallen vpon him, and praied him for Gods sake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patiently to beare that great offered wrong. He was perswaded by them, and after that tumult was ceased, he ended his oration, and hauing some monie of the vniuersities in his hands, he there deliuered the same euerie farthing. He gaue vp the books, reckonings & keies pertaining to the vniuersitie, & with all yielded vp his office, praieing God to giue to the vniuersitie a better officer, and to giue them better and more thankfull hearts, and so repaired home to his owne college.

On the morrow after, there came vnto him one master Gerningham, and one master Thomas Pilbomaie. Gerningham told him, that it was the queens pleasure that two of the gard should attend on him, and that he must be caried prisoner to the tower of London with the duke. Master Pilbomaie said he marueled that a learned man would speake so vniuersally against so good a prince, and wilfulle run in to such danger. Doctor Sands answered, I shall not be ashamed of bonds. But if I could doe as master Pilbomaie can, I needed not feare bonds: for he came downe in parliament against queene Marie, and armed in the field, and now he returneth in payment for queene Marie: before a traitor and now a great friend. I can not with one mouth blow hot and cold after this sort.

Vpon this, his stable was robbed of foure notable good geldings, the best of them master Hurlestons toke for his owne saddle, and rode on him to London in his sight. An incontinencie was taken of all his goods by master Howse bedell for the vniuersitie. He was set vpon a lame horse that halted to the ground, which thing a friend of his perceiuing, praied that he might lend him a nag. The yeoman of the gard were content. As he departed out of the towres end, some papists resorted thither to gere at him, some of his friends to mourne for him. He came into the ranke to London, the people being full of outcries. And as he came in at Bishops gate, one like a milkewife hurled a stone at him, and hit him on the bycast with such a blow, that he was like to fall off his horse. To whome he mildelie said: Woman, God forgive thee. Truth it is, that I am ciuill & euill intreating so

A conspiracie of papists against doctor Sands, and their behauior towards him.

D. Sands courageous heart and manhood.

D. Sands resigned by his office of vice-chancellorship

Master Pilbomaies treacherie noted by doctor Sands to his oblique

The misusage of certeine drabs against doctor Sands as he was brought prisoner to the tower.

Arr r r r j.

so

so mortified him, that he was more readie to die than to liue.

As he came through towre hill street, one woman standing in hir doore, cried: fie on thee thou knaue, thou knaue, thou traitor, thou heretike. Whereat hee smiled. Look; the desperat heretike (saith she) laugheth at this geare. A woman on the other side of the street answered, saieing: fie on thee neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a woman, railing vpon this gentleman whom thou knowest not, neither yet the cause whie he is thus intreated. Then she said, Good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and giue thee strength to stand in Gods cause even to the end. And thus he passed through fire and water into the towre, the first prisoner that entered in that daie, which was saint James daie. The peoman of the gard toke from him his boyowed nag, and what else sooner hee had. His man one Quintin Swainton brought after him a bible, and some shirts, and such like things. The bible was sent in to him, but the shirts and such like serued the peoman of the gard.

The gard offer him fowle wrong.

After he had bene in the towre three weekes in a bad prison, he was lift vp into Runnes botwer, a better prison, where was put to him maister John Bradford. At the daie of queene Maries coronation, their prison doore was set open, euer shut before. One maister Spitchell his old acquaintance, who had bene prisoner before in the same place, came in to him and said: Maister Sands, there is such a stir in the towre, that neither gates, doores, nor prisoners are looked to this daie. Take my cloake, my hat and my rapier, and get you gone: you maie go out of the gates without questioning; saue your selfe, and let me doe as I maie. A rare friendship: but he refused the offer, saieing: I know no iust cause why I should be in prison. And thus to doe were to make my selfe guiltie, I will expect Gods good will, yet must I thinke my selfe most bound vnto you: and so maister Spitchell departed.

Maister Spitchells counsell to D. Sands to make an escape.

While doctor Sands and maister Bradford were thus in close prison together nine and twentie weekes, one John Bowler was their keeper, a herie peruerse papist, yet by often perswading of him, for he would giue eare, and by the gentle using of him, at length he began to mislike poperie, and to fauour the gospell, and so perswaded in true religion, that on a sundaie when they had masse in the chappell, he bringeth vp a seruite booke, a manchet and a glasse of wine, and there doctor Sands ministred the communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their sonne begotten in bonds when What was in armes, & the old duke of Norfolk sent forth with a powere of men to apprehend him, that come might be made in the towre for him and other his complices. Doctor Cranmer, doctor Ridley, and maister Bradford were cast into one prison, & doctor Sands with nine other preachers were sent into the Marshalsea.

Bowler of a peruerse papist becometh reformed in true religion.

D. Sands removed to the Marshalsea.

The keeper of the Marshalsea appointed to euerie preacher a man to lead him in the street, he caused them go farre before, and he and doctor Sands came behind, whome he would not lead, but walked familiarly with him. Yet doctor Sands was knowne, and the people euerie where praised to God to comfort him, & to strengthen him in the truth. By that time the peoples minds were altered, poperie began to be vnfaurie. After they passed the bzidge, the keeper Thomas Waite said to doctor Sands: I perceiue the vaine people would set you forward to the fire, you are as vaine as they, if you being a yong man will stand in your own conceit, & prefer your own knowledge before the iudgement of so manie worthy prelates, ancient, learned, and graue men, as be in this relme. If you so doe, you shal find me as strict a keeper as one that vtterlie misliketh your religion. Doctor

Thomas Waite the keeper threateneth to persewade doctor Sands to poperie.

Sands answered: I know my yeares yong, and my learning small, it is inough to knowe Christ crucified, and he hath learned nothing that seeth not the great blasphemie that is in poperie, I will yield vnto God and not vnto man: I haue read in the scriptures of manie godlie and courteous keepers, God may make you one; if not, I trust he will giue me strength and patience to beare your hard dealing with me. Saith Thomas Waite: Do you then mind to stand to your religion? Hea saith doctor Sands, by Gods grace. Truie saith the keeper, I loue you the better, I did but tempt you. What saies I can shew you, you shall be sure of, and I shall thinke my selfe happie if I may die at the stake with you. The said keeper shewed doctor Sands euer after all friendship: he trusted him to go into the fields alone, and there met with maister Bradford, who then was removed into the Bench, and there found like fauor of his keeper. He laid him in the best chamber in the house: he would not suffer the knight marshals men to laie fetters on him, as others had. And at his request, he put maister Sands in to him, to be his benefellow, and sundrie times suffered his wife, who was maister Sands daughter of Essex, a gentlewoman, beautifull both in bodie & soule to resort to him. There was great resort vnto doctor Sands, and maister Sanders: they had much monie offered them, but they would receiue none. They had the communion there three or foure times, and a great sort of communicants. Doctor Sands gaue such exhortation to the people, for at that time being yong, he was thought verie eloquent, that he moued manie teares and made the people abhorre the masse, and desie all poperie.

The friendship that doctor Sands found at his keepers hands.

Communicants become Sir Thomas Holcroft and doctor Sands about his departing out of England.

When What with his armie came into Southwicke, he sent two gentlemen into the Marshalsea to doctor Sands: saieing, that maister What would be glad of his companie and aduise, & that the gates should be set open for all the prisoners. He answered: Tell maister What, if this his rising be of God it will take place: if not, it will fall. For my part I was committed hither by order, I will be discharged by like order, or I will neuer depart hence. So answered maister Sanders, and the rest of the preachers being there prisoners. After that doctor Sands had bene nine weekes prisoner in the Marshalsea by the mediation of Sir Thomas Holcroft then knight marshall he was set at libertie. Sir Thomas sued earnestlie to the bishop of Winchester, doctor Gardiner for his deliuerance after manie repulses, except doctor Sands would be one of their sect, and then he could want nothing. He wyng out of him, that if the queene could like of his deliuerance, he would not be against it: for that was Sir Thomas his last request. In the meane time he had procured two ladies of the priue chamber to moue the queene in it: who was contented, if the bishop of Winchester could like of it. The next time that the bishop went into the priue chamber to speake with the queene, maister Holcroft followed, and had his warrant for doctor Sands remission readie, and praised the two ladies, when as the bishop should take his leave, to put the queene in mind of doctor Sands. So they did. And the queene said: Winchester, what thinke you by doctor Sands, is he not sufficientlie punished: As it please your maiestie, saith Winchester. That he spake, remembering his former promise to maister Holcroft, that he would not be against Sands, if the queene should like to discharge him. Saith the queene: Then truie, we would that he were set at libertie. Inmediatlie maister Holcroft offered the queene the warrant, who subscribed the same, and called Winchester to put to his hand, and so he did. The warrant was given to the knight

What misdeed to doctor Sands, and his answer thereto.

Doctor Sands set at libertie by the means of Sir Thomas Holcroft.

Sir Thomas Holcroft cannot persuade doctor Sands to come in England, and therefore setteth him at large.

How queene Maries displeasure to set doctor Sands at large, and finally his libertie.

Search made by doctor Sands after his chargement.

The friendship
that doctor
Sands found
at his keepers
hands.

Commence-
ment between
Thomas
Hales and
doctor Sands
when he be-
came out of
England.

violates mel-
lage to doctor
Sands, and
his answer re-
uerfed.

Doctor
Sands set at
liberty by the
mercy of Sir
Thomas Hol-
croft.

How quene
Marie is dis-
posed to set
doctor Sands
at large, and
feareth his
warrant for
his liberty.

Dr Thomas
Hales can-
not com-
mence
doctor Sands
in
England, and
therefore set
him at
liberty.

Dr Sands
made
his
escape
after
his
warrant
was
given.

right marshall againe, Sir Thomas Holcroft. As the bishop went forth of the priue chamber doore, he called maister Holcroft to him: commanding him not to let doctor Sands at libertie, untill he had taken suerties of two gentlemen of his countrie with him, euerie one bound in five hundred pounds, that doctor Sands should not depart out of the realme without licence. Maister Holcroft immediatlie after met with two gentlemen of the north, friends & cousins to doctor Sands, who offered to be bound in bodie, goods and lands for him.

At after dinner the same daie, maister Holcroft sent for doctor Sands to his lodging at Westminster, requiring the keeper to accompany with him. He came accordingly, finding maister Holcroft alone, walking in his garden: maister Holcroft imparted his long sute, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken to doctor Sands: much rejoicing that it was his good hap to do him good, & to procure his libertie, and that nothing remains, but that he would enter into bonds with his two suerties, for not departing out of the realme. Doctor Sands answered: I giue God thanks, who hath moued your hart to mind me so well, & I thinke my selfe most bound vnto you, God shall requite, and I shall neuer be found vnthankfull. But as you haue deist friendlie with me, I will also deale plainlie with you. I came a free man into prison, I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, so will I not hurt them: and if I be set at libertie, I will not tarie Sir daies in this realme if I may get out. If therefore I may not go free forth, send me to the Marshalsea againe, and there you shall be sure of me.

This answer much mistaked maister Holcroft, who told doctor Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would shortly come: the state was but a cloud, and would soon shake auaie; and that his cousin Sir Edward Baie would glablie receiue him and his wife into his house, where he should neuer need to come at church, and how the ladie Baie was a zealous gentlewoman, who hated poperie: adding that he would not so deale with him to lose all his labor. When doctor Sands could not be remoued from his former saieing, maister Holcroft said: Seeing you can not be altered, I will change my purpose, and yeld vnto you, come of it what will, I will set you at libertie: and seeing you mind ouer sea, get you gone so quicklie as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to come hither, for so ye may vnde me. He friendlie kissed doctor Sands, bad him farewell, and commanded the keeper to take no fees of him: saieing, Let me answer Winchester as I may. Doctor Sands returned with the keeper to the Marshalsea and taried all night. There on the morrow gaue a dinner to all the prisoners, bad his bedfellow and sworne stakefellow, if it had so pleased God, maister Saunders farewell, with manie teares and billings, the one falling on the others necke, and so departed, clearelie deliuered without examination or bond. From thence he went to the Bench, and there talked with maister Bradford, and maister Farrar bishop of St. Dauides, then prisoners. When he comforted them, & they praised God for his hapie deliuerance. He went by Winchester's house, and there took boate, and came to a friends house in London called William Banks, and taried there one night. On the morrow at night he shifted to an other friends house, and there he learned that scarch was made for him.

Doctor Watson and maister Christopherson, coming to the bishop of Winchester, told him that he had set at libertie the greatest heretike in England,

and one that had of all other most corrupted the vniuersitie of Cambridge, doctor Sands. Whereupon the bishop of Winchester, being chancellor of England, sent for all the constables of London, commanding them to watch for doctor Sands, who was then within the citie, and to apprehend him; and who so euer of them should take him and bring him to him, he should haue five pounds for his labor. Doctor Sands suspecting the matter, conuied himselfe by night to one maister Barties house a stranger, who was in the Marshalsea with him prisoner a while, he was a good protestant and dwelt in Marke lane. There he was six daies, and had one or two of his friends that repaired to him. Then he repaired to an acquaintance of his, one Hurlestons a skinner, dwelling in Cornhill, he caused his man Martin to prouide two geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Essex to maister Sands his father in law, where his wife was.

At his going to bed in Hurlestons house, he had a paire of hose newlie made that were too long for him. For while he was in the tower, a tailor was admitted him to make him a paire of hose. One came vnto him whose name was Benjamin, a good protestant, dwelling in Birchin lane: he might not speake to him, or come vnto him, to take measure of him, but onelie looke vpon his leg, he made the hose, and they were two inches too long. These hose he prayed the god wife of the house to send to some tailor to cut his hose two inches shorter. The wife required the boy of the house to carie them to the next tailor to cut. The boy chanced (or rather God so prouided) to go to the next tailor, which was Benjamin that made them, which also was a constable, and acquainted with the lord chancellors commandement. The boy required him to cut the hose. He said I am not thy masters tailor. Saith the boy, Because ye are our next neighbor, and my masters tailor dwelleth far off, I come to you, for it is far nights, and he must occupie them tunicke in the morning. Benjamin toke the hose and looked vpon them, he toke his handie worke in hand, and said: These are not thy masters hose, but doctor Sands, them I made in the tower. The boy yeldeo, and said it was so. Saith he, Go to thy mistresse, praye hir to sit by till twelue of the clocke, then I will bring the hose and speake with doctor Sands to his god.

At midnight the goodwife of the house, and Benjamin the tailor, cometh into doctor Sands chamber. The wife prayeth him not to be afraid of their coming. He answereth: Nothing can be amisse, what God will, that shall be done. Then Benjamin telteth him that he made his hose, and by what good chance they now came to his hands, God bled the meane that he might foretell him of his perill, & aduise him how to escape it, telling him that all the constables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, & some were so greedy set, that they prayed him (if he toke him) to let them haue the carriage of him to the bishop of Winchester, and he should haue the five pounds. Saith Benjamin, It is known that your man hath prouided two geldings, and that you mind to ride out at Alogate to morrow, and there then ye are sure to be taken. Follow mine aduise, and by Gods grace ye shall escape their hands. Let your man walke all the daie to morrow in the street where your horses stand, boted and ready to ride. The goodmans seruant of the house shall take the horses and carrie them to Bednoll gracie. The goodman shall be boted, and follow after as if he would ride. I will be here with you to morrow about eight of the clocke; it is both terme and parlement time, here we will breake our fast, and when the street is full we will go forth. Loke wilde, and

Cardiners
commande-
ment to watch
and ward for
doctor Sands
and to appre-
hend him,
with a reward
promised to
the taker of
him.

Note Gods
providence in
giving a way
to doctor
Sands for
his safe esca-
ping out of
danger.

All the mis-
chiefes inten-
ded against
doctor Sands
dislosed by a
constable, who
telteth him
how to escape.

Doctor
Sands dis-
guiseth him-
selfe like a
gentleman,
and escapeth.

if you meet your brother in the street, thin him not, but outface him, and know him not. Accordingle doctor Sands did, clothed like a gentleman in all respects, and looked wilde as one that had bene long kept in prison out of the light. Benjamin carried him through Birching lane, and from one lane to another till he came at More gate: there they went forth untill they came to Bednoll greene, where the hostes were readie, and maister Hurleston to ride with him as his man. Doctor Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leaue of his friend Benjamin, with teares they kissed ech other, he put his hand in his purse, and would haue giuen Benjamin a great part of that little he had, but Benjamin would take none. Yet since doctor Sands hath remembred him thankfullie. He rode that night to his father in law maister Sands where his wife was, he had not ben there two houres, but it was told maister Sands that there was two of the gard which would that night apprehend doctor Sands, and so they were appointed.

God stirreth
by the hearts
of the mari-
ners to fanlie
doctor Sands
&c.

That night doctor Sands was guided to an honest farmer nere the sea, where he taried two daies and two nights in a chamber without all companie. After that he shifted to one James Howler a ship-maister, who dwelt at Spilton thore, where he expected wind for the English fleet readie into flanders. While he was there, James Howler brought to him fozte or fittie mariners, to whome he gaue an exhortation; they liked him so well, that they promised to die for it, yer that he should be apprehended. The first of Maie, being sundaie the wind serued: he toke his leaue of his host and hostesse, and went towards the ship. In taking leaue of his hostesse who was barren, and had bene married eight peares, he gaue hir a fine handkercher and also an old rosall of gold in it, thanking hir much, and said: Be of god comfort, yer that an whole yers be past God shall giue you a child a boie. And it came to passe, for that date twelue moneths lacking one daie, God gaue hir a faire sonne.

Doctor
Sands his
prophetically
blekking to his
hostesse at his
departing.

At the thore doctor Sands met with maister Isaac of Kent, who had his eldest sonne there, who by on the liking he had to doctor Sands, sent his sonne with him, who afterward died in his fathers house in Frankford. Doctor Sands and doctor Cor were both in one ship, being one Cockels ship. They were within the kenning when two of the gard came thither to apprehend doctor Sands. They arrived at Antwerpe, being bid to dinner to maister Locke. And at dinner time one George Gilpin being secretarie to the English house, and kinsman to doctor Sands, came to him and rounded him in his eare, and said; King Philip hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you. Hereupon they rose from their dinner in a marvellous great thower, and went out at the gate toward the land of Cleue; there they found a wagon and hasted awaie, and came safe to Aufpurg in Cleueland, where doctor Sands taried foureteene daies, and then iournied towards Strasbozough, where after he had liued one yeare, his wife came vnto him. He fell soze sicke of a flux which kept him nine moneths, and brought him to deaths doze. He had a child which fell sicke of the plague and died. His wife at length fell sicke of a consumption and died in his armes; no man had a more goodlie woman to his wife.

Doctor
Sands and
doctor Cor go
by wagon into
Cleueland.

After this, maister Samson went awaie to Emanuel, a man skillfull in the Hebrew. Maister Windall went into the countrie to learne the Dutch tong. Doctor Sands still remained in Strasbozough, whose sustentation then was chieflie from one maister Isaac, who loved him most dearelie, and was ever more readie to giue than he to take. He gaue him in that space aboue one hundred marks,

which from the said doctor Sands paid him againe, and by his other gifts and friendlinesse he wed himselfe to be a thankfull man. When his wife was dead, he went to Zurich, and there was in Peter Partys house for the space of five weekes. Being there as they sate at dinner, word suddenlie came that quene Marie was dead, and doctor Sands was sent for by his friends at Strasbozough. That new made maister Partys and maister Jarret then there verie ioyfull: but doctor Sands could not reioise, it smote into his hart that he should be called to miserte. Maister Bullinger and the ministers feared him, and he toke his leaue and returned into Strasbozough, where he preached, and so maister Crindall and he came towards England, and then to London the same daie that quene Elizabeth was crowned.

Chaple reue-
of quene Ma-
ries death:
whereupon
doctor Sands
returneth into
England.

This is the true storie of such accidents as befell doctor Sands, a reuerend father, and constant in the truth; whereof if anie part had bene false, likelie it is that one or other would haue barked against it yer now. But the report being common, and hauing bene thus long extant in print, the silence of men is a sufficient pzoofe & confirmation of the truth. Here therfore we will leaue doctor Sands in his archiepiscopall see of Porke; and after this long (but yet narrow) digression fall againe to the discourse of Calis; which being lost (as you haue heard) in a vexte short time after so long possession, tidings thereof were carried to and fro, farre and nere, by word of mouth and by writing. In so much that the same news like wise being made notorious and knowne to the French were not so ioyfullie received in France, as they were generallie grienous and displeasing to the whole reime of England: but speciallie to quene Marie, who being a pzincesse of hart and courage, more than commonlie is in womankind, thought hir selfe so much touched in honour by the losse of hir said tobone and possessions on that side the sea, as he counted hir life irkesome, untill the same were either recovered againe, or the losse redoubled with some like victorie against the French elsewhere.

Maistre de
Chermes de
mination
to pale king
Philip
matric.

In respect whereof she ceased not to trauell after with king Philip hir husband, as with hir owne pzinie counsell, and the lords of the realme, which waie should be best to reuenge this iniurie: and speciallie noto whilst the French king was occupied in wars with king Philip, to indamage some of his countries by waie of inuasion, & to surpise some of his townes upon the sudden. And among sundrie deuises, none was thought so fit to be attempted as an haueu tobone in Britaine called Brest, which in the time of king Richard the second was kept and mainteined with an English garrison, untill the said king rendered the same to the French king againe by composition. This tobone as well for the conuenient situation alwaies readie to receiue fresh succors and vittelling out of England by sea, as also for that it was knowne to the quene and hir counsell at that present, not to be furnished with anie garrison of soldiors, sufficient to repell the power of a pzince by on the sudden, was thought to be the best marke to be shot at for the time. Wherefore upon this case well debated, there was immediatlie order given to Edward lord Clinton then high admerall of England, with all expedition to prepare himselfe with all the quenes ships of warre, furnished with soldiors, munition & vittels, to ioine with the admerall of king Philip, who had like order from the said king to ioine with the naue of England for the archiving of this enterprize.

with wher
indignation
quene Marie
re toke the
losse of Calis

Dunkirk be-
lieged, taken,
and burned by
the French.

But before I declare to you the aduenture of these two great naues by sea, it shall not be impertinent to touch some accidents in the inane time by land.

Force inuad-
ed against
Brest in Brit-
taine.

Maistre de
Chermes
losse of the
port.

Comite Eg-
mond lieute-
nant generall
of king Philip
by in the tow
of Brest.

The lord
Clinton ad-
merall of En-
gland sent on
against Philip

Chaple new
of quene Ma-
ries death:
wherupon
doctor Sande
returneth into
England.

And. While king Philip being absent from the low
countie, was (as you haue heard) occupied with his
wa-res in France, monsieur de Thermes the new
capitaine of Calis, being a man verie expert in the
wars (whose proprietie is neuer to neglect anie time
of advantage) cast in his mind, how (during king
Philip's absence) to do some singular seruice to the
French king his maister. And espieng well the ne-
gligence of the Flemings his neighbors, how little
they vnderstood the great weakening of their coun-
trie by the losse of Calis, and that there was no
new provision made for the defense thereof, moze
than was before, whilst Calis was English, by the
losse wherof, their frontiers were now become open
for the French at all times to enter. He therefore
taking out of Calis so manie of his soldiers as
might be spared from thence, adioining to them all
the forces of the French garrisons in Arthois, Bul-
longnois, and Picardie, wherof together with the
soldiers of Calis, being to the number of seuen hun-
dred footmen, and three hundred light horsemen Sco-
tish, there were assembled fouretene ensignes of the
French footmen, eightene banlines of Almans,
fourteene hundred men at armes of France, be-
sides the light horsemen Scots, amounting in the
whole to the number at the least of nine thousand
footmen, and fiftene hundred horsemen, entred in-
to Flanders, with full determination to spoile and
waste all king Philips countie along the sea coast,
and namely a proper haven towne called Dun-
kirke, and with like purpose to haue surprized the
towne of Graueling, if occasion would so serue.

His capitaine following his enterprize, of a poli-
tic passing by the towne of Graueling, laid siege to
a little towne not farre from thence called Werghs,
which he toan in a small time, and with small resis-
tance, leauing the saccage of the same vnto his sol-
diers, where they found manie good botties. And with-
out long staing they marched forth to Dunkirke be-
foresaid, and planting a siege in like maner there,
battered the same so sharplie with the cannon, that
within lesse than foure daies he became maister of
the towne, which he in like maner put to the sacke,
where was found moze plentie of spoile and good bot-
ties, than in anie place before, so farre forth as the
meanest slaves and lackies came awaie rich. And af-
ter setting the towne on fire (whereby all in the coun-
trie about were maruellouslie put in feare) and the
French spreading further abroad, wasted the most
fruitfull quarter of all that part of Flanders, euen
almost vnto Deluport. But yet because that mon-
sieur de Thermes fell diseased of the gutt, the armie
withdrew and incamped within halfe a mile of Gra-
ueling, & for his moze ease, he himselfe laie in Dun-
kirke, and in the meane time diuerse skirmishes fell
out betwene the Frenchmen, and them of the garri-
son within Graueling.

During which pastime, the countie de Aignemont
(or as he is commonlie called Egmond) lieutenant
generall for king Philip in the low countie, with all
hast possible assembled all the power as well of king
Philip's garrisons, as also of men of warre in the
low countie, to the number of fouretene or fiftene
thousand footmen, and two or three thousand horse-
men, whereof there were fiftene hundred swart Rut-
ters, determining so to affront the French, that ei-
ther they should passe no further into the countie, or
at the least waie to impeach them from the siege of
Graueling, whereof there was great appearance.
Monsieur de Thermes hearing of this power assen-
bled (though scarcelie well reconered) made all possi-
ble hast toward Graueling, where he was no sooner
arrived, but that he saw his enemies ready ranged
in the field. By reason whereof his studie was now

nothing else but how he might bring home his armie
in safetie to Calis.

The countie de Egmond espieng the Frenchmen
bent to march awaie with the spoile of the countie,
rut betwene them and home, placing his battels in
such order, that the Frenchmen had no waie to passe,
but vpon the sands betwene the towne and the sea.
Whereas by good chance laie a great fleet of quene
Maries ships of warre, within the danger of whose
gunshot the Frenchmen had no shift but to passe as
their iourne laie. And so being forced either to fa-
mish or to fight at disadvantage, monsieur de Ther-
mes without staing anie longer, caused his vanti-
gard to passe ouer the riuer somewhat nere the
towne, to auoid the shot of the English ships. And
staing vpon the further side for the residue of his
battels, there came such thicke haileshot of artillerie
out of the towne on the one side, and from the Eng-
lish ships on the other side, that there was a full
batterie made vpon the Frenchmen on all sides,
which they neuertheless abode, without breaking or-
der for the time, when suddenly appeared before them
two great troops of horsemen, of fiftene hundred
a peece, part swart Rutters, and part Burgognians,
whereof the one in front, and the other in flanke,
gaue strong charges vpon the French vanguard,
who being well backed with their other battels (where-
of the most part then had passed the riuer) stoutlie re-
pelled these two first troops, though not without losse
of manie their best soldiers.

So thus both parties being at a staie, and seuered
somewhat asunder, the countie de Egmond himselfe
with eightene hundred men of armes, and his foot
battels following, before the French had well reco-
uered breath, recharged vpon them with all his for-
ces together, so terrible that he choked all their bat-
tell, and the number tookethem to flight, without fur-
ther triall. So by that time that the footmen on ei-
ther side came to the push of the pike, the victorie
was sone had, by reason (as the Frenchmen report)
that the Almans beaten back with artillerie, as well
of the towne as of the ships before said, brake their
order, and came not to the thicke, whereby the whole
charge of the battell rested vpon the French ban-
neries. This field was fought the thirtenth of Ju-
lie 1558, vpon the sea sands nere to Graueling,
where besides those that were slaine, being esteemed
to the number of fife thousand fighting men, there
were taken prisoners the marshall de Thermes cap-
taine of Calis, monsieur Serenpont gouernour of
Bullongne, monsieur Willebou gouernour of Pi-
cardie, monsieur Annebault sonne to the late admi-
rall Annebault, knight of the order, monsieur de
Mouilliers gouernour of Abuille, monsieur de
Channe gouernour of Corbie, besides a great num-
ber of other gentlemen, valiant capteins & soldiers:
but specially the bands of Calis went to wracke, so
as verie few returned home to bring tidings. Which
gaue such a terror to the soldiers remaining in Ca-
lis, that it is herelie beleued, that if the admirals
of England and Flanders had bene present there
with their naues, as the said other few ships of
England were, and vpon this sudden had attempt-
ed Calis, with the aid of the countie Egmond ha-
uing his power present: the towne of Calis might
haue bene recovered againe with as little difficul-
tie, and happlie in as short time as it was before ga-
ined by the duke of Guise. But the said admirals (as
it appeared) knew nothing thereof. Wherefore follow-
ing their prescribed course, & joining together at the
place appointed, they sailed from thence with prope-
rous wind & weather, & by the nine and twentieth daie
of the same moneth, and in the said yeare, with sea-
uen score ships of warre, appeared by the breake of the

The English
ships annoie
the French
with gunshot,
et.

A valiant on-
set given vpon
the French-
men by coun-
tie Egmond.

A recharge
vpon the
French scarce
recouered.

A great victo-
rie.

Certaine
French pris-
oners taken,
and what they
were by
name.

Calis might
haue bene re-
covered from
the French.

And. While king Philip being absent from the low
countie, was (as you haue heard) occupied with his
wa-res in France, monsieur de Thermes the new
capitaine of Calis, being a man verie expert in the
wars (whose proprietie is neuer to neglect anie time
of advantage) cast in his mind, how (during king
Philip's absence) to do some singular seruice to the
French king his maister. And espieng well the ne-
gligence of the Flemings his neighbors, how little
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trie by the losse of Calis, and that there was no
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losse wherof, their frontiers were now become open
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And. While king Philip being absent from the low
countie, was (as you haue heard) occupied with his
wa-res in France, monsieur de Thermes the new
capitaine of Calis, being a man verie expert in the
wars (whose proprietie is neuer to neglect anie time
of advantage) cast in his mind, how (during king
Philip's absence) to do some singular seruice to the
French king his maister. And espieng well the ne-
gligence of the Flemings his neighbors, how little
they vnderstood the great weakening of their coun-
trie by the losse of Calis, and that there was no
new provision made for the defense thereof, moze
than was before, whilst Calis was English, by the
losse wherof, their frontiers were now become open
for the French at all times to enter. He therefore
taking out of Calis so manie of his soldiers as
might be spared from thence, adioining to them all
the forces of the French garrisons in Arthois, Bul-
longnois, and Picardie, wherof together with the
soldiers of Calis, being to the number of seuen hun-
dred footmen, and three hundred light horsemen Sco-
tish, there were assembled fouretene ensignes of the
French footmen, eightene banlines of Almans,
fourteene hundred men at armes of France, be-
sides the light horsemen Scots, amounting in the
whole to the number at the least of nine thousand
footmen, and fiftene hundred horsemen, entred in-
to Flanders, with full determination to spoile and
waste all king Philips countie along the sea coast,
and namely a proper haven towne called Dun-
kirke, and with like purpose to haue surprized the
towne of Graueling, if occasion would so serue.

with what
indignation
quene Ma-
rie toke the
losse of Calis.

Force inter-
med against
the French.

The lord
Clinton ad-
mirall of En-
gland sent
against the
French.

the daie before the haue of Corquest, commonlie called Conquet in Britaine; whereof the poet saith, touching the seat of the same, abutting vpon the sea:

Nobile Conquetum salis Thetis albiit undis.

At whose arrivall there (as the manner is) they sounded their trumpets, & with a thundering peale of great ordinance gaue a loud saluie vnto the Britains: and by eight of the clocke the same morning, mauer all the power of the countrie, being assembled there in armes, with manie peeces of great artillerie, to defend the entrie of their port, the Englishmen manning forth their shipboats, with manie valiant captians and soldiors, recovered landing, and within short time became masters of the said towne of Conquet, which they put to the saccege, with a great abbeie, and manie pretie townes and villages nere thereabouts, where our men found great store of pillage and good booties. This done, they marched into the countrie, and burned manie villages and houses: and after withdrew downe vnto the sea side, where their ships laie readie to receiue them. But the Flemmings being covetous of spoile, passing further into the land, before they could recover their ships againe, were encountered by the power of the countrie, by whome there were slaine of them to the number of foure or fve hundred.

The admirals perceiuing the power of the countrie greatlie to increase, and hauing intelligence that the duke of Campes the French kings lieutenant in Britaine was verie nere, comming on with a great number of horsemen and footmen, & stamed to be about twentie thousand (as the Frenchmen themselves affirme) thought not best to attempte ante assault against the towne of Brest, or to make longer abode there. But yet in hope to do some further exploit elsewhere, they laie there hovering on the coast a while, to vnderstand the demeanour of the Britains: but by this time there was such numbers of people raised in all those parts for defense of the same coasts, that the admirals afterward attempting in diuers places to land their men, and finding ech where moze appearance of losse than of gain, returned home without atchiuing ante further enterpryse. In this meane time, while king Philip and the French king, with two most puissant armies affronted ech other, nere vnto the water of Some, either of them was obstinate bent to giue the other out of the field, for which cause they intrenched their camps.

During which time there was nothing done betwene them worthie memorie, moze than ballie skirmishes of no grece account. Neuerthelesse, the countrie of France could not but susteine extreame damage, so long sustaining such a maine multitude, speciallie of men of warre, which those two mightie kings had assembled. And daie by daie came fresh companies to either partie; so as it was thought a thing impossible that such two princes being so nere, could depart without some cruell bloudie battell to determine their quarrels. But God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings (when least hope was) conuerted their obstinate minds from warre to peace, which came chieflie to passe by the mediation of the duchesse of Lorraine, who had bene a long and earnest traueller to that end; and neuer ceased, vntill by his intercession, both the said kings appointed speciall commissioners to treat vpon peace. So that after diuerse conferences, they at last concluded vpon all controuersies, except the matter of Calis, whereof queene Marie by his ambassadours required restitution: but the French partie would in no wise heare thereof. By reason of which difficultie, this treatie could not come to ante good conclusion. King Philip thinking himselfe bound in honour to stand in

that case with the queene his wife, who for his sake had entered into a needlesse warre against France, and thereby lost his said towne, with all the countrie adjoining (as you haue heard before) did therefore staie a long time before he concluded peace with the French king.

Queene Marie seeing no likelihood, nor hauing ante hope of the restitution of Calis, and considering also that most of his affaires had but hard successe, conceived an inward sorrow of mind: by reason whereof about September next she fell sicke of a hot burning feauer, which sicknesse was common that yeare through all the realme, and continued a marvellous number, as well noblemen, as bishops, iudges, knights, gentlemen, and rich farmers: but most of the cleargie, and other ancient and graue persons. In which while the queene laie languishing of a long sicknesse, and so continued vntill the seventeenth of Nouember next betwene the houres of five or six in the morning, and then ended his life in this world, at his house of saint James besides Westminster, when she had reigned fve years, foure moneths, and eleyen daies, and in the thre and fortith yeare of his bodilie age. The death of this said queene made a marvellous alteration in this realme, namelie in the case of religion, which like as by the death of king Edward the first it suffered a change from the establishment of his time: so by the death of this queene it returned into the former estate againe. So that we see the vncerteintie of the world, and what changes do come in times by their resolutions, and that euery thing is subiect to vncostancie, and nothing free from variablenesse; as the poet saith:

nihil est quoniam

Perpetuum solet in terris fixumque manere:

Humani quam nulla subest constantia rebus!

And here, because we are come to the knitting by of queene Maries reigne, I cannot ouerskip with silence that notable and needfull discourse of master Fox concerning our blessed soueraigne, queen Elizabeth, whose maiestie the Lord of his mercie intiron with friends as in number manie, so in seruice true; and whose enemies the same Lord in iustice rot out from the land of the liuing, heaping vpon them plague after plague, to their bitter confusion, because they haue rejected the gracious means of their conuerfion. Thus therefore writeth master Fox concerning the mischievous persecution and miraculous preservation of ladie Elizabeth, now queene of England, from extreame calamitie and danger of life, in the time of queene Marie his sister.

But (saith master Fox) when all hath bene said and told, what soeuer can be recited touching the admirable working of Gods present hand in defending and deliuering ante one person out of thalidome, neuer was there since the memorie of our fathers, ante example to be shewed, wher in the Lords mightie power hath moze admirable and blessedlie shewed it selfe, to the glorie of his owne name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the publike felicitie of this whole realme, than in the miraculous custodie and outlesape of this our soueraigne ladie, now queene, then ladie Elizabeth, in the strict time of queene Marie his sister. In which storie, first we haue to consider in what extreame miserie, sicknesse, feare, and perill his highnesse was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death she was brought. First with great routs and bands of armed men (and happy was he that might haue the carrying of her) being fetched vp as the greatest traitour in the world, clapped in the tower, and againe tolled from thence, from house to house, from prison to prison, from piller to piller, at length also prisoner in his owne house, and garded with a sort of cut-throats, which euer

Conquest of
Conquet taken and burned.

A great slaughter of the Flemmings occasioned by their owne contumacie.

The admirals remoued for feare of losse.

Anno Reg. 6.

No memorie act done by either of the kings during the affronting of their armies.

Hence is procured between both kings at the suite and seeking of the duchesse of Lorraine.

These perils of the house of Calis.

The death of queen Marie.

The history of the ladie Elizabeth.

These references by 1 page where they fall in this discourse of Elizabeth are ment of the impresse published 1559
Sir Micha Southwell
Sir Edward Dillingham,
Sir Thomas Comwallis
sent to fetch up ladie Elizabeth, with whom also afterward was sent the lord William Howard, &c.

The blessed protection of almightie God impetured by the ladie Elizabeth in her manifold dangers and troubles.

The vnnumerable of the knights.

The treatment of ladie Elizabeth in the tower.

Ladie Elizabeth
both threatened
to go to the
tower.

Ladie Elizabeth
both purgeth
hir selfe to the
lords.

Ladie Elizabeth
both seruants
remoued from
hir.
The queenes
men, and wait-
ting women
attendant vpon
ladie Elizabeth.

The hard deal-
ing of a cer-
taine lord
with the ladie
Elizabeth.
The earle of
Suffex gentle
to the ladie
Elizabeth.
Ladie Elizabeth
both writeth
to the queene
but it would
not serue.

the bitterlie denieng, cleared hir innocencie therein. In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared vnto hir, that it was the queenes will and pleasure that she should go vnto the tower, while the matter were further tried and examined. Whereat she being agast, said, that she trusted the queenes maiestie would be more gracious ladie vnto hir, and that hir highnesse would not otherwise conceiue of hir, but that she was a true woman: declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherein they had burdened hir; and desired them therefore to be a further meane to the queene hir sister, that she being a true woman in thought, word, and deed towards hir maiestie, might not be committed to so noxious & dolefull a place: protesting that she would request no mercie at hir hand, if she should be psoned to haue consented vnto anye such kind of matter, as they had laid vnto hir charge: and therefore in fine desired their lordships to thinke of hir what she was, and that she might not so extremelie be dealt withall for hir truth.

Wherevnto the lords answered againe, that there was no remedie, for that the queenes maiestie was fullie determined that she should go vnto the tower. Wherewith the lords departed, with their caps hanging ouer their eyes. But not long after, within the space of an houre or little more, came foure of the foresaid lords of the counsell, which were the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, the earle of Suffex, with the gard, who warding the next chamber to hir, secluded all hir gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen, sauing that for one gentleman vsher, three gentlewomen, and two groomes of hir chamber, were appointed in their rooms three other men of the queenes, and three waiting women to giue attendance vpon hir, that none should haue access to hir grace. At which time there were an hundred of northerne souldiers in white cotes, watching and warding about the gardens all that night, a great fire being made in the midd of the hall, and two certeine lords watching there also with their band and companie.

Vpon saturdaye following, two lords of the counsell (the one was the earle of Suffex, the other shall be namelesse) came and certified hir grace, that forthwith she must go vnto the tower, the barge being prepared for hir, and the tide now readie, which tarieth for no bodie. In heauie mood hir grace requested the lords that she might tarie another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that nether tide nor time was to be delaied. And when hir grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the queenes maiestie, he answered, that he durst not permit that: adding that in his iudgement it would rather hurt, than profit hir grace in so doing. But the other lord, more courteous and fauorable (who was the earle of Suffex) kneeling downe, said she should haue libertie to write; and as he was a true man, he would deliuer it to the queenes highnesse, & bring an answer of the same, what soeuer came thereof. Wherevpon she wrote, albeit she could in no case be suffered to speake with the queene to hir great discomfort, being no offender against the queenes maiestie.

And thus the tide and time passed awaie for that season, they priuillie appointing all things readie that she should go the next tide which fell about midnigh: but for feare she should be taken by the waie, they durst not. So they staid till the next date, being Wednesdaye, when about nine of the clocke she was returned againe, declaring that it was time for hir grace to depart: she answering: If there be no remedie, I must be content, willing the lords to go before. Being come forth into the garden, she did cast

vp hir eyes toward the window, thinking to haue seene the queene, which she could not. Whereat she said she marvelled much what the nobilitie of the realme meant, which in that sort would suffer hir to be led into captiuitie, the Lord knew whether, for she did not. In the meane time commandement was giuen in all London, that euerie one should keepe the church and carie their palmes, while in the meane season she might be conuicted without all recourse of people into the tower.

After all this, she toke hir barge with the two foresaid lords, three of the queenes gentlewomen, and three of hir owne, hir gentleman vsher, and two of hir groomes, lieng & houering vpon the water a certeine space, for that they could not shot the bidge, the bargemen being verie vnwilling to shot the same so lone as they bad, because of the danger thereof: for the sterne of the boat strooke vpon the ground, the fall was so big, and the water was so shallow, that the boat being vnder the bidge, there staid againe a while. At landing, she first staid, and denied to land at those staires where all traitors and offenders customablie used to land, neither well could she vntill she should go ouer hir sho. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went backe againe to hir, and brought word she would not come. Then said one of the lords which shall be namelesse, that she should not chuse: and because it did then raine, he offered to hir his cloke, which she (putting it backe with hir hand with a good dash) refused. So she coming out, hauing one foot vpon the staire, said: Here landeth as true a subiect being prisoner, as euer landed at these staires: and before the Lord God I speake it, hauing none other friends but the alone.

To whom the same lord answered againe, that if it were so, it was the better for hir. At hir landing there was a great multitude of their seruants and warders standing in their order; What needed all this said she: It is the vse (said some) so to be taken a prisoner came thither. And if it be (quoth she) for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed. Whereat the more men kneeled downe, and with one voice desired God to preserve hir grace, who the next daie were released of their cold coats. After this passing a little further, she sat downe vpon a cold stone, and there rested hir selfe. To whom the lieutenant then being, said: Madame, you were best to come out of the raine, for you sit vnto holefomelie. She then replieng, answered againe: Better sitting here than in a worse place, for God knoweth, I know not whether you will bring me. With that hir gentleman vsher wept: the demanding of him what he meant so vncomfortable to vse hir, seeing the toke him to be hir comforter, and not to dismaie hir, especially for that she knew hir truth to be such, that no man should haue cause to weepe for hir. But forth she went into the prison.

The doores were locked and bolted vpon hir: which did not a little discomfort and dismaie hir grace. At what time she called to hir gentlewoman for hir booke, desiring God not to suffer hir to build hir foundation vpon the sands but vpon the rocke, wherevpon all the blasse of blustering weathier should haue no power against hir. The doores being thus locked, and the clofe shut vp, the lords had great conference how to keepe ward and watch, euerie man declaring his opinion in that behalfe, agreeing strik and circumstance to keepe hir. Then one of them, which was the lord of Suffex swearing, said: My lord, let vs take heed, and do no more than our commission will beare vs, what soeuer shall happen hereafter. And further, let vs consider that she was the king our maisters daughter, and therefore let vs vse such dealing,

Ladie Elizabeth
both sent to
the tower.

The bishop of
Winchester came
to ladie
Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth
examined
by the bishop
of Winchester.

The friendlie
speech of the
lord of Bram-
well to the ladie
Elizabeth.

His James
examined
touching
the ladie
Elizabeth.

The lord of
Suffex speake
both for ladie
Elizabeth.

These were
the officers
of the tower,
such as
went in white
and grane.

dealing, that we may answer vnto it hereafter, if it shall so happen, for iust dealing (quoth he) is alwayes answerable. Wherevnto the other lordes agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the tower, within two daies, commandement was that the should haue masse within hir house. One maister Pong was then hir chapleine: and because there was none of hir men so well learned to helpe the priest to saie masse, the masse staid for that daie.

The next daie two of hir yeomen, who had gone long to schoole before, and were learned, had two abbies pouldred and deliuered them, so that vpon the abbies they should helpe the priest. One of the said yeomen, holding the abbie in his hand, pretending ignorance at Kyrie eleison, set the priest, making as though he could answer that no further. It would make a pitifull and a strange storie, here by the waie to touch and recite what examinations and rackings of poore men there were; to find out that knife which should cut hir throte: what gaping among my lordes of the cleargie, to see the date wherein they might wash their godlie white rochetes in hir innocent blood, but especially the bishop of Winchester Stephan Gardiner, then lord chancelor, ruler of the roff, who then within five daies after came vnto hir, with diuerse others of the counsell, and examined hir of the talke that was at Albridge, betwixt hir and sir James Acroft, touching hir remouing from thence to Dunnington castle, requiring hir to declare what she meant thereby.

At the first, she being so suddenlie asked, did not well remember anie such house: but within a while, well aduising hir selfe, she said; In deed (quoth she) I do not remember that I haue such a place, but I neuer laie in it in all my life. And as for anie that hath moued me therevnto, I do not remember. When to enforce the matter, they brought forth sir James Acroft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of hir what she said to that man: she answered, that she had little to saie to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the tower. But my lordes (quoth she) you do examine euerie meane prisoner of me, wherein me thinks you do me great iniurie. If they haue done euill and offended the queenes maiestie, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you my lordes, to lene not me in this sort with anie of these offenders. And as concerning my going vnto Dunnington castle, I do remember that maister Hobbie and mine officers and you sir James Acroft, had such talke: but what is that to the purpose, my lordes, but that I may go to mine owne houses at all times?

The lord of Arundell kneeling downe, said: Your grace saith true, & certainlie we are verie sorie that we haue so troubled you about so vaine matters. She then said: app lordes, you do siff me verie narrowlie, but well I am assured, you shall not do moze to me than God hath appointed, and so God forgive you all. At their departure, sir James Acroft kneled down, declaring that he was sorie to see the daie in which he should be brought as a witnesse against hir grace. But I assure your grace (said he) I haue bene maruellouslie tossed and examined touching your highnesse, which the lord knoweth is verie strange to me. For I take God to recozd before all your honors, I do not know anie thing of that crime that you haue laid to my charge, and will therupon take my death, if I should be diuened to so strid a trial.

That daie, or thereabouts, diuerse of hir owne officers, who had made prouision for hir diet, brought the same to the utter gate of the tower, the common rascall souldiers receiuing it: which was no small greife vnto the gentlemen the bringers thereof. Wherefore they required to speake with the lord cham-

berleine, being then constable of the tower. Who coniming before his presence, declared vnto his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring hir graces diet, and to deliuer it to such common and desperat persons as they were which did receiue it: beseeching his honors to consider hir grace, and to giue such order, that hir viands might at all times be brought in by them which were appointed therevnto.

Pea first (said he) who appointed you this office? They answered, hir graces counsell. Counsell (quoth he) There is none of them which hath to do, either in that case, or anie thing else within this place: and I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be serued with the lieutenants men, as other the prisoners are. Whereat the gentlemen said, that they trusted for moze fauor at his hands, considering hir personage, saing; that they mistrusted not, but that the queene and hir counsell would be better to hir grace than so, and therewith shewed themselues to be offended at the vngratefull words of the lord chamberleine to, wards their ladie and mistresse.

At this he sware by God, striking himselfe vpon the breast, that if they did either frowne or thug at him, he would set them where they should neither see sunne nor mone. Thus taking their leaue, they desired God to bring him in a better mind towards hir grace, and so departed from him. Vpon the occasion whereof, hir graces officers made great lute vnto the queenes counsell, that some might be appointed to bring hir diet to hir, & that it might no more be deliuered in to the common souldiers of the tower. Which being reasonable considered, was by them granted. Whereupon were appointed one of hir gentlemen, hir cleark of hir kitchin, and hir two purueors to bring in hir prouision once a day; all which was done the warders euer waiting vpon the bringers thereof. The lord chamberleine himselfe being alwayes with them, circumspectlie and narrowlie watched, and searched what they brought: and gaue heed that they should haue no talke with anie of hir graces waiting seruants, and so warded them both in and out. At the said lute of hir officers were sent by the commandement of the counsell, to wait vpon hir grace, two yeomen of hir chamber, one of hir robes, two of hir pantrie and ewrie, one of hir buttrie, another of hir cellar, two of hir kitchin, and one of hir larder, all which continued with hir the time of hir trouble.

Here the constable, being at the first not verie well pleased with the coniming in of such a companie against his will, would haue had his men still to haue serued with hir graces men. Which hir seruants at no hand would suffer, desiring his lordship to be contented: for that order was taken, that no stranger should come within their offices. At which answer being so displeased, he brake out into these threatening words: Well (said he) I will handle you well enough. Then went he into the kitchin, and there would needs haue his meat rosted with hir graces meat, & said that his coke should come thither and dresse it. To that hir graces coke answered; app lord, I will neuer suffer anie stranger to come about hir diet, but hir owne sworne men, so long as I liue. He said they shuld. But the coke said, his lordship should pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble hir poore seruants verie stoutlie: though afterwards he were other wise aduised, and they moze courteously vied at his hands. And god cause why, for he had god cheare, and fared of the best: and hir grace paid well for it. Wherefore he vied himselfe afterwards moze reuerentlie toward hir grace.

After this sort, having lien a whole moneth there in close prison, and being verie euill at ease therewith all, he sent for the lord chamberleine, and the lord

Ladie Elizabeths seruants restrained for bringing hir diet to the tower.

Displeasure betwene the lord chamberleine and ladie Elizabeths men.

Ladie Elizabeths waiting men in the tower.

Variance betwene the lord chamberleine & ladie Elizabeths seruants.

Elizabeths seruants.

Elizabeths seruants.

Elizabeths seruants.

Elizabeths seruants.

Elizabeths seruants.

Elizabeths seruants.

Elizabeths seruants.

Ladie Elisabeth denied the libertie of the tower.

Shandols, to come and speake with hir. The comming, she requested them that she might haue libertie to walke in some place, for that she felt herselfe not well. To the which they answered, that they were right soze that they could not satisfie hir graces request, for that they had commandement to the contrary, which they durst not in any wise breake. Furthermore, the desired of them, if that could not be granted, that she might walke but into the queenes lodging. So now yet that (they answered) could by any means be obtained without a further sute to the queene and hir counsell. Well said she my lords, if the matter be so hard that they must be sued vnto for so small a thing, and that friendship be so strict, God comfort me: and so they departed, the remaining in hir old dungeon still, without any kind of comfort but onlie God.

The next daie after, the lord Shandols came againe vnto hir grace, declaring vnto hir that he had sued vnto the counsell for further libertie. Some of them consented thereto, diuerse other dissented, for that there were so manie prisoners in the tower. But in conclusion they did all agree, that hir grace might walke into those lodgings, so that he & the lord chamberlaine, and thre of the queenes gentlewomen did accompanie hir, the windowes being shut, and she not suffered to looke out at any of them: wherewith she contented herselfe, and gaue him thanks for his good will in that behalfe. Afterwards there was libertie granted to hir grace to walke in a little garden, the doores and gates being shut vp, which notwithstanding was as much discomfort vnto hir, as the walke in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of hir walking there, the prisoners on that side stridlie were commanded not to speake or looke out at the windowes into the garden, till hir grace were gone out againe, hauing in consideration thereof, their keepers waiting vpon them for that time. Thus hir grace with this small libertie contented hir selfe in God, to whome be praise there-fore.

During this time, there vsed a little boie, a mans child in the tower to resort vnto their chambers, and manie times to bring hir grace flowers, which likewise he did to the other prisoners that were there. Whereupon naughtie and suspicious heads thinking to make and bring out some matter thereof, called on a time the child vnto them, promising him figs and apples, and asked of him when he had bene with the earle of Devonshire, not ignorant of the childs wonted frequenting vnto him: The boy answered that he would go by and by wither. Further they demanded of him, when he was with the ladie Elisabeths grace: He answered: Euerie daie. Furthermore they examined him, what the lord of Devonshire sent by him to hir grace: The child said: I will go know what he will giue to carle to hir. Such was the discretion of the child, being yet but foure years of age. This same is a craftie boy, quoth the lord chamberlaine, how saie you my lord Shandols? I prae you my lord (quoth the boy) giue me the figs you promised me. So marie (quoth he) thou shalt be whipped if thou come any more to the ladie Elisabeth, or the lord Courtneie. The boy answered: I will bring my ladie and mistresse more flowers. Whereupon the childs father was commanded to permit the boy no more to come vp into their chambers.

The next daie, as hir grace was walking in the garden, the child peeping in at a hole in the doze, cried vnto hir, faueng: O mistresse, I can bring you no more flowers. Whereat she smiled, but said nothing, vnderstanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore afterwards the chamberlaine rebuked highlie his father, commanding him to put him out of the house.

Alas poore infant, quoth the father. It is a craftie knaue (quoth the lord chamberlaine) let me see him here no more. The first of Maie the constable was discharged of his office of the tower, & one sir Henrie Benesfield placed in his come, a man unknowne to hir grace, and therefore the moze feared: which so sudden mutation was vnto hir no little amaze. He brought with him an hundred soldiers in blew cotes, wherewith she was maruellouslie discomforted, and demanded of such as were about hir, whether the ladie Janes scaffold were taken awaie or no, fearing by reason of their comming, least she should haue played hir part. To whome answer was made, that the scaffold was taken awaie, and that hir gracedeb not to doubt of any such tyrannie: for God would not suffer any such treason against hir person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether satisfied, she asked that sir Henrie Benesfield was, and whether he was of that conscience or no, that if hir murdering were secretly committed to his charge, he would see the execution thereof: She was answered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. Whobeit they persuaded hir that God would not suffer such wickednesse to proceed: Well, quoth she, God grant it be so. For thou O God canst mollifie all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruell purposes: and I beseech thee to heare me thy creature, which am thy seruant, and at thy commandement, trusting by thy grace euer so to remaine.

About which time it was spread abroad, that hir grace should be caried from the nise by this new solle captaine and his soldiers: but whether, it could not be learned. Which was vnto hir a great griefe, especially for that such a companie was appointed to hir gard, requesting rather to continue there still, than to be led thence with such a sort of rascals. At last plaine answer was made by the lord Shandols, that there was no remedie, but from thence she must needs depart to the manour of Woodstocke, as he thought. Being demanded of hir for what cause: For that (quoth he) the tower is like further to be furnished. She being desirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded wherewith: He answered, with such matter as the queene and counsell were determined in that behalfe, wherof he had no knowledge: and so departed. In conclusion, on Trinitie sundae being the nineteenth daie of Maie, she was removed from the tower, the lord treasurer being then there for the lading of hir carts, and discharging the place of the same. Where sir Henrie Benesfield (being appointed hir gallo) did receiue hir with a companie of rascals to gard hir, beside the lord of Darbies band, waiting in the countrie about for the mooneshine in the water. Vnto whome at length came my lord of Tame, ioined in commission with the said sir Henrie, for the safe guiding of hir to prison: and they together conueied hir grace to Woodstocke, as hereafter followeth. The first daie they conducted hir to Richmond, where she continued all night, being restrained of hir owne men, which were lodged in outchambers, and sir Henrie Benesfields soldiers appointed in their comes to giue attendance on hir person. Whereat she being marvellouslie dismaied, thinking verelie some secret mischief to be a working towards hir, called hir gentle- man vther, and desired him, with the rest of his companie, to prae for hir. For this night (quoth she) I thinke to die. Wherewith he being stricken to the heart, said: God forbid that any such wickednesse should be pretended against your grace. So comforting hir as well as he could, at last he burst out into teares, & went from hir doore into the court, where were walking the lord of Tame and sir Henrie

The com-
ble of 4 mar-
discharges of
his office.
Sir Henrie
Benesfield
with his com-
panie, placed
about the lady
Elisabeth.
Ladie Eli-
sabeth in
great feare
and doubt
of life.

Ladie Eli-
sabeth in doubt
of her honour
Benesfield.

The gentle
hears of the
lady of Tame
to ladie Eli-
sabeth.

Tyrannous o'w, i.
like a thepe
in the laugh-
ter.

Ladie Eli-
sabeth hono-
rable receiued
and beloved of
the people.

The gentle
interment of
ladie Eli-
sabeth at the
lady of Tames
house.

Benesfield
grace at the
gentle in-
terment of
ladie Eli-
sabeth.
The ride and
buggerye.
The beha-
mour of sir
Henrie Be-
nesfield.

Ladie Eli-
sabeth cometh
to Woodstocke.

The first
watch kept at
Woodstocke.

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Libertie gran-
ted to ladie
Elisabeth to
walke in a
little garden.

Suspicious
heads.

A young child
examined for
bringing
flowers to
the ladie
Elisabeth.

Ladie Eli-
sabeth removed
from the
tower to
Woodstocke.
Ladie Eli-
sabeth secured
from hir ser-
uants.
Ladie Eli-
sabeth in deli-
uance of her
life.

ric Benefield.

Then he comming to the lord of Came (who had proffered to him much friendship) desired to speake with him a word or two. Unto whome he familiarly said, he should with all his heart. Which when sir Henrie standing by heard, he asked what the matter was. To whome the gentleman vther answered: So great matter sir (said he) but to speake with my lord a word or two. Then when the lord of Came came to him, he spake on this wise: My lord (quoth he) you haue bene alwaies my good lord, and so I beseech you to remaine. The cause why I come to you at this time, is to desire your honor, vnto me whether anie danger is meant towards my mistresse this night, or no, that I and my poze fellows may take such part as shall please God to appoint: for certeinlie we will rather die, than the should secretlie and innocentlie miscarie. Marie (said the lord of Came) God forbid that anie such wicked purpose should be wrought: and rather than it should be so, I with my men are ready to die at hir foot also: and (so praised be God) they passed that dofull night, with no little beauintesse of heart. Afterwards passing ouer the water at Richmond, going towards Windsoze, hir grace espied certein of hir poze seruants standing on the other side, which were verie desirous to see hir. Whome when she beheld, turning to one of hir men standing by, she said; Ponder I see certein of my men, go to them and say these words from me: *Tantum uis.*

So the passing forward to Windsoze, was lodged there that night in the deane of Windsozes house, a place more meet in deed for a priest than for a prince. And from thence hir grace was garded and brought the next night to maister Dormers house, where much people standing by the way, some presented to hir one gift, and some another: so that sir Henrie was greatlie moued therewith, and troubled the poze people verie soze, for thewng their louing hearts in such a manner, calling them rebels and traitors, with such like vile words. Besides, as she passed thorough the villages, the townsmen rang the bells, as being topfull of hir comming, thinking verelie it had bene otherwise than it was indeed, as the sequelle proued after to the said poze men. For immediatlie the said sir Henrie hearing the same, sent his souldiours thither, who apprehended some of the ringers, setting them in the stocks, and otherwise vncourteouslie misusing other some for their good toils.

On the morrow hir grace passing from maister Dormers (where was for the time of hir abode there a strict watch kept) came to the lord of Cames house where she laie all night, being verie princelie intertained, both of knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Whereat sir Henrie Benefield grunted, and was highlie offended, saing vnto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to answer to their doings in that behalfe; letting them to vnderstand that she was the queens maiesties prisoner, and no otherwise: abusing them therfore to take heed & beware of afterclaps. Wherevnto the lord of Came answered in this wise: that he was well aduised of his doings, being joined in commission as well as he, adding with warrant, that hir grace might and should in his house be meretric. The next daie as she should take hir iournie from Richmond towards Woodstocke, the lord of Came, with an other gentleman being at tables, plateng, and dropping vie crownes, the ladie Elizabeth passing by, staied & said she would see the game plaied out, which sir Henrie Benefield would scarce permit. The game running long about, and they plaicng vpon vie crownes; Come on saith he: I will

tarie saith she, and will see this game out.

After this, sir Henrie went by into a chamber, where was appointed for hir grace a chaire, two cushions, and a foot carpet verie faire and princelike, wherein presumptuouslie he sat, and called one Warwick his man to pull off his boots. Which as some as it was knowen among the ladies and gentles, euerie one mused thereat, & laughed him to scozne, obseruing his vndiscreet maners in that behalfe, as they might verie well. When supper was done, he called my lord, and willed him that all the gentlemen and ladies should withdraw therselues euerie one to his lodging, maruelling much that he would permit there such a companie, considering so great a charge committed to him. Sir Henrie (quoth my lord) content your selfe, all shall be holded, your men and all. Pay my souldiours (quoth sir Henrie) shall watch all night. The lord of Came answered, It shall not need. Well said he, need or need not, they shall so do: mistrusting belike the companie, which God knoweth was without cause.

The next daie hir grace took hir iournie from thence to Woodstocke, where she was inclosed, as before in the tower of London, the souldiours garding and warding both within & without the wals, euerie daie to the number of thre score, and in the night without the wals for tie, during the time of hir imprisonment there. At length she had gardens appointed for hir walke, which was verie comfortable to hir grace. But alwaies when she did recreate hir selfe therein, the doores were fast locked by, in as strict maner as they were in the tower, being at the least five or six locks betwene hir lodging and hir walks: sir Henrie himselfe keeping the keies, and trusting no man therewith. Wherevpon she called him hir gailor: and he kneeling downe, desired hir grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of hir officers. From such officers (quoth she) god Lord deliuer me. And now by the way as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader, if it be lawfull in so serious a storie to recite a matter incident, & yet not impertinent to the same: occasion here moueth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefelie what happened in the same place and time by a certein merie conceited man, being then about hir grace: who noting the strict & strange keeping of his ladie & mistres by the said sir Henrie Benefield, with so manie locks & doores, with such watch and ward about hir, as was strange and wonderfull, spied a goat in the ward where hir grace was. And whether to refresh hir oppressed mind, or to notifie hir strict handling by sir Henrie, either else both; he took it by on his necke, and followed hir grace therewith as she was going into hir lodging. Which when she saw, she asked him what he would do with it, willing to let it alone. Unto whome the said partie answered: So by saint Marie (if it like your grace) will I not: for I can not tell whether he be one of the queens friends or no. I will carie him to sir Henrie Benefield (God willing) to know what he is. So leauing hir grace, he went with the goat on his necke, and caried it to sir Henrie Benefield. Who when he saw him comming with it, asked him halfe angerlie what he had there. Unto whome the partie answered, saing: Sir (quoth he) I can not tell what he is, I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my ladies grace was walking, and what talke they had I can not tell. For I vnderstand him not, but he should seeme to me to be some stranger, & I thinke verelie a Welshman, for he hath a white freese coat on his backe. And for so much as I being the queens subiect, and perceiuing the strict charge committed to you of hir keeping, that no stranger should haue access to hir without

§ 111. j.

§ 111. j.

The comendation of the tower discharged of his office. Sir Henrie Benefield with his comendation placed about the lady Elizabeth in great feare and doubt of life.

Ladie Elizabeth with in doubt of her life.

The ladie Elizabeth with in doubt of her life.

The gentle heart of the ladie Elizabeth.

The gentle heart of the ladie Elizabeth.

The gentle heart of the ladie Elizabeth.

The gentle heart of the ladie Elizabeth.

The gentle heart of the ladie Elizabeth.

The gentle heart of the ladie Elizabeth.

The gentle heart of the ladie Elizabeth.

The gentle heart of the ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth with in doubt of her life.

The merie storie concerning the strict keeping of the ladie Elizabeth.

The strictness of sir Henrie Benefield merelie noted.

sufficient licence, I have here found a stranger (what he is I can not tell) in place where his grace was walking; and therefore for the necessarie discharge of my dutie, I thought it good to bring the said stranger to you, to examine as you see cause: and so he let him do one. At which his words sir Henrie seemed much displeased, and said: Well, well, you will never leave this geare I see: and so they departed.

Both to returne to the matter from whence we have digressed. After his grace had bene there a time the made sute to the counsell that she might be suffered to write to the queene, which at last was permitted. So that sir Henrie Benefield brought his pen, ink, and paper; and standing by his while she wrote (which he stricke observed) alwaies she being wearie, he would carie awaie his letters, and bring them againe when she called for them. In the finishing thereof, he would have bene messenger to the queene of the same. Whose request his grace denied, saying one of his owne men should carie them, and that she would neither trust him nor none of his therein. When he answering againe said; None of them durst be so bold (he it would) to carie his letters, being in that case. Yes (quoth she) I am assured I have none so dishonest that would denie my request in that behalf, but will be as willing to serve me now as before. Well (said he) my commission is to the contrary; and I maie not so suffer it. His grace replied againe said; You charge me verie often with your commission, I praye God you maie tustle answer the cruell dealing you use towards me.

Then he kneeling downe, desired his grace to thinke and consider how he was a servant, and put in trust there by the queene to serve his maiestie, protesting that if the case were his, he would as willingly serve his grace, as now he did the queenes highnesse. For the which his answer his grace thanked him, desiring God that she might never have need of such servants as he was; declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor unforfeitable, but more than all the friends he had would stand by. To whom sir Henrie replied & said; that there was no remedie but his doings must be answered, and so they should, striving to make god account thereof. The cause which moved his grace to saie, was for that he would not permit his letters to be caried foure or five daies after the writing thereof. But in fine he was content to send for his gentleman from the towne of Woodstocke, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the carrying of his graces letters to the queene or no. And he answered; Yes sir, that I dare, and will with all my hart. Whereupon sir Henrie halfe against his stomacke took them onto him. Then about the eight of June came downe doctor Owen & doctor Willew die, sent by the queene to his grace; for that she was sicklie; who ministering to her, and letting her blood, tarried there and attended on his grace five or six daies. When she being well amended, they returned againe to the court, making their good report to the queene and the counsell of his graces behavioir and humblenesse towards the queenes highnesse. Which his maiestie hearing, took verie thankfullie; but the bishops thereat repined, looked blacke in the mouth, and told the queene, they marvelled that she submitted not his selfe to his maiesties mercie; considering that she had offended his highnesse.

About this time his grace was requested by a secret friend, to submit his selfe to the queenes maiestie, which would be verie well taken; and to his great quiet and commoditie. Unto whome she answered, that she would never submit his selfe to them whome she never offended. For quoth she; if I have offended and am guiltie, I then craue no

mercie, but the law, which I am certaine (quoth she) I should have had per this, if it could be proved by me. For I know my selfe (I thanke God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as cleare out of the perill of mine enemies, as then I am assured I should not so be locked and bolted by within walls and doores as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth him. About this time was there a great consulting among the bishops and gentlemen touching a marriage for his grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realme with his portion; some saying one thing, and some another.

A lord (who shall be here namelesse) being there at last said, that the king should never have any quiet common wealth in England, unlesse his head were stricken from the shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered saying; God forbid that the king and maiesty should have that mind to consent to such a mischiefe. This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their owne countrie. From that daie the Spaniards never left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honor he should never obtaine, as he should in delivring the ladie Elizabeths grace out of prison; whereby at length she was happily released from the same. Here is a plaine and evident example of the good clemencie and nature of the king and his counsellors towards his grace (passed be God therefore) who moved their harts therein. Then hereupon she was sent for shortly after to come to Hampton court.

But before his removing awaie from Woodstocke, we will a little staie to declare in what dangers his life was during this time she there remained. First thorough fire, which began to kinde betwene the doores & seeking under the chamber where she laye, whether by a sparke of fire, gotten into a cranie, or whether of purpose by some that meant his no good; the Lord doth know. Nevertheless a worshipfull knight of Oxfordshire, which was there joined the same time with sir Henrie Benefield in keeping that ladie (who then took by the doores and quenched the fire) verelie supposed it to be done of purpose. Forthermore it is thought, and also affirmed (if it be true) of one Paule Henie a keeper of Woodstocke; a notorious ruffian and a butcherlike wretch, that he was appointed to kill the said ladie Elizabeth, who both saw the man being often in his sight, and also knew thereof.

Another time one of the priute chamber, a great man about the queene, and chiefe darling of Stephan Gardiner, named maister James Ballet came to Bladenbyrg a mile from Woodstocke, with twenty or thirtie priute cotes, and sent for sir Henrie Benefield to come and speake with him. But as God would, which disposed all things after the purpose of his owne will; so it happened, that a little before the said sir Henrie Benefield was sent for by post to the counsell, leaving strait word behind him with his brother, that no man what soever he were, though coming with a bill of the queenes hand, or any other warrant, should have access to him before his returne againe. By reason whereof it so fell out, that maister Benefields brother comming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no case approach in, who otherwise (as is supposed) was appointed violentlie to murder the innocent ladie. In the life of Stephan Gardiner we declared before, pag. 1787, how that the ladie Elizabeth, being in the tower, a twist came downe subscribed with certaine hands of the counsell for his execution. Which if it were certaine (as it is reported) Winchelsey (no doubt) was deuiser of that mischevous drift. And doubtlesse the same

Archibishop

The cruell dealing of sir Henrie Benefield to the ladie Elizabeth reproved.

The letters of the ladie Elizabeth sent to the queene.

Doctor Owen and doctor Willew die, sent by the queene to his grace; for that she was sicklie; who ministering to her, and letting her blood, tarried there and attended on his grace five or six daies.

The popish prelates repined against the ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth requested to submit his selfe to the queene.

Counsell of the popish to marrie the ladie Elizabeth to a Spaniard.

Winchelsey, platforme mercuriown whereof testifies pag. 17

Spaniards more favourable to ladie Elizabeth than some Englishmen.

Wishes for the ladie Elizabeth in the glasse window.

Ladie Elizabeth not suffered to come to the top of Cam house.

Ladie Elizabeth with her selfe be a milkmaid.

Another conspiracie against ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth removed from Woodstocke to Hampton court.

Ladie Elizabeth preferred by the lords presentence from execution in the tower.

Akthopell had brought his impious purpose that day to passe, had not the fatherlie prouidence of almighty God (who is ener stronger than the diuell) stirred up master B. luges lieutenant at that time of the towre, to come in hant to the queene, to geue certifficat therof, & to know further hir consent touching hir sisters death. Whereupon it folowed, that at that denie was disappointed, & Winchesterers directli platforme which he said he had cast, through the Lords great godnes came to no effect. Where mozeouer is to be noted, that during the prisonment of this ladie and princeesse, one maister Edmund Tremaine was on the racke, and maister Smithwicke, and diuerse oth- ther in the towre were examined, and diuerse offers made to them to accuse the gilliesse ladie, being in hir captiuitie. Howbeit all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proued by all examinations, as the the same time lieng at Woodstocke had certeine intelligence, by the meanes of one John Gaier, who vnder a colozable pretence of a letter vnto mistress Cleue from hir father, was let in, and so gaue them secrettie to vnderstand of all this matter. Whereupon the ladie Elizabeth at hir departing out from Woodstocke, wrote these verses with hir diamond in a glasse window vnto herie legible as here followeth:

Much suspected by me,
Nothing proued can be;
Quoth Elizabeth prisoner.

And thus much touching the troubles of ladie Elizabeth at Woodstocke. Wherevnto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the lord of Lame had labored to the queene, and became suretie for hir, to haue hir from Woodstocke to his house, and had obtained grant thereof. Whereupon preparati- on was made accordingly, and all things readie in expectation of hir comming. But through the pro- curement either of maister Benefield, or by the doing of Winchester hir moztall enemie, letters came ouer night to the contrarie: whereby hir iour- nie was stopped. Thus this woorthie ladie oppressed with continuall sorow, could not be permitted to haue re- course to ante friends she had; but still in the hands of hir enemies was left desolate, and bitterlie des- titute of all that might refresh a dolefull hart, fraught full of terroz and thraldome. Whereupon no mar- uell, if she hearing vpon a time out of hir garden at Woodstocke, a certeine milkmaid singing pleasant- lie, wished hir selfe to be a milkmaid as she was, saieing that hir case was better, and life moze incie- ter than was hers in that state as she was.

Now after these things thus declared, to pro- ceed further where we left before, sir Henrie Be- nefield and his soldiors, with the lord of Lame, and sir Rafe Chaw'cerleine, garding and waiting vpon hir, the first night from Woodstocke she came to Ricot. In which iourneie such a mightie wind did blow, that hir seruants were faine to hold down hir clothes about hir: in so much that hir bod was twice or thrise blowen from hir head. Whereupon she desirous to returne to a certeine gentlemans house there nere, could not be suffered by sir Hen- rie Benefield so to do: but was constrained vnder an hedge to trim hir head as well as she could. After this, the next night they iourneied to maister Dor- mers, & so to Colbyoke, where she laie all that night at the George: and by the waie comming to Col- byoke, certeine of hir graces gentlemen and yow- men met hir to the number of thre scoze, much to all their comforts, which had not sene hir grace of long season before: notwithstanding they were comman- ded in the queenes name immediatlie to depart the towne, to both their and hir graces no little heau- nesse, who could not be suffered once to speake with them. So that night all hir men were taken from

hir sauing hir gentleman othor, thre gentlewomen, two grames, and one of hir ward:obe, the soldiors watching and warding about the house, and the close that by within hir prison.

The next daie following, hir grace entred Hamp- ton court on the backside, into the princes lodging, the doores being shut to hir: and she garded with sol- diors, as before, laie there a fortnight at the least, per- euer anie had recourse vnto hir. At length came the lord William Howard, who marriellous honora- ble vied hir grace: whereat she took much comfort, & requested him to be a meane that she might speake with some of the counsell. To whome (not long after) came the bishop of Winchester, the lord of Arundell, the lord of Shrewsburie, and secretarie Peter, who with great humilitie haubled the molles vnto hir grace. She againe likewise saluting them, said: My lords (quoth she) I am glad to see you: for me it like I haue bene kept a great while from you desolatelie alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a meane to the king and queenes maiesties, that I maie be deliuered from prison, wherein I haue bene kept a long space, as to you my lords it is not vnto stone.

When she had spoken, Stephan Cardiner the bi- shop of Winchester knelled doونه, & requested that she would submit hir selfe to the queenes grace, and in so doing he had no doubt but that hir maiestie would be good vnto hir. She making answer that rat- ther than she would so do, she would lie in prison all the daies of hir life, adding that she craued no mer- cie at hir maiesties hand, but rather desired the law, if euer she did offend hir maiestie in thought, word, or deed. And besides this, in yelding (quoth she) I should speake against my selfe, and confesse my selfe to be an offendor, which neuer was towards hir ma- iestie: by occasion thereof the king and the queene might euer hereafter conceiue of me an ill opinion: and therefore I saie my lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and su- spected of my prince. And so they departed, promising to declare hir message to the queene.

On the next daie the bishop of Winchester came againe vnto hir grace, and knelling doونه, decla- red that the queene maruelled that she would so stout- lie vse hir selfe, not confessing to haue offended: so that it should seeme the queenes maiestie wrongfull- lie to haue imprisoned hir grace. He saie (quoth the la- die Elizabeth) it pleaseth hir to punish me as she thin- keth good. Well quoth Cardiner, hir maiestie willed me to tell you, that you must tell an othor tale per that you be set libertie. Hir grace answered, that she had as leise be in prison with honestie and truth, as to be abroad suspected of hir maiestie: and this that I haue said, I will (saie she) stand vnto, for I will ne- uer belie my selfe. Winchester againe knelled down and said: Then your grace hath the vantage of me and othor the lords for your long and wrong impris- onment. What vantage I haue (quoth she) you know, taking God to record I seeke no vantage at your hands for your so dealing with me, but God forgive you and me also. With that the reid knelled, desiring hir grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked by againe. A season nights after, the queene sent for hir grace at ten of the clocke in the night to speake with hir: for she had not sene hir in two yeares before. Yet for all that she was amazed at the sudden sending for, thinking it had bene worse than afterwards it proued, and desired hir gentlemen and gentlewomen to praise for hir, so that she could not tell whether euer she should see them againe or no.

At which time sir Henrie Benefield with mistress Clarencus comming in, hir grace was brought in- to the garden vnto a staires foot that went into the
S. 111. y. queenes

Lord William Howard gentle and fauourable to ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth requested by Winchester to submit hir selfe to the queenes mer- cie. Ladie Elizabeth standeth to be tried by the law.

Talks against betweene Winchester & ladie Elizabeth. Ladie Elizabeth denied to confesse anie fault done to the queene.

Ladie Elizabeth sent for to the queene. Ladie Elizabeth brought to the queenes bedchamber.

Council of the papists to carry the ladie Elizabeth to a Spaniard.

Atked con- all given of the Lord D. et against the ladie Elizabeth.

Spaniards hope fauourable to ladie Elizabeth: yet some Englishmen.

Ladie Elizabeth in danger of fire.

Ladie Elizabeth in danger of hanging.

nothor mispractise of the heretick ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth performed the lords audience in the court.

queenes lodging, his graces gentlewomen waiting upon him, his gentleman usher and his grooms going before with torches, where his gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to staid all saving one woman, mistress Clarencius conducted him to the queenes bedchamber where his maiestie was. At the sight of whome his grace kneeled downe, and desired God to preserve his maiestie, not mistrusting but that she should trie his selfe as true a subiect towards his maiestie, as ever did anie, and desired his maiestie even so to iudge of him: and said that she should not find him to the contrarie, whatsoeuer report other wise had gone of him. To whome the queene answered: Thou wilt not confesse your offense, but stand stoutlie to your truth: I praye God it maye fall out. If it doth not, quoth the ladye Elisabeth, I request neither fauour nor pardon at your maiesties hands. Well said the queene, you stidie still perseuere in your truth. Welike you will not confesse but that you haue bene wrongfully punished. I must not saie so (if it please your maiestie) to you.

Why then (said the queene) belike you will to others. No, if it please your maiestie (quoth she) I haue borne the burthen, and must beare it: I humble beseech your maiestie to haue a good opinion of me, and to thinke me to be your true subiect, not onelie from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as life lasteth: and so they departed with verie set comfutable words of the queene, in English: but that she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It is thought that king Philip was there behind a cloth, and not sene, and that he shewed himselfe a verie friend in that matter, &c. Thus his grace departing, went unto his lodging againe, and the seauenth night after was released of sir Henrie Benesfield his gallow (as she feared him) and his soldiors, and so his grace being set at libertie from imprisonment, went into the countie, and had appointed to go with his brother Thomas pope, one of queene Marias counsellors, and one of his gentlemen others, master Coge, and thus stidie was she looked unto all queene Marias time. And this is the discourse of his highnesse imprisonment.

Then there came to Lambeth, master Gerningham, and master Poyris gentleman usher, queene Marias men, who toke awaie from his grace mistress Apleie to the Fleet, and three other of his gentlewomen to the tower: which thing was no little trouble to his grace, saing: that she thought they would fetch all awaie at the end. But God be praised, shortly after was fetched awaie Gardiner though the mercifull prouidence of the Lords godnesse, by occasion of whose opportune decesse (as is partly touched in this storie before, pag. 1705) the life of this excellent princeesse, the wealth of all England, was preserved. For this is crediblie to be supposed, that the said wicked Gardiner of Winchester had long laboured his wits, and to this onelie most principall marke bent all his deuises, to bring this our hapie and deere soueraine out of the waie, as both by his words and doings before notified maye sufficientlie appeare.

But such was the gracious and fauourable prouidence of the Lord, to the preservation not onlie of his royall maiestie, but also the miserable and wooll state of this whole Island, and poore subiects of the same, whereby the proud platforms and peuisish practices of this wretched Achitophell preuailed not: but contrariwise, both he, and all the snares and traps of his pernicious counsell laid against an other, were turned to a net to catch himselfe, according to the prouerbe: *Malum consilium consilium pessimum*. After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also and dropping awaie of other his enemies, whereby by

little and little his leopordie decreased, feare diminished, hope of comfort began to appeare as out of a darke cloud. And albeit as yet his grace had no full assurance of perfect safetie, yet more gentle intertainment dailye did grow unto him, till at length to the moneth of November, and seauententh daie of the same, thre yeares after the death of Stephen Gardiner, followed the death of queene Marie, as heretofore at large hath bene traile declared. Although this historie following be not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the same maye here not vnaptly be inserted, for that it doth discouer and shew forth the malicious hearts of the papists towards this vertuous queene our soueraine ladye in the time of queene Marie his sister, which is reported as a truly crediblie told by sundrie honest persons, of whome some are yet aliue, and do testifie the same. The matter thereof is this.

Some after the death of what and the troubles that happened to this queene for that cause: it fortuned one Robert Farrer a haberdasher of London, dwelling neere unto Fleetgate market, in a certaine mooring to be at the Rose tauerne (from whence he was seldome absent) and talking to his common drinke, as he was euer accustomed, and hauing in his companie three other companions like unto himselfe, it chanced the same time one Laurence Shritiffe grocer, dwelling also not farre from the nce, to come into the said tauerne, and finding there the said Farrer (to whome of long time he had borne good will) sat downe in the seat to drinke with him, and Farrer hauing in his full cups, and not hauing consideration who were present began to talke at large, and namelie against the ladye Elisabeth, and said: What gill hath bene one of the chiefe doers of this rebellion of what, and before all be done, she and all the heretikes his partakers shall well understand of it. Some of them hope that she shall haue the crowne, but she and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop headlesse, or be fried with fagots before she come to it.

The aforesaid Laurence Shritiffe grocer, being then seruant unto the said ladye Elisabeth, & swoorne unto his grace, could no longer forbear his old acquaintance and neighbor Farrer in speaking so irreuerentlie of his mistresse, but said to him: Farrer, I haue loued thee as a neighbour, and haue had a good opinion of thee, but hearing of thee that I now heare, I desie thee: and I tell thee I am his graces swoorne seruant, and she is a princeesse, and the daughter of a noble king, and it euill becommeth thee to call her a gill, and for thy so saing, I saie thou art a knaue, & I will complaine vpon thee. Do thy worst said Farrer, for that I said, I will saie againe: and so Shritiffe came from his companie. Shortly after, the said Shritiffe taking an honest neighbour with him, went before the commissioners to complaine: the which commissioners sat then at Boner the bishop of Londons house beside Pauls, and there were present Boner then being the chiefe commissioner, the lord Spoyard, sir John Baker, doctor Perbshire chancelor to the bishop, doctor Storie, doctor Warpsfield, and others. The aforesaid Shritiffe coming before them, declared the manner of the said Robert Farrers talke against the ladye Elisabeth. Boner answered, peradventure you toke him worse than he meant. Psea my lord (said doctor Storie) if you knew the man as I do, you would saie that there is not a better catholike, nor an honestier man in the citie of London.

Well, said Shritiffe, my lord, he is my gracious ladye and mistresse, and it is not to be suffered that such a varlet as he is, should call so honorable a princeesse by the name of a gill: and I saie meeting him in the court that my lord cardinall Pole meeting him

Take betwene the queene and ladye Elisabeth.

Small comfort at the queenes hand toward his sister.

King Philip thought to be a friend to ladye Elisabeth. Ladye Elisabeth by Gods prouidence set at libertie. Sir Henrie Benesfield discharged.

Mistresse Apleie sent to the Fleet. Three gentlewomen of ladye Elisabeth sent to the tower. Note the wonderful prouidence of the Lords prouidence in saving of ladye Elisabeth. Ladye Elisabeth deliuered by the death of Stephen Gardiner.

How the Lord here began to worke for ladye Elisabeth.

Note of a some declaring the malignant hearts of the papists towards ladye Elisabeth.

How bishop Boner and doctor Storie bear with him that called a good ladye Elisabeth.

Note the vngodlike life of this catholike.

Laurence Shritiffe, swoorne friend and seruant to ladye Elisabeth.

Robert Farrer railing against ladye Elisabeth.

The part of a good reuile seruant.

Ladye Elisabeth proclaimes queene the same daie that queene Marie died.

Robert Farrer complaines of the commissioners, but no redress was had.

A name.

He meaneth his come soke; not this volume, or anye part thereof.

A note of a
Roie declar-
ing the ma-
nifest hart
of the papist
towards ladie
Elisabeth.

Robert Far-
rer of London
a Roie enemy
to ladie Eli-
sabeth.

Laurence
Shirriff,
sworne friend
and servant to
ladie Eli-
sabeth his mi-
stresse.

Robert Far-
rer writeth a-
gainst ladie
Elisabeth.

The part of a
good trullie
servant.

Robert Far-
rer complain-
eth of the
commission-
ers, but no
redresse was
had.

A knave.

Here bishop
Stuart and
other Roie
enemies
that raised
the Roie
against
Elisabeth.

Here the bi-
shop of
Lincoln
and
other
Roie
enemies
that raised
the Roie
against
Elisabeth.

Ladie Eli-
sabeth
procla-
mation
against
the Roie
enemies
that raised
the Roie
against
Elisabeth.

The Lord
and
other
Roie
enemies
that raised
the Roie
against
Elisabeth.

He meaneth
the Roie
enemies
that raised
the Roie
against
Elisabeth.

the chamber of presence, kneeled downe on his knees and kissed his hand: and I saw also that king Philip meeting hir, made hir such obeisance that his knee touched the ground: and then (me thinketh) it were too much to suffer such a barlet as this is, to call hir gill, and to wish them to hop headlesse that shall wish hir grace to insiole the possession of the crowne when God shall send it unto hir as in the right of hir inheritance. Yea? Staie there (quoth Woner.) When God sendeth it unto hir, let hir insiole it. But trulie (said he) the man that spake the words that you have reported, meant nothing against the ladie Elisabeth your mistresse, and no more do we: but he like an honest and zealous man feared the alteration of religion, which everie good man ought to feare: and therefore (said Woner) good man go your waies home and report well of vs towards your mistresse, and we will send for Farrer and rebuke him for his rash and indiscreet words, and we trust he will not do the like againe. And thus Shirriff came waie, and Farrer had a flap with a forsaile. Now that ye maie be fully informed of the aforesaid Farrer, whome doctor Storie praised for so good a man, ye shall understand that the same Farrer, having two daughters, being handsome maidens, the elder of them for a summe of monie he himselfe deliuered unto sir Richard Cholmleie to be at his commandement; the other he sold to a knight called sir William Goodolphin to be at his commandement: whome he made his lackie and so carried hir with him, being apparellled in mans apparell to Bullongne, and the said Farrer followed the campe. He also was a great and a horrible blasphemor of God, and a common accuser of honest and quiet men, also a common drunkard. And now I referre the life of these catholiks to your iudgement, to thinke of them as you please.

But of this matter enough and too much. Now let vs returne where we left before, which was at the death of queene Marie. After whose decesse succeeded hir foresaid sister ladie Elisabeth into the right of the crowne of England: who after so long restraintment, so great dangers escaped, such blunders, so many overblowes, so many injuries digested and wrongs sustained by the mightie protection of our mercifull God, to our no small comfort and commoditie, hath bene exalted and erected out of shall to libertie, out of danger to peace and quietnesse, from bread to dignitie, from miserie to maiestie, from mourning to ruling; blessed, of a prisoner made a princeesse, and placed in hir throne roiall, proclaimed now queene, with as manie glad hearts of hir subiects, as ever was ante king or queene in this realme before hir, or ever shall be (I dare saie) hereafter. Touching whose flourishing state, hir princelie reigne and peaceable government, with other things diuerse and sundrie incident to the same, and especiallie touching the great stirres and alterations which haue happened in other forren nations, and also partlie among our felnes here at home, forsomuch as the tractation hereof requireth an huge volume by it selfe, I shall therefore deferre the reader to the next booke or section ensuing: wherein (if the Lord so please to susteine me with leaue and life) I maie haue to discourse of all and singular such matters done and atchued in these our latter daies and memorie, more at large.

Now then after these so great afflictions falling upon this realme, from the first beginning of queene Maries reigne, wherein so manie men, women, and children were burned, manie imprisoned and in prisons starved, diuerse crield, some spoiled of goods and possessions, a great number driven from house to house, so manie weeping eyes, so manie sobbing hartes, so manie children made fatherlesse, so manie

fathers bereft of their wiues and children, so manie bereft in conscience, and diuerse against conscience constrained to recant; and in conclusion, neuer a good man almost in all the realme but suffered something during all the time of this bloudie persecution: after all this (I saie) now we are come at length (the Lord be praised) to the seventeenth of Nouember, which date as it brought to the persecuted members of Christ, rest from their carefull mourning, so it easeth me somewhat liketolfe of my laborious writing, by the death I meane of queene Marie, who being long sicke before upon the said seventeenth daie of Nouember, in the yeare aboue said, about thre or foure of the clocke in the morning, yielded hir life to nature, and hir kingdome to queene Elisabeth hir sister.

As touching the manner of whose death, some saie that she died of a timpanie, some by hir much sighing before hir death supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Whereupon hir counsell seeing hir sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more readie consolation unto hir, feared (as they said) that she took some thought for the kings maiestie hir husband, which was gone from hir. To whome she answering againe: In deed (said she) that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pearseth mine oppressed mind: but that that was she would not expresse to them. Albeit afterward she opened the matter more plainlie to mistresse Kise and mistresse Clarentius (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of mistresse Kise himselfe) who then being most familiar with hir, and most bold about hir, told hir that they feared she took thought for king Phillips departing from hir. Not that onelie (said she) but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calis lying in my hart, &c. Which one supposing to be true, hath left this report:

*Hispani "opidulo amisso contabuit vxor,
Quam cruciatus agro confecerat anxia cura,*

And here an end of queene Marie, and of hir persecution, during the time of hir misgovernment. Of which queene this trulie may be affirmed and left in storie for a perpetuall memorie: all or epitaph for all kings and queenes that shall succeed hir to be noted, that before hir neuer was read in storie of any king or queene of England since the time of king Iulius, under whom in time of peace, by hanging, beheading, burning, and prisoning: so much christian blood, so manie Englishmens lines were spilled within this realme, as under the said queene Marie for the space of foure yeares was to be seene, and I beseech the Lord neuer may be seene hereafter.

Now, for so much as queene Marie, during all the time of hir reigne, was such a vehement aduersarie and persecutor against the sincere professors of Christ Iesus and his gospell: for the which there be manie which do highly magnifie and approue hir doings therein, reputing hir religion to be sound and catholike, and hir proceedings to be most acceptable and blessed of almighty God: to the intent therefore that all men may understand, how the blessing of the Lord God did not onelie not proceed with hir proceedings; but contrarie, rather how his manifest displeasure euer wrought against hir, in plaging both hir and hir realme, and in subuerting all hir counsels and attempts, what soeuer she took in hand: we will bestow a litle time therein, to perpend and surueie the whole course of hir doings and chancances: and consider what successe she had in the same. Which being well considered, we shall find neuer no reigne of any prince in this land, or any other, which had euer to shew in it (for the proportion of time) so manie arguments of Gods great wrath and displeasure, as was to be seene in the reigne of this queene Marie, &c. &c. &c.

Nouemb 17.
queene Marie
endeth.

Queene Elisabeth
beginneth hir
reigne.

The manner of
queene Maries
death.

Marie
toke thought
for the losse of
Calis.

* Calet.

More Eng-
lish blood spilt
in queene
Maries time,
than euer was
in any kings
reigne before
hir.

The reigne of
queene Marie
how vnprof-
perous it was
both to hir &
hir realme in
all respects.

Queene Marie never had god successe in any thing she went about.

A good king alwaies maketh a flourishing realme.

Comparison betwene the reigne of Q. Marie and queene Elizabeth.

Samuelis reason, Act. 17.

Queene Marie prospered so long as she went not against the Lord.

Q. Marie promised to the gospellers broken.

The ship called the great Barrie burnt.

Q. Marie's marriage with a stranger. Q. Marie disappointed of her purpose in crowning king Philip. Q. Marie stopped of her will in restoring abbies lands.

whether we behold the shortnesse of hir time, or the unfortunate event of all hir purposes: Who seemed neuer to purpose any thing that came luckilie to passe, neither did any thing frame to hir purpose, what sooner she took in hand touching hir owne priuat affaires.

Of god kings we read in the scripture, in shewing mercie and pitie, in seeking Gods will in his word, and subverting the monuments of idolatrie, how God blessed their waies, increased their honors, and mightie prospered all their proceedings: as we see in king David, Salomon, Josias, Josaphat, Jeremias, with such others. Amalies made the streets of Hierusalem to swim with the blood of his subjects, but what came of it the text doth testifie. Of queene Elizabeth, which now reigneth among vs, this we must needs saie, which we see, that she in sparing the blood, not onelie of Gods seruants, but also of Gods enemies, hath doubled now the reigne of queene Marie hir sister, with such abundance of peace and prosperitie, that it is hard to saie, whether the realme of England felt more of Gods wrath in queene Maries time, or of Gods fauour and mercie in these so blessed and peaceable daies of queene Elizabeth.

Samuelis speaking his mind in the counsell of the Phariseis concerning Christes religion, gaue this reason, that if it were of God, it should continue, who sooner said naie: if it were not, it could not stand. So may it be said of queene Marie and hir Romish religion, that if it were so perfect and catholike as they pretend, and the contrarie faith of the gospellers were so detestable and hereticall as they make it, how cometh it then, that this so catholike a queene, such a necessarie pillar of his spouse the church continued no longer, till she had bitterlie rooted out of the land this hereticall generation? Yea how chanced it rather, that almightie God, to spare these poore heretikes, rooted out queene Marie so soone from hir throne, after she had reigned but onelie five yeares and five moneths?

Now further more, how God blessed hir waies and inuencors in the meane time, while she thus persecuted the true seruants of God, remaineth to be discussed. Where first this is to be noted, that when she first began to stand for the title of the crowne, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and his gospel, but had promised hir faith to the Suffolke men, to mainteine the religion left by king Edward hir brother, so long God went with hir, aduanced hir, and by the means of the gospellers brought hir to the possession of the realme. But after that she breaking hir promise with God and man, began to take part with Stephan Gardiner, and had giuen ouer hir supplication vnto the pope, by and by Gods blessing left hir, neither did any thing well thence with hir afterward during the whole time of hir regiment. For first incontinentlie the fairest and greatest ship she had, called great Barrie, was burned: such a vessel as in all these parts of all Europe was not to be matched.

Then would she needs bring in king Philip, and by hir strange marriage with him, make the whole realme of England subject vnto a stranger. And all that notwithstanding, either that she did or was able to do, she could not bring to passe to set the crowne of England vpon his head. With king Philip also came in the pope and his popish masse: with whom also hir purpose was to restore againe the monks and nunnes vnto their places, neither lacked there all kind of attempts to the uttermost of hir abilitie: and yet therein also God stopt hir of hir will, that it came not forward. After this, what a dearth happened in hir time here in hir land, the like wherof hath not light-

lie in England bene scene, in so much that in sundrie places hir poore subjects were faine to feed of acorns for want of coine.

Furthermore, where other kings are wont to be renowned by some worthy victorie and powelle by them achieved, let vs now see what valiant victorie was gotten in queene Maries daies. King Edward the first hir blessed brother, how many rebellions did he suppress in Devonshire, in Dorset, in Dorsetshire, and else where: What a famous victorie in his time was gotten in Scotland, by the singular valor of king (no doubt) of Gods blessed hand rather than by any expectation of man? King Edward the third (which was the eleventh king from the conquest) by princelie puissance purchased Calis vnto England, which hath bene kept English euer since, till at length came queene Marie, the eleventh likewise from the said king Edward, which lost Calis from England againe: so that the winnings of this queene were verie small, that the losses were, let other men iudge.

Whither to the affaires of queene Marie haue had no great god successe, as you haue heard. But neuer worse successe had any woman, than had she in hir childbirth. For seeing one of these two must needs be granted, that either she was with child or not with child; if she were with child and did trauell, why was it not scene: if she were not, how was all the realme deluded? And in the meane while where were all the praiers, the solemne processions, the deuout masses of the catholike cleargie? Why did they not penance with God, if their religion were so goodie as they pretended? If their masses *Ex opere operato* be able to fetch Christ from heauen, & to reach downe to purgatorie, how chanced then they could not reach to the queens chamber, to helpe hir in hir trauell, if she had bene with child in deed? If not, how then came it to passe, that all the catholike church of England did so erre, and was so deeply deceived? Queene Marie, after these manifold plagues and corrections, which might sufficientlie admonish hir of Gods disfauor, prouoked against hir, would not yet cease hir persecution, but still continued more & more to reuenge hir catholike zeale vpon the lords faithfull people, setting fire to their poore bodies by dozens & halfe dozens together. Wherevpon Gods wrathfull indignation increasing more and more against hir, ceased not to touch hir more neare with priuat misfortunes and calamities.

For after that he had taken from hir the fruit of children (which chiefe and aboue all things she desired) then he bereft hir of that, which of all earthly things should haue bene hir chiefe staie of honour, and staie of comfort; that is, withdrew from hir the affection and companie euen of hir owne husband, by whose marriage she had promised before to hirselfe whole heapes of such ioy and felicitie. But now the omnipotent gouernour of all things, so turned the whele of hir owne spinning against hir, that hir high buildings of such ioyes and felicities came all to a castell come downe, hir hopes being confounded, hir purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desolation: who seemed neither to haue the fauour of God, nor the hearts of hir subjects, nor yet the loue of hir husband: who neither had fruit by him while she had him, neither could now intoy him whome she had married, neither yet was in libertie to marrie any other whome she might intoy. Marke here (christian reader) the woollfull aduersitie of this queene, & learne withall, what the Lord can do when mans wilfulness will needs resist him, and will not be ruled.

At last, when all these faire admonitions would take no place with the queene, nor moue hir to reuoke hir bloudie waies, nor to staie the tyrannie of hir priests, nor yet to spare hir owne subjects; but that

The battle of Tewkesbury, where king Edward the fourth was slain.

The all mightie king from the conquest got Calis, and the eleventh game after him lost it.

The church of Calis, and the eleventh game after him lost it.

The church of Calis, and the eleventh game after him lost it.

Q. Marie reigned five yeares & five moneths. The shortnes of Q. Maries reigne noted.

Ex Simone Schardio de capto Calico, pag. 1968.

In admonitione vnto all christians vix.

Q. Maries desolate of her husband.

The death of cardmall Pole.

The description of cardmall Pole.

Ab. Fl. ex I.F. martyrologio.

The victorie
of king Edward
ward the first
in Scotland.

The ill lucke
of Q. Marie
in losing of
Calis.

The eleventh
king from the
conquest got
Calis, and the
eleventh a-
gaine after
him lost it.

The ill lucke
of queene
Marie in her
childbirth.

Q. Marie
regined five
yeares & five
monethes.
The dayes
of Q. Marie
regined.

Q. Marie
secondo de
calis, reg. 1558.

Q. Marie
secondo de
calis, reg. 1558.

Q. Marie left
desolate of
Philip her
husband.

The ill lucke
of Q. Marie
in the birth
band.

The final end
and death of
Q. Marie.

The death of
Q. Marie.

The death of
Q. Marie.

The death of
Q. Marie.

that the poore servants of God were bygone daile
by heapes most pittifullie as shepe to the slaugh-
ter, it so pleased the heauenlie maiestie of almightie
God, when no other remedie would serue, by death
to cut hir off, which in hir life so little regarded the
life of others: giuing hir thorne, which she abused to
the destruction of Christs church and people, to ano-
ther, who more temperatlie and quietlie could guide
the same, after she had reigned here the space of five
yeares and five monethes. The shortnesse of which
of king of queene since the conquest or before (being
come to their owne government) sawe onelie in
king Richard the third. Which reigne was so rough
and rigorous, notwithstanding the shortnesse of the
same, that it became a verie spectacle to all christen
dom; and the manner of dealing bled under hir go-
vernment was so detestable, that as it was rare,
so it raised by a rare report, even among strangers,
whose heads being fuller of matter than their pens
full of inke, wrote in tearmes byode enough of the
mults and slaughters happening in hir unhappie
daies: among whome I will set downe for a saie a
few verses of queene Marie out of an hundred and od, pre-
sented to Henrie the French king of that name the
second, touching the conquest of Calis, whereat for
to the French were ranieth. Thus therfore he saith:

*Regina pacem nescia perpeti,
Iam spreta mare fœdera iam Dei
Iram paret sibi imminentem,
Furibz & furia flagellum.
Cuius & hostes iam pariter suos
Odio paret, & cinium & hostium
Hirudo communis, cruorem
Æque auidè sciens utrinque.
Huic luce terror Martis assonat,
Diraq; cadis mens sibi conscia,
Furibz & nocturne quietem
Terrificus agitant figuris.*

These short verses were thus subscribed. La. B. Tc. 40

And thus much here, as in the closing vp of this
stoie, I thought to insinuat, touching the unluckie
and rufull reigne of queene Marie: not for anie de-
traction to hir place and state roiall, whereunto she
was called of the Lord: but to this onlie intent and
effect, that forsomuch as she would needs set hirselfe
so confidentlie to worke and strue against the Lord
and his proceedings, all readers and rulers not one-
lie maie see how the Lord did worke against hir ther-
fore, but also by hir maie be aduertised and learne
what a perillous thing it is for men and women in
authoritie, upon blind zeale and opinion, to stirre up
persecution in Christs church, to the effusion of chri-
stian blood, least it proue in the end with them (as
it did here) that while they thinke to persecute here-
tiques, they stumble at the same stone as did the
Jewes in persecuting Christ and his true members
to death, to their owne confusion and destruction.]

Leaving queene Marie being dead & gone, you are
to understand and note, that the same evening, or (as
some haue written) the next daie after the said queens
death, Cardinal Poole the bishop of Romes legat
departed out of this life, having bene not long afore
made archbishop of Canturburie: he died at his
house ouer against Westminster commonlie called
Lambeth, and was buried in Christs church at Can-
turburie. This cardinall was descended of the noble
house of Clarence, that is to saie, of one of the por-
ger sonnes of Margaret countesse of Salisburie,
daughter of George duke of Clarence, brother to
Edward the fourth. So that hereby you haue a
proof of the noblenesse of his birth, but how barba-
rous he was of behaviour, and how unnatural in
the course of his life (which blenished the honour of

his descent) it maie appeare by the order and maner
of his visitation in Canturburie, with the condem-
ning, taking up, and burning both the bones and
bookes of Bucer and Paulus Haginus, as also by the
despitefull handling and madnesse of the papists to-
wards Peter Martyrs wife at Wyford, taken up
from hir graue at the commandement of the said
cardinall, and after buried in a dunghill: so that in
his actions he shewed himselfe (as he is noted) ear-
nest in burning the bodies of the dead. And for fur-
ther testimonie of his crueltie, it shall not be imperti-
nent out of maister Fox, here to aduise and set forth
to the eyes of the world, the blind and bloudie arti-
cles set out by cardinall Poole, to be inquired upon
within his diocess of Canturburie. Whereby it maie
the better appeare what pokes and snares of fons
and fruitlesse traditions were laid upon the poore
stocke of Christ, to intangle and oppresse them with
lose of life and libertie. By the which wise men haue
to see what godlie fruits proceeded from that catho-
like church and see of Rome. In which albeit thou seest
(good reader) some good articles insperfed withall, let
that nothing moue thee: for else how could such poi-
son be ministrated, but it must haue some honie to re-
lish the readers tast:

Cardinall
Poole earnest
in burning the
bones of the
dead.

Here follow the articles set forth by cardinall

Poole, to be inquired in his ordinarie visitation, with-
in his diocess of Canturburie.

30

Touching the cleargie.



Item, whether the diuine seruice in the
church at times, daies and houres, be ob-
serued and kept due or no.

Articles of
the cardinall
to be inquired
in his visita-
tion of Kent.

2 Item, whether the parsons, vicars,
and curats, do comelie and decentlie in their maners
and doings behaue themselves or no.

3 Item, whether they do reuerentlie and due mi-
nister the sacraments or sacramentals or no.

4 Item, whether anie of their parishioners do die
without ministracion of the sacraments, through the
negligence of their curats or no.

5 Item, whether the said parsons, vicars or curats,
do haunt taverns or alehouses, increasing thereby
infamie and slander or no.

6 Item, whether they be diligent in teaching the
midwives how to christen children in time of neces-
sitie, according to the canons of the church or no.

7 Item, whether they see that the font be comelie
kept, and haue holie water alwaies ready for chil-
dren to be christened.

8 Item, if they do keepe a booke of all the names of
them that be reconciled to the dutie of the church.

9 Item, whether there be anie priests, that late br-
lawfullie had women under pretended marriage, and
hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their
names and dwelling places.

10 Item, whether they do diligentlie teach their
parishioners the articles of the faith, & the ten com-
mandements.

11 Item, whether they do decentlie obserue those
things that do concerne the seruice of the church, and
all those things that tend to a good and christian life,
according to the canons of the church.

12 Item, whether they do deuoutlie in their prayers
praise for the prosperous estate of the king and queens
maiesties.

13 Item, whether the said parsons and vicars do
sufficientlie repare their chancels, rectories, and vi-
carages, and do keepe and mainteine them suffici-
entlie repared and amended.

14 Item, whether anie of them do preach or teach
anie erroneous doctrine, contrarie to the catholike
faith and vnitie of the church.

15 Item,

15 Item, whether anie of them do saie the diuine seruite, or do minister the sacraments in the Englysh tong, contrarie to the vsuall order of the church.

16 Item, whether anie of them do suspiciouly kepe anie women in their houses, or do kepe companie with men suspected of heresies, or of euill opinions.

17 Item, whether anie of them that were under pretense of lawfull matrimonie married, and now reconciled, do priuily resort to their pretended wiuues, or that the said women do priuily resort vnto them.

18 Item, whether they go decently apparelled, as it becommeth sad, sober, and discreet ministers, and whether they haue their crowns and beards shauen.

19 Item, whether anie of them do vse anie vnlawfull games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow to slander and euill report.

20 Item, whether they do kepe residence and hospitalitie vpon their benefices, and do make charitable contributions, according to all the lawes ecclesiasticall.

21 Item, whether they do kepe the booke or register of christening, burying, and mariages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers.

Touching the laie people.

Articles of
cardinal Pole
to be inquired
vpon touching
the laitie.

Item, whether anie manner of person, of what state, degree, or condition soeuer he be, do hold, mainteine, or affirme anie heresies, errors, or erroneous opinions, contrarie to the lawes ecclesiasticall, and the vnitie of the catholike church.

2 Item, whether anie person do hold, affirme, or saie, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is not contained the reall and substantiall presence of Christ: or that by anie manner of meanes do contemne and despise the said blessed sacrament, or do refuse to do reuerence or worship therevnto.

3 Item, whether they do contemne or despise by anie manner of means anie other of the sacraments, rites or ceremonies of the church, or do refuse or decline auricular confession.

4 Item, whether anie do absent or refraine, without urgent and lawfull impediment, to come to the church, and reuerentlie to heare diuine seruite vpon sundaies and holie daies.

5 Item, whether being in the church, they do not applie themselves to heare the diuine seruite, and to be contemplatiue in holie praier, and not to walke, fangle or talke in the time of the diuine seruite.

6 Item, whether anie be fornicators, adulterers, or do commit incest, or be bawds and receiuers of euill persons, or be vehementlie suspected of anie of them.

7 Item, whether anie do blaspheme and take the name of God in vaine, or be common swearers.

8 Item, whether anie be perjured, or haue committed simonie or vsurie, or do still remaine in the same.

9 Item, whether the churches and churchyards be well and honestlie repared and inclosed.

10 Item, whether the churches be sufficientlie garnished and adorned with all ornaments and books necessarie, & whether they haue a rood in their church of a decent stature, with Marie and John, and an image of the patrone of the same church.

11 Item, whether anie do withhold, or doth draw from the church anie manner of monie or goods, or that do withhold their due and accustomed tithes from their parsons and vicars.

12 Item, whether anie be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of euill liuing, or do exercise anie lewd pastimes, especially in the time of diuine seruite.

13 Item, if there be anie that do practise or exer-

cise anie arts of magike, or necromancie, or do vse or practise anie incantations, sorceries, or witchcraft, or be vehementlie suspected thereof.

14 Item, whether anie be married in the degrees of affinity, or consanguinitie, prohibited by the lawes of holie church, or that do marie, the bannes not asked, or do make anie priuie contracts.

15 Item, whether in the time of Easter last, anie were not confessed, or did not receiue the blessed sacrament of the altar, or did vnreuerentlie behaue themselves in the receiuing thereof.

16 Item, whether anie do kepe anie secret conuenticles, preachings, lectures, or readings, in matters of religion contrarie to the lawes.

17 Item, whether anie do now not duellie kepe the fasting and embying daies.

18 Item, whether the altars in the churches be consecrated or no.

19 Item, whether the sacrament be caried deuoutlie to them that fall sicke, with light and with a little sacring bell.

20 Item, whether the common scholes be well kept, and that the scholemaisters be diligent in teaching, and be also catholike, and men of god and by right iudgement, and that they be examined and approved by the ordinarie.

21 Item, whether anie do take vpon them to minister the goods of those that be dead, without authoritie from the ordinarie.

22 Item, whether the poore people in euery parish be charitable provided for.

23 Item, whether there do burne a lampe or a candle before the sacrament: and if there do not, that then it be provided for, with expedition.

24 Item, whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in conuenient time.

25 Item, whether anie do kepe or haue in their custodie anie erroneous or vnlawfull books.

26 Item, whether anie do withhold anie monie or goods bequeathed to the amending of the high waies, or anie other charitable deed.

27 Item, whether anie haue put away their wiuues, or anie wiuues do withdraw themselves from their husbands, being not lawfullie diuorced.

28 Item, whether anie do violat or breake the sundaies and holie daies, doing their daile labors and exercises vpon the same.

29 Item, whether the tanerns or alehouses, vpon the sundaies and holie daies, in the time of masse, matins, and euen-song, do kepe open their doores, and do receiue people into their houses to drinke and eate, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to church.

30 Item, whether anie haue, or do depaue or contemne the authoritie or iurisdiction of the popes holiness, or the se of Rome.

31 Item, whether anie minstrels, or anie other persons do vse to sing anie songs against the holie sacraments, or anie other the rites and ceremonies of the church.

32 Item, whether there be anie hospitals within your parishes, and whether the foundations of them be duilie and tralie obserued and kept; and whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordingly.

33 Item, whether anie goods, plate, iewels, or possessions be taken auaite, or withholden from the said hospitals, and by whome.]

Thus you see of what a malignant nature the cardinal was: neuertheless, of more lenitie than many other popelings, sauing of the like lewd leuen of antichristianisme. For at what time two and twentie prisoners for their conscience were apprehended

Whom
were
letter to
whom
the two
twentie
prisoners
were
apprehended

Whom
were
cruelle
tortured
by the
cardinal

bended and sent by all together to London from Colchester (as maister Fox reporteth in his martyrologe) and conuicted before Boner then bishop of that see, the said Boner himselfe wrote to cardinal Pole concerning them, as you shall heare.

¶ A letter of bishop Boner to cardinal Pole.

May it please your good grace with my most humble obedience, reuerence and dutie, to vnderstand that going to London upon thursdai last, and thinking to be troubled with maister Germaines matter one lie, and such other common matters as are accustomed, inough to werie a right strong bodie, I had the date following to comfort my stomach withall, letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the day following I should haue sent thence two and twenty heretikes, indicted before the commissioners, and in deed so I had, and compelled to heare their charges as I did of the other, which both had me in a boue twenty nobles, a summe of monie that I thought full euill bestowed. And these heretikes, notwithstanding they had honest catholike keepers to conduct and bring them by to me, and in all the waie from Colchester to Stratford of the bowe, vnto go quietlie, and obedientlie, yet coming to Stratford, they began to take heart of grace, & to do as pleased themselves, for there they began to haue their gard, which generallie increased till they came to Algate, where they were lodged saturday night.

And albeit I took order, that the said heretikes should be with me verie earlie on saturday morning, to the intent they might quietlie come and be examined by me: yet it was betwene ten and eleven of the clocke before they would come, and no waie would they take, but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with about a thousand persons. Which thing I took verie strange, and spake to sir John Oresham then being with me, to tell the maior and the shiriffes that this thing was not well suffered in the citie. These naughty heretikes all the waie they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort. A promise a plebe, and being entred into my house and talked withall, they shewed themselves desperate and verie obstinat: yet I used all the honest meanes I could, both by my selfe and other, to haue twome them, causing diuerse learned men to talke with them: and finding nothing in them but pride & wilfulnesse, I thought to haue had them all hither to Fulham, and here to giue sentence against them. Wherefore, perceiving by my last doing that your grace was offended, I thought it my dutie before I arie thing further proceeded herein, to aduertise first your grace hereof, and knowe your good pleasure, which I beseech your grace I may do by this trustie bearer. And thus most humble I take my leaue of your good grace, beseeching almighty God alwaies to preserve the same. At Fulham, *Postidie Nativ. 1556.*

Your graces most bounden bedesman
and seruant Edmund Boner.

By this letter of bishop Boner to the cardinal (saith maister Fox) is to be vnderstood, that goodwill was in this bishop, to haue the blood of these men, and to haue past with sentence of condemnation against them, had not the cardinal somewhat (as it seemed) haue staied his feruent headnesse. Concerning the which cardinal, although it can not be

denied by his acts and writings, but that he was a professed enimie, and no otherwise to be reputed but for a papist: yet againe it is to be supposed, that he was none of the bloodie and cruell sort of papists, as may appeare, not by stating the rage of this bishop: but also by his sollicitous writing, and long letters written to Crammer, also by the complaints of certeine papists, accusing him to the pope to be a bearer with the heretikes, and by the popes letters sent to him upon the same, calling him by to Rome, and setting frer Peter in his place, had not quene Marie by speciall intreatie made, kept him out of the popes danger. All which letters I haue (if need be) to shew: besides also, that it is thought of him that toward his latter end, a little before his coming from Rome to England, he began somewhat to favour the doctrine of Luther, and was no lesse suspected at Rome: yea, and furthermore did there at Rome conuert a certeine learned Spaniard from papisme to Luthers side: notwithstanding the pompe and gloie of the world afterward carried him away to please the papist thus as he did.

¶ And sith I haue treated thus far in posstrating the said cardinal, I am willing to make you communitants of a report concerning him, uttered by Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Dunelm, in a sermon which he made upon Wednesday, in the yeare of our Lord 1539, before king Henrie the eight, treating upon these words of saint Paule to the Philipians, Cap. 2. *Hoc sentite in vobis, quod & in Christo Iesu, &c.* See the same word be in you, that was in Iesu Christ, &c. The ground of whose sermon standing upon obedience and disobedience, after he had discoursed at large therupon, he fell into these words in presence of the king, the nobles, and people.

And the bishop of Rome now of late, to set forth his pestilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpose a subject of this realme Reginald Pole, come of a noble blood, and thereby the more arrant traitor, to go about from prince to prince, and from countrie to countrie, to stir them to warre against this realme, and to destroye the same, being his natie countrie. Whose pestilent purpose albeit the princes that he breaketh it vnto, haue in much abhominacion, both for that the bishop of Rome (who being a bishop should procure peace) is a stirrer of warre, and because this most arrant and unkind traitor is his minister to so diuelish a purpose to destroye the countrie that he was borne in, which anie heathen man would abhorre to do. But for all that without shame he still goeth on, exhorting therunto all princes that will heare him; who do abhorre to see such unnaturalnesse in anie man, as he shamelesse doth set forwards, whose pernicious treasons late secretlie wrought against this realme, haue bene, by the worke of almighty God so maruellouslie detected, and by his owne brother, without looking therefore so disclosed, and condigne punishment inlied, that hereafter (God willing) they shall not take anie more sweare to the noisance of this realme.

¶ And where all nations of gentiles by reason & law of nature preferre their countrie before their parents, so that for their countrie they will die against their parents being traitors: this pestilent man worse than a pagan, is not ashamed to destroye if he could his natie countrie. And whereas Curtius a heathen man was content for sauing of the citie of Rome where he was borne, to leape into a gaping of the earth, which by the illusions of the diuell it was answered should not be shut, but that it must first haue one; this pernicious man is content to run headlong into hell: so that he maie destroye thereby his natie countrie of England, being in that behalfe incomparable worse than anie pagan. And besides

Cardinal Pole & papist but no bloodie papist.

Cardinal Pole haile suspected for a Lutheran at Rome.

Ab. Fl. & concione Cut. Tunstall coram Hen. 8.

Cardinal Pole an arrant traitor.

Cardinal Pole a lecherous fellow and an impudent.

Cardinal Poles treasons detected by his owne brother.

Cardinal Pole no christian, but worse than a pagan.

By this letter of bishop Boner to the cardinal (saith maister Fox) is to be vnderstood, that goodwill was in this bishop, to haue the blood of these men, and to haue past with sentence of condemnation against them, had not the cardinal somewhat (as it seemed) haue staied his feruent headnesse. Concerning the which cardinal, although it can not be

Cardinal
Doles un-
kindnesse to
king Henrie
that brought
him vp.

See more
thereof before
pag. 1134.

A traitor he
liued, a trait-
or he died.

The distri-
bution of his
goods.

Coughing di-
lapidations.

He is desir-
ous that
queene Marie
should haue
knowledge of
this his last
will.

See pa. 865.

See pa. 1069.

besides his pestilent treason, his unkindnesse against the kings maiestie, who brought him vp of a child, and promoted both him, and restored his blood being attainted, to be of the pères of this realme, and gaue him monie perelie out of his coffers, to find him honorable at studie, maketh his treason much more detestable to all the world, and him to be reputed more wild and cruell than anie tiger.

Thus much out of Cuthbert Tunstals sermon printed *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*, by Thomas Berthelet, the yeare above named. Now it resteth to conclude this discourse concerning cardinall Doles with a brieve epitome of his last will and testament, which he made not long before he let his life, wherein he professeth him selfe resolute to die in the same faith and obedience of the Romish church wherein he liued; willing & ordaining his bodie to be buried in his cathedrall church of Canturburie (as he termeth it) in the same chappell where the head of the most blessed martyr Thomas Becket, while he archbishop of the said church was kept: with masses & dirges, &c. to be said for his soule, the soules of his parents, and of all the faithfull departed out of this life, &c.

As for patrimoniall goods, sith he had none where by he ought to haue had regard of his kindred, therefore such goods as he had he willed to be distributed among such persons as had well deserved of him, and upon godlie uses. He made one Alofius Priolus a Venetian his heire and executor of all his goods and chattels, as well within England as without, in Spaine, Italie, Rome, Venice, or elsewhere, &c. And for dilapidations, there is no reason (saith he) why my successor in the see of Canturburie should demand anie thing, because I haue bestowed more than a thousand pounds within these few yeeres, in repairing & making better such houses as belonged to the said see, since I came to it (which was no long time by our computation.) The ouerscers and defenders of this his last will he made Nicholas archbishop of Yorks chancellor of England, Thomas bishop of Elye, his confessor the lord Edward Hastings the kings chamberleine, sir John Borall the queenes secretaire, sir Edward Cordall master of the rolles, and master Henrie Cole his vicar generall in his spiritualties. All these he besought to giue queene Marie knowledge of this his last will, and with all reuerence to beseech hir, that what good will and fauor she shewed him in all causes and affaires while he was alieue; the same she would vouchsafe to exhibit and bestow upon him being dead, and graciously prouide that all lets and impediments to the execution of this his last will & testament might be removed and utterly taken awaie: and to euery one of his ouerscers for their paines taking herein, he gaue fiftie pounds a peece by will. This testament was subscribed with his owne hand, and signed with his owne seale, in presence of a number of witnesses there vndernamed. All which, with the tenor of his said last will at large, are remembred by Scharidius in epitome rerum gestarum sub Ferdinando imperatore. And thus much of cardinall Doles.

Upon whose discourse presentlie ended, as hath bene done in the treatise of high constables at the duke of Buckingham beheading, and of the lord protectors at the duke of Summersets suffering (in which two honorable personages those two offices had their end) so here we are to infer a collection of English cardinals, which order ceased when Reginald Pole died. After which treatise ended, according to the purposed order, and a catalog of writers at the end of this queenes reigne annexed, it remaineth that queene Elizabeth shew hir selfe in hir triumphs at hir gracious and glorious coronation.

The cardinals of England collected
by Francis Thin, in the yeare of our
Lord, 1585.



His cardinall Doles being the last cardinall in England, and so likelie to be, as the state of our present time doth earnestlie wish; doth here offer occasion to treat of all such Englishmen as haue possessed that honor. Which I onelie do, for that I would haue all whatsoever monuments of antiquitie preserved, least *Perdat memoria eorum cum sanitu*. Wherefore thus I begin.

Adrian the fourth of that name bishop of Rome (called before that time Nicholas Breakespeare) being borne in England about saint Albons (whome Onuphrius affirmeth to be borne in the towne of Malinesberie, in the dominions of saint Albons, in the diocess of Bath, somewhat like a stranger mistaking the names of places and persons, as he often doth) was for the pouertie of his father (who after became a monk in saint Albons) not able to be maintained here at learning. Whereupon he goeth into Frouince to the monastrie of saint Rufus, thereof in time he was made a canon, and after abbat of that house; but in the end disliked of the conent, they appealed him to Rome before Eugenius the third then pope: who for that time pacifying the matter betwene them, they did after fall at variance againe, and so called him before the pope the second time. Eugenius seeing these continuall bialles, wearie to heare them, and fauoring this Nicholas, made them chose an other abbat, and appointed Nicholas to the bishopricke of Alba, and to the honor of a cardinall, sending him legat into Denmarke and Norwiche: where he remained some yeares. But at length returning to Rome after the death of Eugenius and his successor Anastasius, this Nicholas was aduanced from a cardinall to a pope, and called Adrian the fourth. Who died in the fifth yeare of Henrie the second king of England, in the yeare of Christ 1159.

Bosa, an Englishman and cardinall, was not that Bosa which was bishop of York, of whome Bede maketh mention, lib. 4. cap. 13. and cap. 23. of his ecclesiasticall historie; where he saith that the same Bosa was made bishop of the same see, in the yeare of Christ 678. And therefore being long before this Bosa, our cardinall could not be the same man, as some vnconsiderattlie haue stidie maintained. For this our Bosa was a cardinall deacon, and the nephew to pope Adrian the fourth before named; and intituled a deacon cardinall of the title of Colma and Damian, in the yeare of Christ 1155, being after made a priest cardinall of the title of saint Prudentian, by pope Alexander the third, in the yeare of Christ 1163, before which he was chamberleine to the church of Rome, being created to the first cardinallship and office of chamberleine by his uncle the said pope Adrian the fourth.

Robert Curson, a man excellentlie learned both in diuine & humane letters, comming from Rome, in diuine & humane letters, comming from Rome, grew in such estimation, that in the end he became a cardinall, of whom we find recorded in this sort. At the taking of Dameta in Egypt, there was with Pelagius the popes legat, maister Robert Curson an Englishman a most famous cleark, borne of a noble house, and cardinall of the church of Rome.

Stephan Loughton made priest cardinall, in the yeare of Christ 1213, and the fiftenth yeare of pope Innocent the third, of the title of saint Chrysogon, was archbishop of Canturburie, for whose cause and contention betwene king John and him, the realme

Robert Shomercot.
Holmsted.
Matt. Paris.
11572.

Incherus.
Onuphrius.
Matt. Parker.

Robert de Rulwarbie.
Matt. Parker.
John of Lecest.
Onuphrius.

Sernard de Angulicelle.
Matt. Parker.

Hugh Attrat.
Matthew Parker.
Rice Baldocke.
Onuphrius.

Bosa.
Matt. Parker.
Onuphrius.

Sernard.
Matthew Parker.

Leonard.
Guercine.
Matthew Parker.
Onuphrius.
William.
Matthew Parker.
Onuphrius.
Walsingham.

Robert Curson.
Matt. Parker.
Matt. Paris.
Holmsted.

Stephan Loughton.
Matt. Parker.
Matt. Paris.
Holmsted.
Onuphrius.

of England was long interdicted, the nobilitie was flaine, the king deposed, his kingdome made feodarie to Rome, and Pandolph the cardinall sent hither to receiue the crowne of St. John. This Stephan departed the world, in the twelue yeare of Henrie the third, and in the yeare of our redemption 1238.

Robert Somercoot a cardinall, a man well esteemed for his vertue and learning, a graue wyter, and well beloued of all men, departed from the vanities of this life, in the yeare of our saluation 1241, being the fise and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third.

Ancherus citizen and archdeacon of London, was made priest cardinall of the title of saint Maribus, by pope Urban the second, in the yeare that the world became fleshy 1262, and the yeare of the long reigne of king Henrie the third, the foure and fortyth.

Robert de Kilwarbie, whome Onuphrius calleth Robert Siliberie frier preacher, doctor of diuinitie was remoued from the archbishopspe of Canturburie to be bishop of Portua, and afterward was made cardinall of saint Rufinian by pope Nicholas the third, in the yeare of Christ as some saie 1277, and as others haue 1278, or 1273: being about the first yeare of Edward the first of that name king of England; who died vnder the same pope Nicholas, in the yeare of Christ 1280, as hath Onuphrius.

Barnard de Anguiscelle was remoued from the archbishopspe of Arras, and made bishop of Portua and cardinall of saint Rufinian, being a bishop cardinall, and aduanced to that principalltie by pope Martine the fourth of that name, in the yeare of our redemption 1291, being about the nineteenth yeare of the said Edward the first: whome Onuphrius much mistaking himselfe maketh a Frenchman: and Matthew Parker rightlie setteth him downe as an Englishman.

Hugh Attrat priest cardinall, of the title of saint Laurence in Lucina was created cardinall by pope Martine the fourth, in the yeare of our Lord 1281: he was also called Hugh of Eueham, and died at Rome in the yeare of Christ 1287, whilst the see was vacant, being about the fiftenth yeare of Edward the first.

Berard or rather Bernard a cardinall of Priscina was aduanced to the dignitie of a cardinall by Nicholas the fourth of that name bishop of Rome in the yeare (as I suppose) 1298, though some saie in the yeare 1288, the error whercof I gather to be in the printer.

Leonard Guercine bishop, cardinall of Alba was receiued to the scarlet hat and robe by pope Bonifacius the eight, in the yeare of Christ 1300, being the eight and twentieth of Edward the first.

William one of the order of the frier preachers doctor of diuinitie in Orford, priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina, to which place he was adopted by pope Benedict the eleuenth, in the yeare 1303, being the one and thirtieth yeare of Edward the first, in which yeare he died in England.

Walter Winterborne (that came in place of William last before named) doctor of diuinitie of the order of frier preachers, confessor to Edward the first, and priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina, was by the said Benedict the eleuenth admitted to the college of cardinals in the yeare of Christ 1304, being the one and thirtieth yeare of Edward the first, which Walter suall time inioined that place. For going with other cardinals into France, & so into Italie, he died at Senoa or Gene, whose bodie being carried into England, was buried in the church of the frier preachers in the yeare of Christ 1305, being the thre and thirtieth yeare of Edward the first.

Thomas Forze a frier preacher doctor of diuinitie of Orford, confessor to Edward the first, priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina was created by pope Clement the first in the yeare of Christ 1305, being the thre and thirtieth yeare of Edward the first, or (as saith Walingham) a little before Christmasse in the yeare of Christ 1306, who by him is also named Forza. This man (as hath Onuphrius) died in the fornie he made as ambassado: into Italie to Henrie the seventh of that name emperor in the yeare 1311, & the seventh yeare of the popedom of Clement the first, who sent him in that ambassage: his bodie was carried into England, and buried at Orford in a monasterie of the frier preachers.

Simon Langham abbat of Westminster, treasurer of England, bishop of Elic and of Canturburie, and chancelor of England, was elected to the honoz of the purple hat and cardinall dignitie, in the yeare of our redemption 1368, being the two and fortyth yeare of king Edward the third. And here because I would not set it downe in a distinct place, as receiuing it for truth, sith by search I find it not so, that authoritie sooner they that wrote the same had to lead them to it: I will note an oversight passed the fingers of Fabian, Holinshed, and Grafton, all wyters of our age, who affirme that the bishop of Winchester, in the fise and fortyth yeare of king Edward the third, being a cardinall (for so I gather by the words and circumstance of the storie) with the bishop of Beauois likewise a cardinall, were put in commission by pope Gregorie the eleuenth to treat betwixt the king of England and France. But because I can not find in Onuphrius nor in Matthew Parker ante such cardinall set downe, I do not at this time embrace it, vntill I maie find better proofe thereof than the authoritie of Grafton, Fabian, and those before named; especiallie sith that he which was then bishop of Winchester in the said fise and fortyth yeare of Edward the third, and all they which were bishops of Winchester from the first yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, vntill the yeare of Christ 1404, in which Henrie Beaufort was bishop of Winchester, were neuer cardinals: the said bishops in orderlie succession thus named: Adam Deltic, William de Edington, William Wickham, and then Henrie Beaufort, who was a cardinall. But these wyters mistaking perchance the yeare of the king, and the name of the bishops see, in the fise and fortyth yeare of Edward the third (in which yeare John Thorpe was cardinall as after followeth) haue (in setting downe Winchester for Worcester committed a fault) so casie it is for the printer or ante other to misplace and misname the one bishopspe for the other.

John Thorpe bishop of saint Davids in Wales chancelor of England, bishop of Worcester, and after bishop of Exeter, was made cardinall by Urban the first then bishop of Rome (as I suppose) before the fise and fortyth yeare of Edward the third. This man surrendered his life in the yeare of our redemption 1374, being the eight and fortyth yeare of king Edward the third.

Adam priest cardinall of the title of saint Cecilia, was inuested with the dignitie of a scarlet hat in the yeare of our redemption 1378, about the first yeare of Richard the second. Holinshed mentioneth one Adam Elton to be a cardinall, who (considering the time when he liued) must needs be this man, of whome he writeth in this sort: Adam Elton well scene in all the tongs, was made a cardinall by pope Gregorie the eleuenth, but by pope Urban the first he was committed to prison in Senoa (in the yeare of our redemption 1383, being about the seauenth yeare of Richard the second) and by contemplation

Thomas Forze.
Walingham,
Nic. Trivet,
Matthew Parker,
Onuphrius.

Simon Langham.

John Thorpe.
Holinshed
and other
authors.

Adam.
Onuphrius.
Matthew Parker,
Holinshed.

Bylan the
fourth pope of
Rome.
H. Parnus
lib. 2, cap. 26.
Onuphrius.
Matt. Parker.
Ranulph Higden.

H. Parnus.
Matt. Parker.
Onuphrius.

Robert Carr.
son.
Matt. Parker.
Matt. Paris.
Matt. West.
Holinshed.

Stephan.
Langham.
Matt. Parker.
Matt. Paris.
Holinshed.
Onuphrius.

platoon of the said king Richard, was taken out of prison, but not fullie deliuered, untill the daies of Boniface the ninth, who (in the yeare of our redemption 1389, about the thirteenth yeare of Richard the second) restored the said Adam to his former dignitie: all which Holinshed speaketh of him amongst the writers of England, except the yeares of the Lord which I haue added out of Onuphrius, and the yeares of the king which I haue ioined of my selfe. Which Onuphrius maketh this Adam to be bishop of London, and to die in Rome the third calends of Maye, in the yeare of our saviour 1397, being the one and twentieth of Richard the second, vnder Boniface the ninth pope of that name, and was buried in the place whereof he was intituled to the honoz of a cardinal.

Philip de
Repindone.
Onuphrius.
Matthew
Parker.

Thomas.
Onuphrius.
Matthew
Parker.
Liber Dunc.

Philip de Repindone bishop of Lincolne and doctor of diuinitie, was by pope Gregorie the twelfth, then bishop of Rome, in the yeare of Christ 1408, being the tenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth created cardinal of the title of saint Perceus and Achilleus.

Thomas bishop of Durham was made (as saith Onuphrius, in the yeare of our redemption 1411 by John the two and twentieth, commonlie called John the thre and twentieth) priest cardinal. Touching which matter there is no mention made in the life of Thomas Langley bishop of Durham, and living at this time that this Langley was a cardinal: for this Thomas Langley was made bishop of Durham in the yeare of our Lord 1406, and continued in that sex one and thirtie yeares, departing the world 1437, and so the creation of this Thomas bishop of Durham mentioned by Onuphrius and Matthew Parker bishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 1411 must needs fall in the life of this Thomas Langley bishop of Durham.

Robert.
Onuphrius.
Matthew
Parker.

Robert bishop of Salisbury priest cardinal (although it be not shewed of what title) was preferred to that place by pope John the thre and twentieth in the yeare of our redemption 1411, being about the twelfth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, of whom Onuphrius writeth in this sort: *Roberti episcopi Sarisburiensis presbyteri cardinalis, & Egidij de campis presbyteri cardinalis gesta & exitus, quod nunquam Romanam curiam adierint, incerti & obscuri omnino sunt. Satis tamen constat, eos ante papa Martini electionem mortuos fuisse.*

Henrie
Beaufort.

Henrie Beaufort, sonne vnto John of Gant and Katharine Swinesford, being bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, took the state of a cardinal (of the title of saint Eusebius) at Calis, being absent (as hath Matthew Parker) in the yeare of our redemption 1426: in the first yeare of king Henrie the first. He was called the rich cardinal of Winchester, being advanced to that honoz by Martine the third, commonlie called Martine the first then pope of Rome. This Henrie died vnder pope Nicholas the first in the yeare of Christ 1447: being about the six & twentieth yeare of the miserable reigne of king Henrie the first.

John Staf-
ford.
Onuphrius.
Matthew
Parker.

John Stafford bishop of Bath and Welles chancellor of England, after bishop of Canturburie, was created priest cardinal by Eugenius then bishop of Rome, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1434: being the twelfth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

John Kempe.
Holinshed.
Polydor.
Onuphrius.

John Kempe bishop of London, twise lord chancellor of England, bishop of Exeter, and after that archbishop of Canturburie, was by Eugenius the fourth then archbishop of Rome, made cardinal of the title of saint Sabina, as saith Holinshed, or therwise by Onuphrius called Balbina: contrarie to Polydor, who in his thre and twentieth booke of the historie of England, affirmeth him to be cardinal.

ted by pope Nicholas the first. He died (as saith Onuphrius) in the yeare that the godhead was united to the manhood, to wit, one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, vnder pope Nicholas the first, which yeare of our Lord met with the five and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

Thomas Bourcher (borne of the noble house of the earles of Eiler, being chancellor of England, bishop of Worcester, from thence removed to Exeter, from that he advanced to the metropolitan see of Canturburie, and priest cardinal of the title of saint Sirlacus in Theremis or the Baths) was honored with the scarlet hat and silver pillars, by pope Paule the second of that name, in the yeare that the second person in trinitie took upon him the forme of a seruant, one thousand foure hundred fiftie & five, being the first yeare of the reigne of the noble prince king Edward the fourth.

John Morton bishop of Elye chancellor of England & archbishop of Canturburie, being priest cardinal of the title of saint Anastasius, was honored with a scarlet hat by Alexander the first of that name (then gouernour of the seat of Peter at Rome) in the yeare from the birth of Christ 1493, being the ninth yeare of the Salomon of England king Henrie the seauenth. He died as saith Onuphrius, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand and five hundred, being about the eight yeare of Alexander the first still pope of Rome, and the sixteenth yeare of the said Henrie the seauenth then king of England.

Christopher Bembzidge a gentleman borne, was archbishop of Pothe, & priest cardinal of the title of S. Paridis, was advanced to that scarlet dignitie by pope Julius the second, in the yere that the virgin was deliuered of our saviour one thousand five hundred & eleuen, being the third yeare of the triumphant reigne of king Henrie the eight. He died at Rome, (as saith Onuphrius) by poison, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie yeares (being the eleuenth yeare, when Leo the tenth did hold the sterne of the Romane bishoprike, & the first yeare when the said Henrie the eight did rule the scepter of England) and was buried at Rome in the church of the holie trinitie of the English nation.

Thomas Wolseie the kings almoner, deane of Exeter, abbat of saint Albons, and of saint Austins, bishop of Lincolne, Winchester, and Pothe, chancellor of England: all which or all saue two he held at one time in his owne hands, was made priest cardinal of the title of saint Cletie, wherevnto he was promoted by pope Leo the tenth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred and fiftene, being the seauenth yere of the reigne of the famous king Henrie the eight, of whom Onuphrius somethat mistaking the pronuntiation of his name thus writeth: *Thomas Wlcer ex oppido Sufforth diocesis Nordacensis, &c.* wherein like a stranger to our countrymen he mistaketh both name, towne, place, and the province of Suffolke for the towne of Ipswich. For this cardinal Wolseie being descended of meane parentage, was borne in the towne of Ipswich now called Ipswich in the province or countrie of Suffolke in the diocesse of the bishoprike of Exeter.

John Fisher bishop of Rochester priest cardinal of the title of saint Vitalis, was (although he neuer came at Rome, nor for any thing that I can learne was euer out of England) created cardinal at Rome, by Paule the third of that name, then beaering the triple crowned mitre, and being bishop of Rome. But this Fisher neuer wore his scarlet hat: for after this high dignitie and before he might couer his priestlike crowne with the same, he lost his head, in the yeare from which the angels sang at the birth of the Messiah one thousand five hundred thirtie and five,

Thomas
Bourcher.
Onuphrius.
Matthew
Parker.
Holinshed.
Polydor.

John
Morton.
Onuphrius.
Matthew
Parker.
Polydor.
Holinshed.

Christopher
Bembzidge.
Matthew
Parker.
Onuphrius.

Thomas
Wolseie.

John
Fisher.

Reginald
Poir.

Henrie

five, being the seaven and twentieth of the reigne of that king Henrie the eight, which deliuered his kingdom from all subiection to the bishop of Rome Clement the seauenth of that name.

Reginald Pole, noble borne, & young sonne to sir Richard Pole knight of the garter, by his wife Margaret countesse of Salisbury, daughter to George duke of Clarence brother to R. Edward the fourth, was made deacon cardinall of the title of saint Marie in Cosmeden, by pope Paule the third of that name, in the yeare that the mother of God brought forth the sonne of man 1536, being the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight. This man legat of pope Julius the third, comming into England in the yeare of our Lord 1554, being the second yeare of queene Maries reigne, was after made bishop of Canturburie, on the five and twentieth of March, in the yeare of Christ 1556, being the third yeare of the reigne of the said queene Marie, and died the seauententh daie of Nouember, in the yeare of Christ 1558, being the last daie of the reigne of the said queene Marie, or rather the next daie erlie in the morning, at his house at Lambeth, and was honorable conueied to Canturburie, where he was buried. This man was the last English cardinall that liued and inioied that title of honour in England. For although the English cardinall which followeth were created after him, yet I suppose that he died much before him: but he liued not in England at the same time that cardinall Pole died, as farre as I can learne. Wherefore I still make this cardinall Pole the last English cardinall that was liuing in England.

Peter Peto, borne of an ancient familie, and one of the order of the frier minors obseruants (whome Onuphrius calleth *Anglicanum*) was created cardinall by Paule the fourth of that name, chiefe bishop of Rome, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1557, being the fifth yeare of queene Marie. Besides this number of thirtie cardinals, there haue been manie other to the number of ten or more, before the time that pope Innocent the first of that name did weald the charge of the Romane bishopricke, as Matthew Parker late bishop of Canturburie a worthe antiquarie doth witnesse, and I my selfe haue obserued, besides those which Onuphrius and the said Matthew Parker (in the Latine booke of the archbishops of his owne see) haue recited. But because neither they nor I haue yet attained to their names, we must and do omit them: and yet it may be that these three which follow, named by Onuphrius being English names, were Englishmen, and part of the said number of ten cardinals, whose names we do not know, which three cardinals were Hugh Foliot, Peter Poxtiner, and Simon Bate. But because I cannot certeinlie gather out of Onuphrius that they were Englishmen, I dare not presume so to make them; though in mine owne conceit I verelie suppose that they were borne in England: for in vncertaine matters I dare not set downe anie certeinlie.

Wherefore to set end to this cardinals discourse, I will knit by this matter with one onelie note drawne out of Matthew Parkers beforesaid booke of the liues of the bishops of Canturburie, which is as followeth: That this number and remembrance of our cardinals is not so wonderfull as is that computation of the Romane bishops, which pope John the two and twentieth of that name hath gathered of his predecessors. For he doth recite that out of the order of saint Benet or Benedict (whereof himselfe was) there haue issued foure and twentie popes, 183 cardinals, 1464 archbishops, 3502 bishops, and abbats innumerable. Thus concluding (that of all these our English cardinals, with the description of their liues, I will more largelie intreat in my booke

intituled the Pantographie of England, containing the vniuersall description of all memorabile places and persons, aswell temporall as spirituall) I request the reader to take this in good part, till that booke may come to light. Thus much Francis Thin, who with the whole of George Ripley canon of Wyndlington, after the order of circulation in alchymicall art, and by a geometricall circle in naturall philosophie doth end this cardinals discourse, resting in the centre of Reginald Pole, the last liuing cardinall in England, by whose death the said Francis took occasion to pale about the circumference of this matter of the cardinals of this realme.]

Of such learned men as had writtten and did liue in the reigne of queene Marie there were manie, of whome no small number ended their liues also during that short time of his reigne, some by fire, and others in exile. John Rogers borne in Lancashire, wrote diuerse treatises, translated the bible into English with notes, and published the same vnder the name of Thomas Mattheo, he suffered in Smithfield the fourth of Februarie, in the yeare 1555. Nicholas Ridley bishop first of Rochester, and after of London, suffered at Wyford in the said yeare 1555. Hugh Latimer borne in Leicestershire, sometime bishop of Worcester, a notable preacher, and a most reuerend father, suffered at the same place, and in the same daie and yeare with bishop Ridley. John Hooper borne in Summersetshire, bishop first of Gloucester, and after of Worcester, suffered at Gloucester in the yeare of our Lord 1555. John Bradford, borne in Banckes, a notable towne in Lancashire, a sober, mild, and discret learned man, suffered at London the first of Iulie in the said yeare 1555.

Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester borne in the towne of saint Edmundsburie in Suffolke, of king Henrie the eighths counsell, and in king Edwards daies committed to ward within the tower, released by queene Marie, made lord chancelor, and so died a stout champion in defense of the popes doctrine, and a great enimie to the professours of the gospel. John Hilpot borne in Hamshire, sonne to sir Peter Hilpot knight, was archdeacon of Winchester, ended his life by fire in the yeare aforesaid 1555, the 18 of December, going then on the foure & fortieth yeare of his age. Thomas Cranmer borne in Notinghamshire, archbishop of Canturburie, a worthe prelat, in sundrie vertues right commendable, suffered at Wyford the one and twentieth of March, one thousand, five hundred, fiftie and six. Richard Foxton knight, borne in Dorsetshire, wrote diuerse treatises, and decessed at Strausburge the 17 of March 1556. John Poynet borne in Kent, bishop of Rochester first, & after of Winchester, decessed likewise at Strausburgh, about the tenth or eleuenth of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1556.

Robert Record a doctor of physike, and an excellent philosopher, in arithmetike, astrologie, cosmographie, and geometrie most skilfull, he was borne in Wales, descended of a good familie, and finally departed this life in the daies of queene Marie. Bartholomew Traheron descended of a worshipfull house in the west parts of England, brane of Chichester, departed this life in Germanie, where he liued in exile, about the latter end of queene Maries reigne. Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop first of London, and after of Durham, borne in Lancashire of a right worshipfull familie, excellentlie learned, as by his workes it may appeare, doctor of both the lawes, departed this life in the yeare 1559. Richard Sampson bishop of Conuentic & Lichfield wrote certieue treatises, & departed this life 1555. Lucas Shepherd borne in Colchester in Essex, an English poet. Jane Doble daughter

Learned men
in queene
Maries
reigne.

Thomas
Douchet,
nuphrius,
archew
rker,
shindred,
lydor.

ohn Hooper,
nuphrius,
archew
rker,
lydor,
shindred.

hyslophe
sembadge,
archew
rker,
nuphrius.

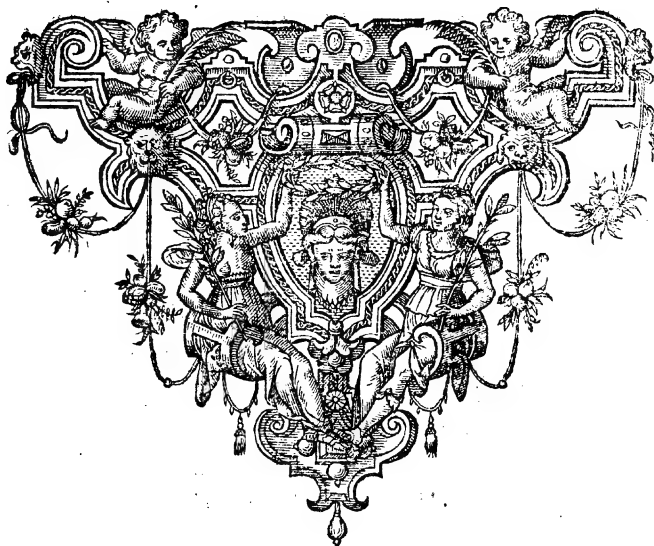
Thomas
Doble.

ohn Hilpot.

daughter vnto Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke, wrote diuerse things highlie to hir commendation, of whome yee haue heard moze before here in this historie; William Thomas a Welchman borne, of whome yee haue likewise heard how he suffered for treason; wrote the historie of Italie, and other things verie eloquentlie; James Wykes a doctor of diuinitie, John Standish a doctor likewise of the same profession, great defenders of the popes doctrine, as by their workes appeareth; William Perine a blacke frier by profession, and a doctor also of diuinitie, wrote in defense of the masse, and preached sermons which were printed of like stuffe; John Baret borne in Lin, a doctor of diuinitie, and sometime a Car-

melit frier, but reuolting from the popes religion, he became an earnest setter forth of the gospel, but euen so he fell off, and returned to his former opinions now in the daies of queene Marie; Henrie lord Stafford, sonne to Edward duke of Buckingham, amongst other things which he wrote, he translated a booke out of Latine into English, intituled *vincit que potestas differentia*, that is, The difference betwixt the two powers, which booke (as some thinke) was first compiled and set forth by Edward Fox bishop of Hereford; John Hopkins translated diuerse psalmes of the psalter into English meter, which are to be found amongst those appointed to be sung in the churches of England.

Thus farre the troublesome reigne of Queene Marie the first of that name (God grant she may be the last of hir religion) eldest daughter to king Henrie the eight.



daily
God
clean
honor
by
reli
follo
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reign
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signi
certi
bath
quæ
græ
waic
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frice
Chil
lord
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righ
be to
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cons
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this
the
of to

The resolution
of the 10th
to declare la-
me Elizabeth
queene.

The words
of doctor
Henry lord
chancellor,
uttered in the
parlement
while touch-
ing the pro-
claiming of the
late Elisa-
beth queene.

sent state of things vnder his rule, no doubt they are such famous creatures, as will not rest satisfied with any kind of gouernement, be it neuer so iust and commendable. From the which sort of men the Lord deliuer his roiall maiestie, and all his true and louing subiects, and preserve him in long life to all our comforts, and continue him in such happy proceedings as he hath begun, to the end.

On mondaie the eight and twentieth of Nouember, about two of the clocke in the afternone, his grace remoued againe, and taking his chariot, rode from my lord Poyntes house alongst Warbican, and entring by Triplegate into the citie, kept along the wall to Bishops gate, and so by blanch Chapelon vnto Marke lane. At his entring into blanch Chapelon, the artillerie in the tower began to go off, continually shooting for the space almost of halfe an houre, but yet had made an end before his maiestie was aduanced to Berkin church, and so with great ioie and ptease of people, of whom all the streets were full as he passed, declaring their inward reioisings by gesture, words, and countenance, he entered the tower, where he continued till the fift of December being mondaie, on the which daie, he remoued by water vnto Summer set place in the Strand, where he arrived about ten of the clocke in the forenoone the same daie.

On thursdaie betwene two and thre in the morning the eight of December 1558 in the first yeare of our soueraigne ladie queene Elisabeths reigne died in the tower of London, that honorable man sir Thomas Cheine knight of the order, treasurer of his maiesties most honorable household, warden of the cinque ports, & of his highnesse priuile councell, whose pulles by the report of his surgeon laboured more than thre quarters of an houre after his death, so strongly as though life had not bene absent from the bodie. By the report also of the same surgeon, he had the sweetest face of death to behold for one of his yeares that euer he saw, and died so quietlie and patientlie, that neither his face, mouth, eyes, hands, or feet were vncoumle vled in the chaunging of his life.

For twentie yeares before his departure, he kept in his stable continually winter and summer twentie great horse at the least, and eight or nine geldings, besides sixtene or seuentene geldings which were kept at grasse, and had in a readinesse furniture for them all to serue in the field; and no one of the same horse or geldings but he was able and readie for any man at armes to serue vpon. Beside this he kept so bountifull a house, and was so liberrall and good to his men, that well was that noble mans son, gentlemans sonne, or other that might happen to be preferred into his seruice. And againe, the number of his seruants to whom he gaue liueries were 205, wherof in household were sir scoze, besides strangers that were daile comming and going. And his seruants had no iust cause, either for lacke of great wages trulie paid them euery quarter, and boordwages euery lumbale, or plentie of meat and drinke, & lodging on good featherbeds to lue out of order. And such commoditie as might by chance fall within the iurisdiction of his office of wardenrie, being a thing fit for his men, he neuer turned the same to his owne vse, but alwaies gaue it them. Whether this realme hath not lost a worthy subiect, and speciallie his men a good maister, let all men iudge that knew him.

His house for service which proued him to be a tower of chivalrie.

The like is reported of cardinal wolsey when he was in the flower of his prosperitie.

But how manie be there now that will giue away the profits of their office to their seruants?

Before his departure out of this world, he seemed to haue a great care for his men, thinking least with out some provision for them, they would after his death run at randon and liue disorderlie, which like a noble man he prevented after this liberrall sort as followeth. In his last will and testament, to some he

gaue annuities during life, and to others a whole yeares wages after his death; but both to the one sort and the other he provided that all things which he ought them might be paid: and also so long as they vled themselves like honest men, and were not retelined in seruice, they should haue meat, drinke, and lodging at his house, till his sonne now lord Cheine came to his lawfull age, which was the space of thre yeares, in no lesse or worse maner than they were wont and accustomed to haue in his life time. In his last will he also remembred some of his freinds, as well those of nobilitie and worship, as others, some with one gift and some with an other, desiring them to assist his executors for the performance of his last will.

His wit, experience, courtesie, and valiantnesse in seruice was such, as king Henrie the eight, and his children, to wit, king Edward the first, queene Marie, and queene Elisabeth vled him as one of all their priuile councell, and was treasurer of all their honorable households during his life. He was brought up in king Henrie the seuenths house, & was one of his benchmen. So that it appeareth before he died, he had serued thre kings, and two queenes. His trust was such to all these princes, that he euer liued towards them *sine macula*, seruing in the court thre scoze yeares. And although he bare this great saile, yet prouided he to paie euery man iustlie that he ought them. His bountifullnesse, liberrallitie, and courtesie to diuerse noble men, gentlemen and others, attending in the court was such, that they were euer glad to haue him there amongst them; and his stoutnesse & halitie courage was such, and so well known to the Frenchmen, as they both feared and loued him wonderfullie. In the end he was so worthy a gentleman, and such a necessarie member in the common wealth, as his want cannot but be lamented of all good and true English hearts. But the almightie must be serued when his god will and pleasure is.

The thirtieth of December being tuesday, the corpes of queene Marie was right honorablie conueied from his manor of St. James, vnto the abbey of Westminster. His picture was laid on the coffin, apparelled in his roiall robes, with a crowne of gold set on the head thereof, after a solemne manner. In the abbey was a rich and sumptuous hearle prepared and set up with war, and richlie decked with pennons, baners, and scutcherions, of the armes of England and France, vnder which hearle the corpe rested all that night, and the next daie it was brought into the new chappell, where king Henrie the seuenth lieth, and was interred there in the chappell on the north side.

The foure and twentieth of December, being the euen of the natiuitie of our Lord, was a solemne obsequie kept in the abbey church of Westminster, for Charles the seuenth late emperour, who departed this life in September last, the one and twentieth of the same moneth, in the monastrie of St. Iustus in Castile, being then of age about eight and fiftie yeares, hauing gouerned the empire before he renounced the same a sir and thirtie yeares; and his kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, Naples, Sicill, and others, about fortie yeares.

Forerouer in this yeare 1558 there died two of the said emperours sisters, that went with him into Spaine, after he had resigned the empire, to wit, queene Leonor, first married vnto Emannell king of Portugall, and after his decesse vnto the French king Francis the first of that name: she decessed in Februarie last past. His other sister Marie, queene of Hungarie, late regent of the low countries, decessed on saint Lukes daie, the eighteenth of October last past. And so the one preventing him, the other

His house a honorable one for his men that serued him.

His ministerie of his freinds at his death.

His commendation of his courtesie, bountifullnesse, and stoutnesse.

His commendation of his courtesie, bountifullnesse, and stoutnesse.

His commendation of his courtesie, bountifullnesse, and stoutnesse.

His commendation of his courtesie, bountifullnesse, and stoutnesse.

His commendation of his courtesie, bountifullnesse, and stoutnesse.

His commendation of his courtesie, bountifullnesse, and stoutnesse.

His commendation of his courtesie, bountifullnesse, and stoutnesse.

His commendation of his courtesie, bountifullnesse, and stoutnesse.

His commendation of his courtesie, bountifullnesse, and stoutnesse.

beret a
table care
his men
sewed

caried not long after him, in so much that king Whi-
lly did celebrate the exequies in the towne of Wust-
fells, of his father the emperor, of his aunt Marie
queene of Hungarie, and of his wife Marie queene
of England, in this present moneth of December
subsequente, after the most pompous and solemne
manner.

1559.

Chapman
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he becaue
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he becaue
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Hungarie.

Chapman
the quene
the quene
the quene

On sundate the first of Januarie, by vertue of the
quenes proclamation, the English letanie was
read accordingly as was used in hir graces chapel
in churches through the citie of London. And like-
wise the epistle and gospel of the daie began to be
read in the same churches at masse time in the Eng-
lish tong, by commendment given by the lord ma-
lor, according to the tenour of the same proclama-
ti on, published the thirtieth of the last month. On Thurs-
daie the twelfth of Januarie, the quenes maiestie re-
moued from hir palace of Westminster by water
vnto the towne of London, the lord maior and alder-
men in their barge, and all the citizens with their
barges decked and trimmed with targets and ban-
ners of their mysteries accordingly attending on
hir grace.

The bachelers barge of the lord maior's companie,
to wit, the mercers had their barge with a foist trim-
med with three tops, and artillerie aboard, gallantlie
appointed to wait vpon them, shooting off lastlie as
they went, with great and pleasant melodie of in-
struments, which played in most sweet and heauentie
manner. Hir grace that the bidge about two of the
clocke in the after none, at the fall of the ebbe, the
lord maior and the rest following after hir barge, at-
tending the same, till hir maiestie took land at the
prime staires at the tower wharfe: and then the said
lord maior with the other barges returned, passing
through the bidge againe with the flood, and landed
at the wharfe of the three cranes in the Citie. Up-
pon saturday, which was the fourteenth daie of Ja-
nuarie, in the yeare of our Lord God 1558, about
two of the clocke at after none, the most noble and
christian prince, our most dread soueraine ladie
Elisabeth, by the grace of God queene of England,
France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: mar-
ched from the tower, to passe through the citie of
London toward Westminster, richlie furnished, and
most honourable accompanied, as well with gentle-
men, barons, and other the nobilitie of this realme,
as also with a notable traine of goodlie and beauti-
full ladies, richlie appointed.

At hir entring the citie, she was of the people recei-
ued maruellous intierlie, as appeared by the assen-
blyes praers, wishes, welcomings, cries, tender
wordes, and all other signes, which argued a wonder-
full earnest loue of most obedient subiects towards
their soueraine. And on the other side, hir grace by
holding vp hir hands, and merrie countenance to
such as stood farre off, and most tender and gentle
language to those that stood nigh vnto hir grace,
did declare hirselfe no lesse thankfullie to receiue
hir peoples good will, than they longinglie offered it
vnto hir. So all that wished hir grace well, she gaue
heartie thanks; & to such as bad God saue hir grace,
she said againe God saue them all, and thanked them
with all hir hart. So that on the other side there was
nothing but gladnesse, nothing but praier, nothing
but comfort. The quenes maiestie reioiced maruel-
louslie to see that so exceedingly shewed towards hir
hir grace, which all good princes haue euer desired, &
meane to earnest loue of subiects, so euidentlie de-
clared euen to hir graces owne person, being caried in
the midst of them.

The people againe were wonderfullie ransied
with the louing answeres and gestures of their prin-
cesse, like to the which they had before tried at hir first

comming to the tower from Hatfield. This hir gra-
ces louing behauiour preconcieued in the peoples
heads, vpon these considerations was then through-
lie confirmed, and in deed implanted a wonderfull
hope in them touching hir worthie gouernment in
the rest of hir reigne. For in all hir passage she did
not onelie shew hir most gracious loue toward the
people in generall, but also priuatie if the baser per-
sonages had either offered hir grace anie flowers,
or such like, as a signification of their good will, or
moued to hir anie sute; she most gentle, to the com-
mon reioicing of all the lookers on, and priuat com-
fort of that partie, staied hir chariot, and heard their
requestes. So that if a man would saie well, he could
not better fearne the citie of London that time, than
a stage, wherein was shewed the wonderfull specta-
cle of a noble hearted princeesse towards hir most lo-
uing people, and the peoples exceeding comfort in be-
holding to witness this a soueraine, & hearing so prince-
like a voice, which could not but haue set the enflame
on fire, with the vertue is in the enemie allwaie com-
mended, much more could not but inflame hir natu-
rall, obedient, and most louing people, whose weale
leaneth onelie vpon hir grace, and hir gouernment.

Thus therefore the quenes maiestie passed from
the tower, till she came to Fenchurch, the people on
each side ioyouslie beholding the vie to of so gracious
a ladie their queene, and hir grace no lesse gladlie no-
ting and obseruing the same. Here vnto Fenchurch
was erected a scaffold richlie furnished, whereon stood
a noyse of instruments, and a child in coslie apparell,
which was appointed to welcome the quenes mai-
estie in the whole cities behalfe. Against which place
when hir grace came, of hir owne will she comman-
ded the chariot to be staied, and that the noyse might
be appeased, till the child had uttered his welcoming
oration, which he spake in English as here foloweth;

O peerlesse soueraine queene,
Behold what this thy towne

Hath thee presented with,

at thy first entrance heere:

Behold with how rich hope

she leades thee to thy crowne,

Behold with what two gifts,

she comforteth thy cheere.

The first is blessing toongs,

which manie a welcome saie,

Which praie thou maist doo well,

which praie thee to the skie.

Which wish to thee long life,

which blesse this happie daie,

Which to thy kingdome heapes

all that in toongs can lie.

The second is true hearts,

which loue thee from their root,

Whose sure is triumph now,

and ruleth all the game,

Which faithfulness haue woone,

and all vnatruth driven out,

Which skip for ioy, when as

they heare thy happie name.

Welcome therefore o queene,

as much as heart can thinke,

Welcome againe o queene,

as much as toong can tell;

Welcome to ioyous toongs,

and hearts that will not shrinke,

God thee preferue we praie,

and with thee euer well.

At which words of the last line, all the people
gave a great shout, wishing with one assent as the
child had said. And the quens maiestie thanked most
heartlie both the citie for this hir gentle receiving
at the first, & also the people for confirming the same.

¶ t t t t t.

The citie of
London a
stage for the
time of this
solemnitie.

A scaffold set
up at Fan-
church with
melodie, &c.

These verses
were uttered
by a child to
the quene
who gaue good
care to them.

Here was noted in the queenes maiesties countenance, during the time that the child spake, besides a perpetuall attentiuernes in his face, a marvellous change in look; as the childes words either touched his person; or the peoples tongues and hearts. So that the with-reioicing visage did euidentlie declare that the words toke no lesse place in his mind, than they were most heartlie pronounced by the child, as from all the hearts of his most heartie citizens. The same verses were fastened vp in a table vpon the scaffold, and the Latine thereof likewise in Latine verses in another table, as herafter insureth;

The verses in Latine which the child uttered to the queene in English.

*Vbi tua quae ingressu dederit tibi munera primo,
O regia parem non habitura, vide.*

*Ad diadematum, te spe quam diuite mittat,
Qua aulicis des tibi dona, vide.*

*Munus habes primum, linguas bona multa precantes,
Quae te quibus laudant, sum pia vota solant.*

*Felicemque diem hunc dicunt, tibi saecula longa
Optant, & quicquid deniq; longa potest.*

*Altera dona feret, vera, & tui iudicia corda,
Quorum gens ludum iam reges una tuum.*

*In quibus est infracta fides, falsumq; perosa,
Quae tuo audito nomine lata salit.*

*Grata venis igitur, quantum cor concipit illud,
Quantum lingua potest dicere, grata venis.*

*Cordibus infractis, lingua per omnia late
Grata venis: saluam te velit esse Deum.*

Now when the child had pronounced his oration, and the queenes highnesse so thankesfullie had receiued it, the marcher forward toward Gracious street, there at the upper end before the signe of the eagle, the citie had erected a gorgeous and sumptuous arch as here followeth. A stage was made which extended from the one side of the street to the other, richly daited with battlements containing three ports, and ouer the middlemost was aduanced three severall stages in degrees.

A great stage arched and verie sumptuous at Gracious street.

Vpon the lowest stage was made one seat roiall, wherein were placed two personages, representing king Henrie the seventh, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of king Edward the fourth; either of these two princes sitting vnder one cloth of estate in their seates, none otherwise diuided, but that the one of them which was king Henrie the seventh, proceeding out of the house of Lancaster, was inclosed in a red rose, and the other which was queene Elizabeth, being heire to the house of Yorke, inclosed with a white rose, each of them roiallie crowned, and decentlie apparelled, as apperteineth to princes, with scepters in their hands, and one baton surmounting their heads, wherein aptlie were placed two tables, each containing the title of those two princes. And these personages were so set, that the one of them joined hands with the other, with the ring of matrimonie perceiued on the finger. Out of the which two roses sprang two branches gathered into one, which were directed vppward to the second stage or degree, wherein was placed one representing the valiant & noble prince king Henrie the eighth, which sprang out of the former rooke, crowned with a crowne imperiall, and by him sat one representing the right worthy ladie queene Anne, wife to the said king Henrie the eighth, and mother to our most soveraigne ladie queene Elizabeth that now is, both apparelled with scepters and diadems, and other furniture due to the state of a king and queene, and two tables surmounting their heads, wherein were written their names and titles.

Worthies queene Anne mother to gracious queene Elizabeth.

From their seat also proceeded vppward one branch, directed to the third and uppermost stage or degree, wherein likewise was planted a seat roiall, in the which was set one representing the queenes most excellent maiestie Elizabeth, now our most

deare soveraigne ladie, crowned and apparelled as the other princes were. Out of the fore part of this pageant was made a standing for a child, which at the queens maiesties comming declared vnto hir the whole meaning of the said pageant. The two sides of the same were filled with loud noises of musike. And all emptie places thereof were furnished with sentences concerning vnitie, and the whole pageant garnished with red roses and white. And in the fore front of the same pageant, in a faire wreath, was written the name and title of the same, which was; The uniting of the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke. This pageant was grounded vpon the queens maiesties name. For like as the long warre betwene the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster then ended, when Elizabeth daughter to Edward the fourth matched in marriage with Henrie the seventh, heire to the house of Lancaster: so sith that the queens maiesties name was Elizabeth, & forasmuch as she is the onelie heire of Henrie the eighth, which came of both the houses, as the knitting vp of concord: it was denised, that like as Elizabeth was the first occasion of concord; so the another Elizabeth, might mainteine the same among his subjects, so that vnitie was the end thereof, at the whole deuise shot, as the queenes maiesties name moued the first ground.

The pageant now against the queenes maiesties comming was addressed with children, representing the forenamed personages, with all furniture due vnto the setting forth of such a matter well meant, as the argument declared costlie and sumptuouslie set forth, as the beholders can beare witness. Now the queenes maiestie drew nere vnto the said pageant. And for so much as the noise was great, by reason of the pzease of people, so that she could scarce heare the child which did interpret the said pageant, and hir chariot was passed so far forwards, that she could not well heare the personages representing the kings & queenes aboue named: she required to haue the matter opened vnto hir, and what they signified, with the end of vnitie and ground of hir name, according as is before exprest. For the sight whereof hir grace caused hir chariot to be remoued backe, and yet hardlie could she see, because the children were set somewhat with the furthest in. But after that hir grace had vnderstood the meaning thereof, she thanked the citie, praised the fastrenesse of the worke, and promised that she would do hir whole endeavour for the continuall preservation of concord, as the pageant did import. The child appointed in the standing aboue named, to open the meaning of the said pageant, spake these words vnto hir grace:

The two princes that sit,
vnder one cloth of state,
The man in the red rose,
the woman in the white:
Henrie the seventh, and
queene Elizabeth his mate,
By ring of marriage,
as man and wife vnite.
Both heires to both their bloods,
to Lancaster the king,
The queene to Yorke, in one
the two houses did knit:
Of whome as heire to both,
Henrie the eighth did spring,
In whose seate his true heire
thou queene Elizabeth dost sit.
Therefore as ciuill warre,
and shead of blood did cease,
When these two houses were
vnited into one;
So now that iarre shall stint,

The meaning of the pageant opened by the speech of a child.

Concordant to Comhill, and made of loud instruments with the top of the same.

The deuise of the pageant in Comhill.

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The same verses in Latine.

The verses in English.

The queene is desirous to know the meaning of the pageant.

bo
fo

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and quietnesse increase,
We trust, O noble queene,
thou wilt be cause alone.

The which also were written in Latine verses, and both drawn in two tables vpon the fore front of the foresaid pageant, as hereafter ouerlie followeth :

Hy quos iungit idem solium, quos annuunt idem :
 Hac albente nitens, ille rubente polo :
 Septimus Henricus rex, regina, Elizabetha,
 Scilicet hanc edes, genti, Virque sua.
 Hac Elizabetha, tantastrius ille dederunt
 Connubio, e geminis quo fuer' una domus.
 Excepit dei haec in pudica copula regem
 Octavius, magni regis imago potens,
 Regibus hinc patris, regumque parentis,
 Patris iusta haec Elizabetha baro.

Sentences placed therein concerning ynitic.

Nulla concordet animos viri: domant.

quia vincit; terram; deivanti timent.

Discorde s'en suit folle et, com' ord'es lig

Augentur parva pace, magna bello ca.

Continentalis fortis voluntas

Regio pro tribus annis existimanda

Qui dux pugnant animus ligent

Dissidentes principes iudaicorum et christi

Princeps ad pacem hauris non ad arma
 Filius domandi a ceteris nepotis datus

Diffantia res publica hostibus patet.

Qui idem tenent, aliter tenent.

Regnum divisum facile dissolvitur.

Civitas contra armis frustra tentatur.

Omnium gentium consensus firmat fidem

se verses and other poetic sente

These verses and other pretty sentences were
drawen in bold places of this pageant; all tending
to one end, that quietnes might be maintained, and
all dissention displaced: and that by the quenees ma-
iestie heire to agreement, and agreeing in name
with hir, which tofore had joined those houses, which
had bene the occasion of much debate and civil war
within this realme, as mate appere to such as will
search chronicles, but be not to be toucht herein:
onely declaring hir graces passage throughe the citie,
and what prouision the citie made thefore. And
per the quenees maiestie came within hearing of
this pageant, the sent certeine as also at all the o-
ther pageants, to require the people to be silent. For
hir maiestie was disposed to heare all that should be
saide vnto hir.

When the quéenes maiestie had heard the child
oration, and vnderstood the meaning of the pageant
at large, she marched forthward toward Coznehill, al
waie receiued with like reioicing of the people. And
there as hit grace passed by the conduit, which was
curiously trimmed against that same time, with rich
banners adornoed, and a noisc of lowd instruments
vpon the top thereof, she spied the second pageant.
And because she feared for the peoples noisc, that she
shuld not heare the child which did expound the same,
she inquired what that pageant was: per that she
came to it; and there vnderstood, that there was a
child representing hit maiesties person; placed in a
seat of gouernement, supported by certeine vertues
which suppressed their contrarie vices vnder their
feet, and so forth, as in the description of the said pa
geant shall hereafter auerre.

This pageant banding in the nether end of Cony hill, was extended from the one side of the street to the other. And in the same pageant was devised three gates all open, and ouer the middle part thereof was erected one chaire or seate roiall, with a cloth of estate to the same appertaining, wherein was placed a child representing the quene's highnesse, with com-

oration had for place convenient for a table, which contained his name and title: and in a comely wreath artificiallie & well devised, with perfect sight and understanding to the people.

In the front of the same pageant was written the name and title thereof, which is; The seat of worthie gouernance. Which seat was made in such artificiall manner, as to the appearance of the lookers on, the fore part seemed to haue no staie, & therefore of force was staied by liuelie personages, which personages were in number foure, standing and staing the fore-front of the same feat roiall, each hauing his face to the quene and people, whereof euerie one had a table to expresse their effects, which are vertues, namelye: Pure religion, Loue of subiects, Witte dome and Justice, which did tread their contrarie: vices vnder their feet, that is to wit; Pure religion did tread vpon Superstition and Ignorance, Loue of subiects did tread vpon Rebellion and Insolence, Witte-dome did tread vpon Follie and Vaine glorie, Justice did tread vpon Adulation and Briberie. Each of these personages according to their proper names and properties, had not onlie their names in plate and perfect writing set vpon their breasts easilie to be read of all; but also euerie of them was aptlie and properly apparelled; so that his apparell and name did agree to expresse the same person, that in title be represented.

This part of the pageant was thus appointed and furnished. The two sides over the two side parts had in them placed a noise of instruments, which immediately after the child's speech, gave an heavenly melody. Upon the top or uppermost part of the said pageant, stood the armes of England, royalie portraitured with the proper beasts to uphold the same. One representing the queenes highnesse sat in this seat crowned with an imperial crowne, and before his seat was a convenient place appointed for one child, which did interpret and applie the said pageant, as hereafter shall be declared : Over his void place was furnished with proper sentences, commending the seat supported by vertues, and defacing the vices, to the better extirpation of rebellion, and to everlasting continuance of quietnesse and peace. The queenes maiestie approaching nigh unto this pageant thus beautified and furnished in all points, caused his charriot to be drawn nigh thereunto, that his grace might heare the child's most oration, which was this :

While that religion true,
shall ignorance suppress,
And with hir weightie foot,
breake superstitions head:
While loue of subiects shall
rebellion distresse,
And with zeale to the prince,
insolencie downe tread.
While iustice flattering toongs,
and briberie can deface,
While follie and vaine glorie,
to wise dome yeeld their hands:
So long shall gouernement
not swarue from hir rightrace,
But wrong deciaeth still,
and right wifeneffe vp stands.
Now all thy subiects hearts,
o prince of peerelesse fame,
Do trust these vertues shall
mainteine vp thy throne:
And vice be kept downe still,
the wicked put to shame;
That good with good may ioy,
and naught with naught may m

Which verses were painted vpon the right side of the
same pageant, and the Latine thereof on the left side
in

Littlely's work-
manship and
right com-
mendable.

A proper man
call.

How the passenger was appointed and furnished;

The queene
draweth neere
the pagent to
heare the
childs ora-
tion.

The same
verses in La-
tine painted
on a table.

In another table, which were these here following:

*Qua subnixæ altè solio regina superbo est,
Effigiem sanctæ principis alma refert,
Quam civilis amor fulcit, sapientia firmat,
Iustitia illustrat, religioque beat,
Vana superstitio & crassa ignorantia frontis
Pressa sub pura religione iacent.
Regis amor donat effrænos animosque rebelles,
Iustus adulantes domitorosque terret.
Cum regit imperium sapiens, sine luce sedebunt
Scultitia, atque huius nomen inanis honor.*

The ground
or morall of
the pageant.

Beside these verses, there were placed in euery bold come of the pageant, both in English & Latine, such sentences as advanced the seat of governance vpholden by vertue. The ground of this pageant was, that like as by vertues (which do abundantly appeare in hir grace) the quenes maiestie was established in the seat of government: so she should sit fast in the same, so long as she imbraced vertue, and held vice vnder foot. For if vice once got vp the head, it would put the seat of gouernement in perill of falling. The quenes maiestie when she had heard the child, and vnderstood the pageant at full, gave the child also thanks therfore, & most grationlie promised hir good income for the maintenance of the said vertues, and suppression of vices, and so marched on, till she came against the great conduit in Cheape, which was beautified with pictures and sentences accordinglie, against hir graces comming thither. Against Soper lane end was extended from the one side of the street to the other, a pageant which had three gates all open: ouer the middlemost thereof were erected three seuerall stages, whereon sat eight children, as hereafter followeth. On the vppermost one child, on the middle three, on the lowest four, each bearing the proper name of the blessing that they did represent, written in a table, & placed aboue their head.

The quenes
promise with
thanks to the
cittie.

A pageant at
Soper lane
end.

In the forefront of this pageant, before the children which did represent the blessings, was a conuenient standing call out for a child to stand, which did expound the said pageant vnto the quenes maiestie, as was done in the other before. Euery of these children were appointed and apparelled, according vnto the blessing which he did represent. And on the forefront of the said pageant was written in faire letters the name of the foresaid pageant in this manner:

The inscripti-
on fixed or set
vpon the front
of the said pa-
geant.

The eight beatitudes expressed in the first chapter of the gospell of saint Matthew, applied to our soueraigne ladie quene Elisabeth.

Ouer the two side parts was placed a noyse of instruments. And all the bold places in the pageant were furnished with prettie sayings, commending & touching the meaning of the said pageant, which was the promises & blessings of almightie God, made to his people. Before that the quenes highnesse came vnto this pageant, she required the matter somewhat to be opened vnto hir, that hir grace might the better vnderstand, what should afterward by the child be said vnto hir. Which so was, that the child had there created the pageant with eight children, representing the eight blessings touched in the first chapter of saint Matthew. Whereof euery one vpon iust considerations, was applied vnto hir highnesse, and that the people thereby put hir grace in mind, that as hir god doings before had giuen iust occasion, why that these blessings might fall vpon hir, that so if hir grace did continue in hir godnesse as she had entered, she should hope for the fruit of these promises due vnto them that do exercise themselves in the blessings: which hir grace heard marvellous grationlie, and requited that the charriot might be removed toward

The meaning
of the pa-
geant.

the pageant, that she might better perceiue the childes words, which were these, the quenes maiestie giuing most attentue eare, and requiring that the peoples noyse might be said. The verses were as followeth:

*Thou hast bene eight times blest,
O quene of worthie fame,
By meekenesse of thy spirit,
when care did thee beset,
By mourning in thy griefe,
by mildnesse in thy blame,
By hunger and by thirst,
and iustice couldst none get.
By mercie she wd not felt,
by cleannesse of thine heart,
By seeking peace alwayes,
by persecution wrong.
Therefore trust thou in God,
for he hath helpd thy smart,
That as his promise is,
so he will make thee strong.*

When these words were spoken, all the people together, that as the child had uttered, so God would strengthen hir grace against all hir aduersaries, whome the quenes maiestie did most gentle thanke for the so louing wish. These verses were painted on the left side of the said pageant, and other in Latine on the other side, which were these here insuing:

*Qui lugent solares sunt, qui mitia resant
Pectora, multa soli iugera culta metent:
Iustitiam glorians sitiensque repletur: ipsum
Eas hominum puro corde videre Deum:
Quem alterum miseret, Dominus miseretur huius:
Pacisquam quisquis, filium ille Deest:
Propter istum am quisquis patitur habetque
Demissam mentem calice regna capit.
Eum hominum generi terram, mare, sidera, vni:
Omnipotens, horum quisque beatus erit.*

Besides these, euery bold place in the pageant was furnished with sentences touching the matter and ground of the said pageant. When all that was to be said in this pageant was ended, the quenes maiestie passed on forwarde in Cheapside. At the standarde in Cheape, which was dyed faire against the time, was placed a noyse of trumpets, with banners and other furniture. The crosse likewise was also made faire, and well trimmed. And nere vnto the same, vpon the porch of saint Peters church dore, stood the waits of the cittie, which did giue a pleasant noyse with their instruments, as the quenes maiestie did passe by, which on euery side cast hir countenance, and wished well to all hir most louing people. Some after that hir grace passed the crosse, she had espied the pageant created at the little conduit in Cheape, and incontinent required to know what it might signifie. And it was told hir grace, that there was placed Time. Time, quoth she: And time hath brought me hither. And so forth the whole matter was opened to hir grace, as hereafter shall be declared in the description of the pageant.

But in the opening, when hir grace vnderstood that the bible in English should be delivered vnto hir by Truth, which was therein represented by a child: she thanked the child for that gift, and said, that she would oftentimes read ouer that booke, commending sir John Barrat, one of the knights which held vp hir canopy, to go before, and to recite the booke. But learning that it should be delivered vnto hir grace done by a filken lace, she caused him to state, and so passed forward till she came against the aldermen in the high end of Cheape before the little conduit: where the companies of the cittie ended, which began at stanchurch, & stood along the streets, one by another inclosed with railles, hanged with cloths, and themselves well apparelled with manie rich

The quene
giuing
time
care to
the child

The seuerall
companies of
the cittie shew
their full
banners at the
quenes com-
ming.

The child gi-
ueth a thou-
sand thanks to
the quene in
a purlie.

The child
all his
prince, people,
and childen

The briefe
words of the
quene utte-
red to the lard
mayor, &c.

The stand-
ard and crosse
in Cheape
dore and
march.

A pageant of
a square pros-
portion, and
what things
the same had
represented
in it.

Republica
magna.

Republica bene
regitur.

An. Reg. 1.

1559.
The queene
lately attene
ne care to the
jillies 1559.

The severall
companies of
the city shew
their costfull
pageants at the
queens com-
ing.

The cities gl-
orious shew
of the marks to
the queene in
a pageant.

The pageant
all shew
prince, people,
and children.

The birds
sings of the
same birds
into the lady
pageant.

The handes
and croles in
Cheape do
ned and trim-
med.

A pageant
erected at the
little conduit
in Cheape.

The queene
promiseth the
city often to
read over the
bible.

Publica
republica

Publica bene
publica

rich farrers, and their liverie hoods upon their shoul-
ders in comelie and seemelie maner, having befoze
them sundrie persons well appareled in silks and
chains of gold: as wilters and garders of the said
companies, besides a number of rich hangings, as
well of tapistrie, arras, cloths of gold, silver, velvet,
damaske, sattin, and other silks plentifullie hanged
all the waite, as the queenes highnesse passed from the
tower thorough the citie.

Out at the windowes and penthouses of emerie
house did hang a number of rich and costlie banners
and streamers, till his grace came to the upper end of
Cheape. Where by appointment, the right worship-
full master Manly Chalmelie recorder of the citie,
presented to the queenes maiestie a purse of crim-
son sattin, richlie wrought with gold, wherein the ci-
tie gave unto the queens maiestie a thousand marks
in gold, as master recorder did declare by felie unto
the queens maiestie, whose words tended to this end;
that the lord maior, his brethren, and communalitie of
the citie, to declare their gladnesse and goodwill to-
wards the queenes maiestie, did present his grace
with that gold, desiring his grace to continue their
good and gracious queene, and not to escheue the va-
lue of the gift, but the mind of the givers. The queens
maiestie with both his hands took the purse, and an-
swered to him againe marvellous pitifulle; and so pi-
tillie, that the standers by, as they embraced intirelie
his gracious answer, so they marvelled at the cou-
ching thereof, which was in words truelie reported
these. I thanke my lord maior, his brethren, and you
all. And whereas your request is that I should conti-
nue your good ladie and queene, be ye assured, that
I will be as good unto you, as ever queene was to
his people. No will in me can lacke, neither do I
trust shall there lacke anie power. And persuade
your selves, that for the safetie and quietnesse of you
all, I will not spare (if need be) to spend my blood,
God thanke you all. Which answer of so noble an
hearted prince, if it moved a marvellous shout &
reioysing, it is nothing to be marvelled at, sith both the
hailnesse thereof was so wonderfull, and the words
so iointlie knit.

When his grace had thus answered the recorder,
he marched toward the little conduit, where was e-
rected a pageant with square proportion, standing di-
rectly befoze the same conduit, with battlements ac-
cordinglie. And in the same pageant was aduanced
two hilles or mounteins of convenient height. The
one of them being on the north side of the same page-
ant, was made cragged, barren, and stonie, in the
which was erected one tree, artificiallie made, all wi-
thered and dead, with branches accordinglie. And un-
der the same tree at the foot thereof sat one in home-
lie and rude apparrell: crookedlie, and in mourning
maner, having ouer his head in a table, written in
Latine and English, his name which was *ruinosa re-
publica*. A decayed commonweale. And upon the same
withered tree were fixed certein tables, wherein
were written proper sentences, expressing the causes
of the decaye of a commonweale. The other hill
on the south side was made faire, fresh, greene and beau-
tiful, the ground thereof full of flowers and beantie,
and on the same was erected also one tree, verie fresh
and faire, under the which stood by right one fresh per-
sonage well appareled and appointed, whose name
also was written both in English and Latine, which
was, *republica bene instituta*, A flourishing common-
weale.

And upon the same tree also were fixed certein
tables containing sentences, which expressed the cau-
ses of a flourishing commonweale. In the middle
betwene the said hilles, was made artificiallie one
hollow place or cave, with doore and locke inclosed,

out of the which, a little befoze the queenes highnesse
comming thither, issued one personage, whose name
was Time, appareled as an old man, with a sieth in
his hand, having wings artificiallie made, leading a
personage of lesser stature than himselfe, which was
finelie and well appareled, all clad in white silke, and
directlie ouer his head was set his name and title in
Latine and English, *Temporis filia*, The daughter of
Time. Which two so appointed, went forwarde
toward the south side of the pageant. And on his
brest was written his proper name, which was
Veritas, Truth, who held a booke in his hand, upon the
which was written *Verbum veritatis*, The word of truth.
And out of the south side of the pageant was cast a
standing for a child, which should interpret the same
pageant. Against whome when the queenes maiestie
came, he spake unto his grace these words:

This old man with the sieth,
old father Time they call,
And his daughter Truth,
which holdeth yonder booke:
Whome he out of his rocke,
hath brought forth to vs all,
From whence this manie yeares
she durst not once out looke.
The ruthfull wight that sits
vnder the barren tree,
Resembleth to vs the forme,
when common weales decaye:
But when they be in state
triumphant, you may see
By him in fresh attire,
that sits vnder the baie.
Now sith that Time againe,
his daughter Truth hath brought,
We trust o' worthie queene,
thou wilt this truth embrace,
And sith thou vnderstandst,
the good estate and naught,
We trust wealth thou wilt plant,
and barrennes displace.
But for to heale the fore,
and cure that is not seene,
Which thing the booke of truth,
doth teach in writing plaine:
Shee doth present to thee
the same, o' worthie queene,
For that, that words doo flie,
but written doth remaine.

When the child had thus ended his speech, he re-
acted his booke towards the queenes maiestie, which a
little befoze Truth had let downe unto him from the
hill, which by sir John Barrat was receiued, and de-
livered unto the queene. But the as soone as she had
receiued the booke, kissed it, and with both his hands
held up the same, and so laid it upon his brest, with
great thanks to the citie therefore: and so went for-
ward towards Baules churchyard. The former mat-
ter which was rehearsed unto the queenes maiestie,
was written in two tables, on either side the page-
ant eight verses, and in the midst, these in Latine:

*Ille, vides falcem leua qui sustinet vncam,
Tempus is est, cui stat filia vera comess
Hanc pater excessu deductam ruperonit
In lucem, quam non viderat ante diu.
Qui sedet a leua cultus male tristis inepto
Quem duris crecens cantu morbis obit,
Nos monet effugie qua sit republica, quando
Corruit, at contra quando beata viget.
Ille docet iuuenis forma spectandus, amictu
Scitius, aeterna laurea fronde virens.*

The sentences written in Latine and English
upon both the trees, declaring the causes of both
estates, and first of a ruinous commonweale were
these:

*Veritas temporis
filia, expounded
to the queene.*

*The interpre-
tation of the
pageant deli-
uered in speech
to the queene
by a child.*

*The queene
receiveth Ver-
bum Dei, kiss-
eth it, and
laiceth it in
his lap.*

these: Want of Gods feare, disobedience to rulers, blindnesse of guides, biberie in magistrats, rebellion in subjects, ciuill discorde, flattering of princes, vnmmercifulnesse in rulers, vnthankfulnesse in subjects. Causes of a flourishing commonweale are these: Feare of God, a wise prince, learned rulers, obedience to officers, obedient subjects, louers of the commonweale, vertue rewarded, vice chastened.

The meaning
in these of
this pageant.

The matter of this pageant dependeth of them that went before. For as the first declared his grace to come out of the house of vnitie, the second that he is placed in the seat of gouernement staide with vertues, to the suppression of vice; and therefore in the third, the eight blessings of almighty God might well be applied vnto him: so this fourth now is, to put his grace in remembrance of the state of the commonweale, which Time with Truth his daughter doth reueale: which Truth also his grace hath received, and therefore cannot but be mercifull and carefull for the good gouernement thereof. From thence, the queenes maiestie passed toward Pauls churchyard, and when she came ouer against Pauls schole, a child appointed by the scholemaster thereof, pronounced a certeine oration in Latine, and certeine verses, which also were there written as followeth:

A schole of
Pauls church
reth an oration
in Latine
to the queene.

Laud Elisabethe
regni iugum
subeuntis.

Ad Anglorum
gentem brevis
adhortatio.

Quenam pre-
stabit Elisabethe
suo regi-
ni.

Philosophus ille diuinus Plato inter multa praeclare ac sapienter dicta, hoc posteris proditum reliquit; Republicam illam felicissimam fore, cui princeps sophia studiosa, virtutibusque ornata contingerit. Quem si verè dixisse censeamus (ut quidem verissimè) cur non terra Britannica plaudeat? cur non populus gaudium atque latitiam agitare? Immo, cur non hunc diem, alio (quod auiunt) lapillo notaret? Quo princeps talis nobis adest, qualè priores non viderunt, qualè postea haud facile cernere poterit, dotibus quum animi, tum corporis vndique, felicissima. Casti quidem corporis dotibus ita aperta sunt, ut oratione non egeant. Animi verò tot tantisque, vix verbis quidem exprimi possunt. Hæc nempe regibus summis orta, morum atque animi nobilitate genus exuperat. Huius pectus Christi religionis amore flagrat. Hæc gentem Britannicam virtutibus illustrabit, clypeoque iustitiæ teget. Hæc literis Græcis & Latinis excimia, ingenioque præpollens est. Hæc imperante pietas vigeat, Anglia florebit, aurea sæcula redibunt. Vos igitur Angli tot commodis accepturi, Elisabetham reginam nostram celeberrimam ab ipso Christo huius regni imperio destinatam, honore debito prosequimini. Huius imperij animo libentissimo subditi estote, vobisque tali principe dignos præbete. Et quoniam pueri non viribus sed precibus, officium præstare possunt, nos alumni huius scholæ ab ipso Colecto olim templi Paulini decano extructæ, teneras palmas ad cælum tendentes Christum Optum Max: precaturi sumus, ut tuam celsitudinem annos Nestoreos summo cum honore Angli imperare faciat, matremque pignorum charis beatam reddat. Amen.

Anglia nunc tandem plaudas, latere, resultas,
Præsto iam vita est, presidiumque tibi.
En tuas spes venit, tua gloria, lux, decus omne
Venit iam, solidam qua tibi præstat opem.
Succurreret, tuis rebus quæ pessum abiere,
Perdita quæ fuerant hæc reparare volet.
Omnia floreant, redeunt nunc aurea sæcla,
In melius surgent quæ cecidere bona.
Debes ergo illi totam te reddere fidem,
Cuius in accessu commoda tot capies.

Salve igitur dicas, imo de pectore summo,
Elizabeth regni non dubitanda salus,
Virgo venit, veniatque optes comitata deinceps,
Pignorum charis, læta parens veniat.
Hoc Deus omnipotens ex alto donet olympo,
Qui cælum & terram condidit atque regit.

Which the queenes maiestie most attentiuely hearkened vnto. And when the child had pronounced, he did kisse the oration which he had there faire written in paper, and deliuered it vnto the queenes maiestie, which most gentlie received the same. And when the queenes maiestie had heard all that was there offered to be spoken, then his grace marched toward Ludgate, where he was receiued with a noise of instruments, the fore front of the gate being finelie trimmed by against his maiesties coming. From thence by the way as he went downe toward Fleetbridge, one about his grace noted the cities charge, that there was no cost spared. His grace answered, that he did well consider the same, and that it should be remembered. An honorable answer, worthy a noble prince, which may comfort all his subjects, considering that there can be no point of gentleness, or obedient loue shewed towards his grace, which he doth not most tenderly accept, and graciously receiue. In this manner, the people on euery side retolling, his grace went forward towards the conduit in Fleetstreet, where was the first and last pageant erected in forme following.

From the conduit, which was beautified with painting, vnto the northside of the street was erected a stage, imbatteled with foure towers, and in the same a square plat rising with degrees; and vpon the hypermost degree was placed a chaire, or seat roiall, and behind the same seat, in curious artificiall manner was erected a tree of reasonable height, and so farre aduanced aboue the seat, as it did well and seemelie shadowe the same, without indamaging the sight of anie part of the pageant: and the same tree was beautified with leaues as greene as art could deuise, being of a conuenient greatnesse, and containing therevpon the fruit of the date. And on the top of the same tree in a table was set the name thereof, which was a palme tree, and in the aforesaid seat or chaire was placed a seemelie and meet personage richly appareled in parlement robes, with a scepter in his hand, as a queene, crowned with an open crowne, whose name and title was in a table fixed ouer his head, in this sort: Deboza the iudge and restorer of the house of Israel: Iudic. 4. And the other degrees on either side were furnished with six personages, two representing the nobilitie, two the cleargie, & two the communalitie. And before these personages was written in a table: Deboza with his estate consulting for the good gouernment of Israel. At the feet of these, and the lowest part of the pageant was appointed a conuenient roome for a child to open the meaning of the pageant. When the queenes maiestie drew neare vnto this pageant, and perceived, as in the other, the child ready to speake; his grace required silence, and commanded his chariot to be removed higher, that the might plainlie heare the child speake, which said as hereafter followeth:

Iabin of Canaan king,
had long by force of armes
Opprest the Israelites,
which for Gods people went:
But God minding at last
for to redresse their harmes,
The worthie Deboza
as iudge among them sent.
In warre she through Gods aid,
did put his foes to flight,

And

With
the fan

The mozt
the pageant
erect.

A pageant
erect in
Fleetstreet
described.

The children
of Christ
multitudinal stand
in the
Duns
house.

Willowing to
the queenes
maiestie no
doubt.

How tolling
the queene
was to heare
the child
speake.

Ch
pretie
groun
the ne
the flo
weale,
consul
confid
rule a
in pea
ueth b
god ci
sed thi
But a
the hol
uerno
an ora
hic ele
merci
the m
turne
nouri
queen
had so
of the
ceftuit
the fa
which
the pe
that f
eight
don, &
king
brought
queen
may
and d
pate
and r
brought
the pa
tt to l
oultie
hic gr
king
finelie
bion,

Temple bar
joined south
of the
pageant.

And with the dint offword
the band of bondage braist.
In peace she, through Gods aid,
did alwaie mainteine right,
And iudged Israell
till fortie yeares were past.
A worthie president,
o worthie queene thou hast,
A worthie woman iudge,
a woman sent for staie:
And that the like to vs
indure alwaie thou maist,
Thy louing subiects will
with true harts and toongs praie.

Which verses were written upon the pageant, &
the same in Latin also sired in the face of the people:

*Quando Dei populum Canaan, rex pressit Iuben,
Mittitur a magno Debora magna Deo:
Qua populum eriperet, sanctum seruaret Iudan,
Milite qua patrio frangeret hostis opes.
Hac Domino mandante Deo lectissima fecit
Famina, & aduersos contudit ense viros.
Hac quater denos populum correxerat annos
Iudicio, bello strenua, pace grauis:
sic, o sic populum belloque & pace guberna,
Debora, sis Anglis Elisabetha tuis.*

The void places of this pageant were filled with
petie sentences concerning the same matter. The
ground of this last pageant was, that for somuch as
the next pageant before had set before hir graces eyes
the flourishing and desolate states of a common-
weale, the might by this be put in remembrance to
consult for the worthie gouernement of hir people,
considering God oftentimes sent women noble to
rule among men, as Debora, which gouerned Israell
in peace the space of fortie yeares: and that it beho-
ueth both men and women so ruling to vse aduise of
god counsell. When the queenes maiestie had pas-
sed this pageant, she marched toward Temple bar.
But at St. Dunstons church, where the children of
the hospitall were appointed to stand with their go-
uernours, hir grace perceiuing a child offered to make
an oration vnto hir, staied hir chariot, and did cast vp
hir eyes to heauen, as who should saie; I here see this
mercifull worke toward the poore, whome I must in
the middelt of my roialtie needs remember: and so
turned hir face toward the child, which in Latine pro-
nounced an oration to this effect: That after the
queenes highnesse had passed through the cite, and
had scene so sumptuous, rich, and notable spectacles
of the citizens, which declared their most hartie re-
ceiuing, and iolous welcomming of hir grace into
the same: this one spectacle yet rested and remained,
which was the eneralsting spectacle of mercie vnto
the poore members of almightie God, furthered by
that famous and most noble prince king Henrie the
eight hir graces father, created by the cite of Lon-
don, & aduanced by the most godlie & vertuous prince
king Edward the first, hir graces deare and louing
brother, doubting nothing of the mercie of the
queenes most gracious clemencie, by the which they
may not onelie be reliued and helped, but also staied
and defended: and therefore incessantlie they would
praie and crye vnto almightie God, for the long life
and reigne of hir highnesse, with most prosperous
victorie against hir enemies.

The child after he had ended his oration, kissed
the paper wherein the same was written, & reached
it to the queenes maiestie, which receiued it grati-
ouly, both with words and countenance, declaring
hir gracious mind toward their reliefe. From thence
hir grace came to Temple bar, which was dressed
finelie with the two images of Cogmagog the Al-
bion, & Cozimeus the Hyton, two giants, big in sta-

ture, furnished accordingly, which held in their hands
about the gate, a table, wherein was written in La-
tine verses the effect of all the pageant which the cite
before had erected, which verses were these insuing:

*Ecce sub aspectum contemplaberis vna
(O princeps populi sola columna tui)
Quicquid in immensa possum perspexeris urbe,
Qua cepere omnes vnus hic arcus habet.
Primus se solo regni donauit arui,
Heres quippe tui vera parentis eras.
Suppressis vitijs, domina virtute. Secundus,
Firmans sedem regia virgo tuam.
Tertius ex omni posuit te parte beatam,
Si, qua cepisti pergere velle, velis.
Quarto quid verum, res publica lapsa quid esset,
Que florens staret te docuere tui.
Quinto magna loco monuit te Debora missam
Calidum, in regni gaudia longa tui.
Perge ergo regina, tua spes unica gentis,
Hac postrema urbis suscipe vota tue.
Vive diu, regnaq; diu, virtutibus orna
Rem patriam, & populi spem tuare tui.
Sic o sic petitur calum, sic stur in astra:
Hoc virtutis opus, cetera mortis erunt.*

Which verses were also written in English me-
ter, in a lesse table as hereafter plainelie followeth:

Behold here in one view,
thou maist see all that plaine,
O princeesse vnto this
thy people th' onlie staie:
What each where thou hast scene
in this wide towne, againe,
This one arch whatsoeuer
the rest conteind, dooth saie.
The first arch as true heire
vnto thy father deere,
Did set thee in thy throue
where thy grandfather sat.
The second did confirme
thy seat as princeesse heere,
Vertues now bearing swaie,
and vices bet downe flat.
The third, if that thou wouldst
go on as thou began,
Declared thee to be
blessed on euerie side.
The fourth did open truth,
and also taught thee when
The commonweale stood well,
and when it did thence slide.
The fift, as Debora
declard thee to be sent
From heauen, a long comfort
to vs thy subiects all.
Therefore go on o queene,
on whom our hope is bent,
And take with thee this wish
of thy towne as small.
Liue long, and as long reioice,
adorning thy countie
With vertues, and mainteine
thy peoples hope of thee.
For thus, thus heauen is woone,
thus must thou petle the skie,
This is by vertue wrought,
all other needs must die.

On the fourth was appointed by the cite a house
of singing children, and one child richly attired as a
poet, which gaue the queenes maiestie hir farewell
in the name of the whole cite by these sweet words:

*As at thy entrance, O prince of high renowne,
Thou wast presented with
toongs and hearts for thy faier:*

Quinque arcus
quam significa-
tionem impli-
cant videntur.

what the ar-
ches signifie.

The citie
farewell to the
queene going
out at Temple
barre.

So now sech' thou must needs
depart out of this towne,
This citie sendeth thee
firme hope and earnest praier.
For all men hope in thee,
that all vertues shall raine,
For all men hope that thou
none error wilt support,
For all men hope that thou
wilt truth restore againe,
And mend that is amisse,
to all good mens comfort.
And for this hope they praie,
thou maist continue long,
Our queene amongst vs here,
all vice for to supplant,
And for this hope they praie,
that God maie make thee strong,
As by his grace puissant,
So in his truth constant.
Farewell o' worthie queene,
and as our hope is sure,
That into errors place,
thou wilt now truth restore:
So trust we that thou wilt
our soueraigne queene endure,
And louing ladie stand,
from henceforth euermore.

While these words were in saleng, and certaine
wishes therein repeated for maintenance of truth,
and rooting out of error, the now and then held by
hir hands towards heauen, and willed the people to
saie, Amen. When the child had ended, she said; We
ye well assured I shall stand your good queene. At
which saleng, hir grace departed forth through Tem-
plebarre toward Westminster, with no lesse show-
ing and crying of the people, than she entered the
citie with a noise of ordinance which the tower shot
off at hir graces enterance first into Towerstreet.
The child's saleng was also in Latine verses writ-
ten in a table verie faire which was hanged by there:

The last
words of the
queene to the
citie by waile
of promise.

Carmen valedic-
torium a puero
recitatum.

O regina potens, quum primam urbem ingredereris,
Dona tibi lingua fida, corda dedit.
Discedenti etiam tibi nunc duo munera mittit,
Omnia plena fides, vota, quod plena precum.
Quippe tuis spes est in te, quod prouida virtus
Rexerit, errore nec locum ullum erit.
Quippe tuis spes est, quod in verum omni reduces
Solatura bonas, dum mala tollis, opes.
Hac spe freti orant, longum ut regina gubernes,
Et regni excindas crimina cuncta tui.
Hac spe freti orant, diuina ut gratia fortem
Et vera fides te velit esse basin.
Iam regina vale, sicut nos spes tenet una,
Quod vero inducto perditus error erit:
Sic quod speramus quod eris regina benigna
Nobis per regni tempora long a tui.

Thus the queenes highnesse passed through the ci-
tie, which without anie forreigne person, of it selfe
beautified it selfe, and receiued hir grace at all places
as hath bene before mentioned, with most tender o-
bedience and love, due to so gracious a queene and
soueraigne a ladie. And hir grace likewise of hir side
in all hir graces passage, shewed hir selfe generallie
an image of a worthy ladie and gouernour. But pri-
uatie these especiall points were noted in hir grace,
as signes of a most princelike courage, whereby hir
louing subiects maie ground a sure hope for the rest
of hir gracions doings hereafter.

About the nether end of Cornhill toward Cheape,
one of the knighis about hir grace had espied an an-
cient citizen, which wept, and turned his head backe,
and therewith said this gentleman; Wonder is an al-
derman (so) so hee reuerend him) which weepeth, and

Certain notes
of the queenes
maiesties
great meeknesse

turneth his face backward; how maie it be inter-
preted that he so doth, for sorrow, or for gladnesse:
The queens maiestie heard him, and said, I warrant
you it is for gladnesse. A gracious interpretation of
a noble courage, which would turne the doubtfull to
the best. And yet it was well knowne, that as hir
grace did confirme the same, the parties cheare was
moued for verie pure gladnesse for the sight of hir
maiesties person, at the beholding whereof he took
such comfort, that with teares he expressed the same.
In Cheape side hir grace smiled, and being thereof
demanded the cause, answered, for that she heard one
saie, Remember old king Henrie the eight. A natu-
rall child, which at the verie remembrance of hir fa-
thers name, took so great a top, that all men maie
well thinke, that as she reioiced at his name whome
his realme doth hold of so worthy memorie: so in
hir doings she will resemble the same.

When the cities charge without parcialitie, and
onlie the citie was mentioned vnto hir grace, she
said it should not be forgotten. Which saleng might
moue all naturall Englishmen hartlie to shew due
obedience and intierneesse to their so good a queene,
which will in no point forget anie parcell of dutie lo-
uingly shewed vnto hir. The answer which hir grace
made vnto maister recorder of London, as the hear-
ers know it to be true, with melting hearts heard
the same: so maie the reader thereof conceiue what
kind of stomach and courage pronounced the same.

What more famous thing do we read in ancient
histories of old time, than that mightie princes haue
gentlie receiued presents offered them by base and
low personages. If that be to be wondered at (as it
is passinglie) let me see ante witer that in anie prin-
ces life is able to recount so manie presidents of this
vertue, as hir grace shewed in that one passage tho-
rough the citie.

How manie nosegales did hir grace receiue at
poore womens hands: How oftentimes said the hir
chariot, when she saw anie simple bodie offer to
speake to hir grace: A branch of rosemarie giuen hir
grace with a supplication by a poore woman about
Fleetbridge, was scene in hir chariot till hir grace
came to Westminster, not without the marvellous
wondering of such as knew the presenter, and no-
ted the queens most gracious receiuing and heaping
the same. What hope the poore and meekle maie take
for at hir graces hand, she as in all hir iourne conti-
nuallie, so in hir hearkening to the poore children of
Christ's hospitall, with eyes cast vp into heauen, did
fullie declare: as that neither the wealthier estate
could stand without consideration had to the pover-
tie, neither the pueritie be duly considered, but like
they were remembered, as commended vnto vs by
Gods olde mouth.

As at hir first entrance she as it were declared
hir selfe prepared to passe through a citie that most
intierlie loued hir: so she at hir last departing as it
were bought hir selfe by promise, to continue good
ladie and gouernour vnto that citie, which by outward
declaration did open their loue vnto their so louing
and noble prince. In such wise, as the hir selfe won-
dered thereat. But because princes be set in their
seat by Gods appointing, and therefore they must
first and chiefest tender the glorie of him, from whom
their glorie cometh: it is to be noted in hir grace, that
so much as God hath so wonderfullie placed hir
in the seat of gouernement ouer this realme, she in
all hir doings doth shew hir selfe most mindfull of
his goodnesse: and merite shewed vnto hir. And among
all other, two principall signes thereof were noted
in this passage. First in the tower, where hir grace
before she entered hir chariot, lifted up hir eyes to
heauen, and said as followeth.

The

In religio
a puerell
queene
hath as
the was.

Hir cozon
on at we
minder.

Hir
Dimmo
bright
champion
ofice.

The top
maior
of her
the quee
spocall

3 part

O Lord almightie and everlasting
God, I giue thee most hartie
thanks, that thou hast bene so
mercifull unto me, as to spare me
to behold this ioisfull daie. And I acknow-
ledge that thou hast delt as wonderfullie
and as mercifullie with me, as thou did-
dest with thy true and faithfull seruant
Daniell thy prophet; whome thou deliue-
redst out of the den from the crueltie of the
greddie and raging lions: euen so was I
ouerwhelmed, and onlie by thee deliuered.
To thee therefore onlie be thanks, hono-
r, and praise, for euer: Amen.

The second was the receiuing of the bible at the li-
tle conduit in Cheape. For when hir grace had lear-
ned that the bible in English shoud there be offered:
she thanked the citie therefore, promised the reading
thereof most viliigentlie, and incontinent comman-
ded that it shoud be brought. At the receipt where-
of, how reuerendlie did she with both hir hands take
it, kisse it, and laie it vpon hir brest, to the great
comfort of the lookers on: God will vndonbteble
proueue so worthy a prince, which at his honoꝝ so
reuerendlie taketh hir beginning. For this saying
is true, and written in the booke of truth; He that
first seetheth the kingdome of God, shall haue all o-
ther things cast vnto him. Now therefore all Eng-
lish hearts, and hir naturall people must needs praise
Gods mercie, which hath sent them so worthy a
prince, and praise for hir graces long continuance
amongst vs. On sundaie the five and twentieth
of Januarie, hir maiestie was with great solemniti-
tie crowned at Westminster in the abbete church
there, by doctoꝝ Dglethorpe bishop of Carlisle. She
dined in Westminster hall, which was richlie hong,
and euerie thing ordered in such rofall manner, as to
such a verral and most solemne feast appertained.

In the meane time, whilest hir grace sat at dinner, sir Edward Dimmocke knight, hir champion by office, came riding into the hall in faire compleat armor, mounted vpon a beautifull courser, richly trapped in cloath of gold, entred the hall, and in the midst thereof cast downe his gantlet: with offer to fight with him in hir quarell, that should denie hir to be the righteous and lawfull quene of this realme. The quene taking a cup of gold full of wine, dranke to him thereof, and sent it to him for his fee together with the couer.

Now after this, at the serving vp of the wafers; the lord maior of London went to the cupbord, and filling a cup of gold with ipocrasse, bare it to the queene: and kneeling before hir toke the same, and the receiving it of him, and drinking of it, gaue the cup with the couer vnto the said lord maior for his use, which cup and couer weighed sixtene ounces Troy weight. Inallie, this feast being celebrated with all riuall ceremonies, and high solemnities, due and in like cases accustomed, toke end with great ioy and contentation to all the beholders. On wednesdaye the five and twentieth of Januarie the parliament began, the queenes maiestie riding in hir parliament robes, from hir palace of Whitehall, vnto the abbey church of Westminster, with the lords spiritual and tempozall, attending hir likewise in their parliament robes. Doctor Cox sometime scholemaster to king Edward the first, and now lately returned from the parties of beyond the seas, where

during the daies of queene Marie he had liued as a banished man, preached now before the estates there assembled in the beginning of the said parliament. In this parliament, the first fruits and tenths were restored to the crowne, & also the supreme government over the state ecclesiasticall, which queene Marie had giuen to the pope. Likewise the booke of common prayer and administration of the sacraments in our mother tong was restored.

10 But before this good worke was agreed vpon,
there was much debating about matters touching
religion, and great studie on both parties imployed,
the one to retaine still, the other to impugne the doc-
trine and faction which before in queene Maries time
had bene establisshed. But speciallie here is to be
noted, that though there lacked no industrie on the
papists side, to hold fast that which they most crue-
le from time to time had studied, and by all meanes
practised to come by: yet notwithstanding, such
20 was the providence of God at that time, that for
lacke of the other bishops, whom the Lord had taken
awaie by death a little before, the residue that there
were left could do the lesse: and in verie deed, God
be praised therefore, did nothing at all in effect; al-
though yet notwithstanding there lacked in them
neither will nor labor to do what they could, if their
cruell abilitie there might haue serued. But name-
lie amongst all others, not onlie the indolent
courage of doctor Storie, but also his words in this
30 parlement are worthie to be knowne of posteritie,
who like a stout and furious champion of the popes
side, to declare himselfe how lustie he was, and what
he had and would do in his masters quarrell, cha-
med not openlie in the said parlement house to burst
out into such impudent sort of words, as was won-
der to all good eares to heare, and no lesse worthie of
hissorie.

The summe of which his shamelesse talke was vt-
tered to this effect . First beginning with himselfe ,
40 he declared , that whereas he was noted commonlie
abroad , and much complained of , to haue bene a
great doer , & a setter forth of such religion , orders , &
proceedings , as of his late soueraigne that dead is
quene Marie were set forth in this relme , he denied
nothing the same : professing moreover that he had
done nothing therein , but that both his conscience
did lead him therevnto , and also his commission did
as well then command him , as now also doth dis-
charge him for the same : being no lesse readie now
50 also to do the like , and more , in case he by this quene
were authoris'd likewise , and commanded therevnto .
Wherefore as I see (saith he) nothing to be alham-
med of ; so lesse I see to be sozie for : but rather saith
that he was sozie for this , because he had done no
more than he did , and that in executing those lawes ,
they had not bene more beehem & severe . Where-
in he said , there was no default in him , but in them ,
whome he both oft and earnestlie had exhorted to the
same ; being therefore not a little grieved with them ,
60 for that they labored onlie about the yong and little
sprigs and twigs , while they should haue stroken at
the root , and cleane hane rooted it out : &c . And con-
cerning his persecuting and burning them , he de-
nied not , but that he was once at the burning of an
earetwig (for so he termed it) at Arbridge , where he
sift a fagot at his face as he was singing psalmes ,
and set a wine bush of thorns vnder his feet , a little
to picke him , with manie other woords of like effect
In the which woords he named moreover like Philip
Hobbie , and an other knight of Kent , with such o-
ther of the richer and higher degree , whome his coun-
sell was to plucke at , & to bring them vnder *Coram* ,
wherein (saith he) if they had followed my aduise , they
had they done well and wisely . This oz much like
A b b b b . was

The first
fruits and
tenths restor-
ed to the
crowne.

Abr. Fl. ex
Iohan. Foxi
martyrologio.

Doctor Storrie impudens
and sarpic.

The words
of doctor Stua-
rie in the par-
liament house.

This mar:
tyr burnt at
Arbridge
was maister
Denleie.

was the effect of the shamelesse and tyrannicall excuse of himselfe, more mete to speake with the voice of a beast, than of a man. Although in this parliament some diuersitie there was of iudgement and opinion betwene parties: yet notwithstanding through the mercifull godnesse of the Lord, the true cause of the gospell had the vpper hand, the papists hope was frustrat, and their rage abated: the order and proceedings of king Edwards time concerning religion was reuiued againe, the supremacie of the pope abolished, the articles and bloudie statutes of queene Marie repealed: blasphemie, the furious fiend, bands of cruell persecution, which had consumed so manie poore mens bodies, were now extinct and quenched.]

A motion made in the parliament house to the queene touching marriage, &c.

Whereupon in the time of this parliament, a motion was made by the common house, that the queenes maiestie might be sued vnto, to grant hir graces licence to the speaker, knights, citizens & burgesses, to haue access vnto hir graces presence: to declare vnto hir matter of great importance, concerning the state of this hir graces realme. The which petition being moued to hir grace, the most honozable agreed and consented thereto, and assigned a daie of hearing. When the daie came, the speaker & common house resorted vnto hir graces palace at Westminster called the White hall. And in the great gallerie there, hir grace most honozable shewed hir selfe ready to heare their motion and petition. And when the speaker had solemnlie and eloquentlie set forth the message (the principall matter wherof most spectallie was to moue hir grace to marriage) whereby (to all our comforts) we might inioine (as Gods pleasure should be) the roiall issue of hir bodie to reigne ouer vs, &c. The queenes maiestie after a little pause made this answer following, as nere as I could beare the same auaile (saith Grafton.)

The queenes answer to the former motion of the parliament house.

Rich. Grafton.



As I haue god cause, so doe I giue to you my hartie thanks for the good zeale and care that you seeme to haue as well toward me, as to the whole state of your countrie. Your petition I gather to be grounded on three causes, and mine answer to the same shall consist in two parts. And for the first I saie vnto you, that from my years of vnderstanding, knowing my selfe a seruitor of almightie God, I chose this kind of life, in which I doe yet liue, as a life most acceptable vnto him, wherein I thought I could best serue him, and with most quietnesse doe my duetie vnto him. From which my choise, if either ambition of high estate offered vnto me by marriages (whereof I haue records in this presence) the displeasure of the prince, the eschewing the danger of mine enemies, or the avoiding the perill of death (whose messenger the princes indignation was no little time continually present before mine eyes, by whose meanes if I knew or doe sussepect, I will not now vnto them, or if the whole cause were my sister hir selfe, I will not now charge the dead) could haue drawn or dissuaded me, I had not now remained in this virgins estate wherein you see me. But so constant haue I alwaies continued in this my determination (that although my words and youth maie seeme to some hardlie to agree together) yet it is true, that to this daie I stand free from anie other meaning, that either I haue had in times past, or haue at this present. In which state and trade of liuing therewith I am so thoroughly acquainted, God hath so hitherto

The queenes maiestie esteemeth no life so glorious as to leaue God.

The queenes maiestie hath no mind to marrie.

preserued me, and hath so watchfull an eye vpon me, and so hath guided me and led me by the hand, as my full trust is, he will not suffer me to go alone. The manner of your petition I doe like, and take in god part: for it is simple, and containeth no limitation of place or person. If it had bene otherwise, I must haue misliked it verie much, and thought in you a verie great presumption, being vnfit and altogether vnmeet to require them that may command, or those appoint whose parts are to obeye, or such to bind and limit whose duties are to obeye, or to take vpon you to draw my loue to your likings, or to frame my will to your fancies. A guerdon constrained, and a gift freeleie giuen can neuer agree. Nevertheless, if anie of you be in suspect, that whensoever it maie please God to incline my hart to that kind of life, my meaning is to doe or determine anie thing therewith the realme maie haue iust cause to be discontented; put that out of your heads. For I assure you (what credence my assurance maie haue with you I can not tell, but what credit it shall deserue to haue, the sequelle shall declare) I will neuer in that matter conclude anie thing that shall be prejudiciall vnto the realme. For the weale and god safetie whereof, as a god mother of my countrie, I will neuer shun to spend my life. And whensoever my choise maie light vpon, he shall be as careful for the preservation of the realme as you, I will not saie as my selfe: for I cannot so certainlie promise of another, as I doe surelie know of my selfe, but as anie other can be. And albeit it doth please almightie God to continue me still in this mind, to liue out of the state of marriage: it is not to be feared, but he will so worke in my hart, and in your wisdoms, that as god prouision may be made in convenient time, whereby the realme shall not remaine destitute of an heire that may be a fit gouernor, and peradventure more beneficiall to the realme than such of spring as may come of me. For though I be neuer so careful for your well doings, and mind euer so to be: yet may mine issue grow out of kind and become vngenerous. And for me it shall be sufficient, that a marble stone declare that a queene, hauing reigned such a time, liued and died a virgine. To make an end, I take your comming to me in god part, and giue vnto you effrons my hartie thanks, more yet for your zeale, god will, and good meaning, than for your message and petition.

And for the second part of my answer, I saie vnto you, that for feare of persecution in queene Maries daies were fled the realme, and liued in voluntarie exile, now that all persecution ceased by the gracious clemencie of this noble princeesse queene Elisabeth, they returned with all convenient speed home into their native countrie, giuing to almightie God most humble thanks for that his mercifull deliuerance, in sending them a gouernor, that not onelie permitted libertie of conscience, but also was ready to aduance religion, and command free exercise of common prayer, preaching, and administration of the sacraments, according to the right institution of the primitive churches. Fridaie the seauenth of Februarie, one of maister Hummings seruants (that was also one of the takers of fresh fish for the prouision of the queenes house) was set on the pillorie in Cheapside in the fish market ouer against the kings head, hauing a baton like of smelts hanging about his necke, with a paper on his forehead written: For buying smelts for twelue pence the hundred, and selling them againe for ten pence the quarter. He stood so likewise on the eighteenth and the twentieth daie of the same moneth, euery one of those three daies from nine of the clocke till twelue. The last daie he should haue had one of his eares slit, if

I most excellent answer of a most excellent prince.

The queenes promise to her father God.

The queenes promise to her father God.

The queenes promise to her father God.

The returne of the prisoners from exile.

The best leaue of each side to be chosen for this conference.

One set on the pillorie, and another hanging by his owne mouth.

The persons chosen for the conference.

if by great fate made to the countcell by the lord maior of London, he had not bene pardoned and released out of prison. This penance was assigned to him by the quenes owne appointment, when to his grace his trespass was revealed. Whereby she gaue a taile to the people of a zealous mind to haue iustice duly ministered, and faults accordingly punished, namely of those which vnder pretence of his graces authoritie should go about to wrong and oppresse his louing subiects.

This yere in the Easter holidais on the mondaye preached at the Spittle doctor Will, on the tuesdaye doctor Cor, & on the wednesdaye doctor Horne: the first was his maiesties chapleine, the other two had remained at Geneva, and in other places beyond the seas all quene Maries time. On tuesdaye maister Samson made the rehearsall sermon: but when the lord maior and aldermen came to their places in Paules churchyard, the pulpit doore was locked, & the keye could not be heard of. Whereupon the lord maior felt for a smith to open the locke, which was done; and when the preacher should enter the place, it was found verie filthie and uncleane. Moreover, the verger that had the custodie of the keye, which opened the doore of the place where the prelat and other vsed to stand at the sermon time, would not open the doore; but the gentlemen with a forcible broke it open; and so came in to heare the sermon. This disorder chanced by reason that since Christmase last past there was not a sermon preached at Paules crosse, by meanes of an inhibition sent from the countcell vnto the bishop of London, that he should admit no preacher, because of the controuersie betwixt the bishops and other of the clergie that were now returned into the realme, from the parties of beyond the seas.

The last of March the parlement yet continuing, was a conference begun at Westminster concerning certaine articles of religion betwixt the bishops and other of the clergie on the one part, and certaine learned preachers of whome some had bene in dignitie in the church of England before that time on the other part. The declaration of the proceeding therein, and the cause of the breaking vp of the same conference by default and contempt of certaine bishops, parties of the said conference was published in a little treatise, and imprinted by Richard Jug and John Calwood printers to the quenes maiestie, as here followeth. The quenes most excellent maiestie, having heard of diuersitie of opinions in certaine matters of religion amongst sundrie of his louing subiects, and being verie desirous to haue the same reduced to some goodlie & christian concord, thought it best by the aduise of the lords, and other of his priue counsell, as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtfull, as also for the knowledge of the verie truth in certaine matter of difference, to haue a convenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, & to confer together their opinions and reasons, and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement.

And hereupon by his maiesties commandement certaine of his priue counsell declared this purpose to the archbishop of Yorke (being also one of the same priue counsell) & required him that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to make choise of eight, nine, or ten of them: and that there should be the like number named of the other part: and further also declared to him (as then was supposed) what the matters should be. And as for the time, it was thought meet to be as soon as possible might be agreed vpon. And then after certaine daies past, it was signified by the said archbishop, that there was appointed by each of the bishops, to whome he had imparted this matter, eight persons, that is

to saie, foure bishops, and foure doctors, who were content at the quenes maiesties commandement to shew their opinions; and (as he termed it) render account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned; and that speciallie in writing, although he said they thought the same to be determined, as there was no cause to dispute vpon them.

It was hereupon fullie resolved by the quenes maiestie, with the aduise aforesaid, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts; for auoiding of much altercation in words; and that the said bishops should, because they were in authoritie and degree superiours, first declare their minds and opinions in the matter, with their reasons in writing: and the other number being also eight men of good degree in scholes, and some hauing bene in dignitie in the church of England, if they had anie thing to saie to the contrarie, should the same daie declare their opinions in like manner. And so each of them should deliuer their writings to the other, to be considered what were to be improved therein, and the same to declare againe in writing at some other convenient daie, and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters. All this was fullie agreed vpon with the archbishop of Yorke, and also signified to both parties. And immediatlie hereupon, diuerse of the nobilitie and states of the realme, vnderstanding that such a meeting and conference should be, and that in certaine matters, whereupon (the court of parlement consequentlie following) some lawes might be grounded: they made earnest meanes to his maiestie, that the parties of this conference might put and read their assertions in the English tongue, and that in the presence of them of the nobilitie, and others of the parlement house, for the better satisfaction and inabling of their owne iudgements, to treat and conclude of such lawes as might depend hereupon.

This also being thought verie reasonable, was signified to both parties, and so fullie agreed vpon, and the daie appointed for the first meeting to be the first daie in the forenoone, being the last of March at Westminster church, where both for good order, and for honour of the conference, by the quenes maiesties commandement, the lords and others of the priue counsell were present, and a great part of the nobilitie also. And notwithstanding the former order appointed, and consented vnto by both parts, yet the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues, alleging that they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so onelie recited out of the booke, said their booke was not readie then written: but they were prouided to argue and dispute, and therefore would for that time repeat in speech that which they had to saie vnto the first proposition. This variation from the order, and speciallie from that which themselves had by the said archbishop in writing before required, adding thereto the reason of the apostle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing; but to subuersion of the hearer, seemed vnto the quenes maiesties counsell somewhat strange: & yet was it permitted without anie great reprehension, because they excused themselves with mistaking the order, and agreed that they would not faile but put it in writing; and according to the former order, deliuer it to the other part. And so the said bishop of Winchester and his colleagues appointed doctor Cole deane of Paules, to be the utterer of their minds, who partly by speech onelie, and partly by reading of authorities written, and at certaine times being informed of his colleagues what to saie, made a declaration of their meanings, & their reasons to their first proposition. Which being ended, they were asked by the priue counsell, if anie of

Order taken for quiet conference, and regard had of the bishops according to their dignitie.

The daie for the first meeting of this conference appointed.

The bishop of Winchester was of proceeding mistaken but yet in fine followed notwithstanding the contrarie prouided.

The manner of their first entrance into this conference.

most excellent
not answer of
most excellent
not princelie

members at
council.

The pulpit
was locked
and the keye
could not be
heard of.

The quenes
counsell home
euer God
relied vpon
it.

The quenes
lords
young an
hall the
all of their
ration.

Conference
appointed
concerning
religion.

The reforme
the protest
ants from
it.

The bishop
of Winchester
was of proceeding
mistaken but yet
in fine followed
notwithstanding
the contrarie
prouided.

he set on
e pulpit;
to which place
the same by his
one mouth
poured in.

The persons
of the
counsell
were asked
if anie of

And so they

them had ante more to be said: and they said, No. So as then the other part was licenced to shew their minds, which they did according to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded in a booke written, which after a praier & invocation made most humble to almighty God, for the indowing of them with his holie spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the catholike church, builded vpon the scriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, was distincally read by one Robert Horne bachelior in diuinitie, late deane of Duresme.

Afterwards
bishop of win-
chester.

Another or-
der taken for
the next mor-
ning to conter.

And the same being ended with some likelihood, as it seemed that the same was much allowable to the audience: certeine of the bishops began to saie contrarie to their former answer, that they had now much more to saie to this matter. Wherein although they might haue bene well reprehended for such manner of cauillation, yet for auoiding of any mistaking of orders in this colloquie or conference, and for that they should utter all that which they had to saie: it was both ordered, and thus openly agreed vpon of both parts in the full audience, that vpon the morrowe following, the bishops should bring their minds and reasons in writing to the second assertion, and the last also if they could, and first read the same, and that done, the other part should bring likewise theirs to the same. And being read, ech of them should deliuer to other the same writings. And in the meane time the bishops should put in writing, not onelie all that which doctor Cole had that daie uttered: but all such other matters as they ante otherwise could thinke of for the same: and as sone as they might possible, to send the same booke touching that first assertion to the other part, and they should receiue of them that writing which master Horne had there read that daie, and vpon mondaie it should be agreed what daie they should exhibit their answers touching the first proposition.

These assen-
bles on the
mondaie ac-
cording to
appointment.

Thus both parts assented thereto, and the assemble quietly dismissed. And therefore vpon mondaie, the like assemble began againe at the place & houre appointed: and there (vpon that sinister or disorderd meaning is not yet fullie knowne, though in some part it be vnderstanded) the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues, and especiallie Lincolne, refused to exhibit or read, according to the former notorious order on fridaie, that which they had prepared for the second assertion. And therewithon by the lord keeper of the great seale, they being first gentlie and fauourable required to keepe the order appointed; and that taking no place, being secondlie as it behoued, pressed with more earnest request: they neither regarding the authoritie of that place, nor their owne reputation, nor the credit of the cause, utterly refused that to do. And finally being againe particularlie enerte of them apart, distincally by name, required to vnderstand their opinions therein: they all sauing one (which was the abbat of Westminster, having some more consideration of order and his dutie of obedience than the other) utterly and flatly denied to haue their booke read, some of them more earnestlie than others, and some other more vndiscreetlie and vnuerentlie than others.

The stir-
neste of the
aduerse part
an occasion to
dissolue this
assemble.

Wherevpon giuing such example of disorder, stubbornesse and selfewill, as hath not bene scene and suffered in such an honourable assemble, being of the two estates of this realme, the nobilitie and the commons, besides the presence of the quenes maiesties most honourable priuie counsell, the same assemble was dismissed, and the goodlie and most christian purpose of the quens maiestie made frustrate. And afterwards for the contempt so notoriously made, the bishops of Winchester and Lincolne, ha-

uing most obstinatelie both disobeyed common authoritie, and varied manifestlie from their owne order, and speciallie Lincolne (who shewed more solie than the other) were condignelie committed to the tower of London, and the rest (sauing the abbat of Westminster) stood bound to make daile their personall apperance before the counsell, and not to depart the cite of London and Westminster, until further order were taken with them for their disobedience and contempt.

The three propositions wherevpon
conference was determined to haue
beeue at Westminster.

1 **I**t is against the word of God, and the custome of the ancient church, to vse a tonge unknowne to the people, in common praier, and the administration of the sacraments.

2 **E**uerie church hath authoritie to appoint, take awaie, and change ceremonies and ecclesiasticall rites: so the same be to edification.

3 **I**t cannot be proued by the word of God, that there is in the masse offered by a sacrifice propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead.

30 The names of such as had conference in the propositions aforesaid.

The B. of Winchester.	D. Scorie B. of Chiche.
The bishop of Lichfield.	Doctor Cor.
The bishop of Chester.	Maister Whitehead.
The bishop of Caerleill.	Maister Gribdall.
The bishop of Lincolne.	Maister Horne.
Doctor Cole.	Maister doctor Sands.
Doctor Harpessfield.	Maister Gess.
Doctor Langball.	Maister Elmer.
Doctor Chedete.	Maister Jetwell.

The bishops and doctors sat on the one side of the quere at a table for them prepared, & the other leaued men sat at another table on the other side of the same quere. And at the vpper end thereof at another table sat the quenes maiesties counsell, desirous to haue some some good conclusion of the said conference, although (as ye may perceiue by that which is aboue recited) it came to small effect. In this meane time, a treatie of peace, which had bene in hand the last yeare, first at Lille, and after at the abbeie of Cercampe, a thre leagues from Doulers, betwixt the two kings of Spaine and France, was now renewed againe, and the deputies were appointed to meet at *Chateau Cambresi*, a six leagues distant from Cambraie. For the king of Spaine, the duke of Alua, the prince of Orange, the bishop of Arras, Rigomes de Silua earle of Mellito, monsieur Willgus Zwolchem, knight and president of the priuie counsell in the low countries, who neuertheless came not, because he was letted by sicknesse. For the French king there came the cardinall of Lozaine, the constable, the marshall of saint Andreu, the bishop of Orleans, and Claude de Aube spine, the said kings secretarie. For the quene of England, the bishop of Elie, the lord William Howard baron of Canningham lord chamberleine to the said quene, doctor Nicholas Cotton deane of Cantorburie and Porke.

For the duke of Sauoie, there were the earle of Stropiana, & the president of Asti. And as a meane or mediatrix betwene the parties, there was Chyrienna dutchesse of Lozaine, with hir sonne the yong duke, which dutchesse, as well here, as before at Cercampe,

Ludouico
cardinaline.
The articles
of the peace
betwixt the
quenes ma-
iestie and the
French king.

Sir John
Halon.

A general
peace betwixt
the kings of
France and
Spaine.

The peace
proclaimed.

Articles and
conclufions
subscribed for
a time.

The lords
wentworth
arraiged and
argued.

A treatie
peace betwixt
the kings of
Spaine and
France.

The deputies
of commis-
sioners ap-
pointed for
the princes.

A subtile
granted of
monesblag
and vnuer-
sities.

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camp, trauelled most earnestlie to doo good betwixt the parties, and to bring them to a finall accord, whose enduor therein was to the great good liking & contentation of all the said parties. After that this treatie had continued a long time, and now rest: d nothing to staie them frō concluding a generall peace, but onelie the article touching Calis, at length that matter was also accorded by a spectall treatie betwixt the quēnes maiestie of England, & the french king, Guido Caualcanti a gentleman of Florence being the meane to bring the same to effect. The substance of which articles was, that Calis should rest in the frenchmens hands, for the terme of eight yēeres, and at the end of that terme, they couenanted to render the same: or else for default, to forfeit vnto the quēnes highnesse the summe of five hundred thousand crownes; and for suretie hereof, to deliuer foure hostages, such as hir maiestie should thinke sufficient. And in case the towne were not deliuered at the end of the said eight yēeres, though the monie were paid according to the couenants: yet notwithstanding the right and title to the said towne and countrie adjoining, should alwaies remaine and be reserved vnto the crowne and realme of England. It was farther concluded also, that a peace should be signed betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, such fortresses to be rased as had been built and made by the Scots and french on the borders towards England, as Haimouth and others.

Sir John Hason knight, secretaire for the french king, was sent ouer in post with instructions vnto the English commissioners, after whose comming, within two or thre daies, a generall peace was concluded betwixt all the parties, the articles whereof not touching England, we haue of purpose omitted. But now after the conclusion of this peace, the said sir John Hason returned in post with the same: and so there vpon, the seuenth of Aprill, the said peace was proclaimed: to wit, betwixt the quēnes maiestie on the one part, and the french king on the other, their realmes, dominions, and subiects; and likewise betwixt hir said maiestie and the king Dolphin and quēne of Scots his wife, their realmes, dominions, and subiects. This proclamation was made by Carter Poyreie king at armes, accompanied with thre other heralds, & five trumpettors: the lord maior of London & the aldermen in their scarlet gowns being also present, & riding in companie of the said heralds.

The same time also was another proclamation made vnder the quēnes hand in writing, inhibiting, that from thenceforth no plaies nor interludes should be exercised, till Allhallowes tide next ensuing. Upon saturdaye the two and twentieth of Aprill, the lord Wentworth, late deputie of Calis, was arrested at Westminster, vpon an indictment of treason found against him, in the late quene Maries daies, for the losse of Calis: but he was acquitted by his peers, the lord marquisse of Northampton sitting that daie as cheefe steward of England, vnder the cloth of estate. The eight of Maie, the parlement brake vp: in which parlement, beside other things before recited, concluded, and passed in the same, a subsidy was granted to the quēnes highnesse, of two shillings eight pence the pound of moueable goods, and foure shillings of lands, to be paid at two seuerall payments, of euerie person spirituall and temporal, towards the better furnishing of hir maiestie with monie, for the necessarie charges which she was presentlie occasioned to susteine, vnder the treasure of the realme greatly consumed, and the reuenues of the crowne sore diminished, and the same crowne much indebted, by taking vp of notable summes of monie by waie of loan upon interest, as well in the daies of hir brother k. Edward, as hir sister quēne

Marie. The fourteenth of Maie being Whitsondaie, the seruice in churches began according to the booke of comon praier, set forth and established in this last parlement, corresponding to that which was used in the daies of hir brother king Edward. Upon saturdaye the second of Iulie, the citizens of London set forth a muster before the quēnes maiestie at Greenwich in the parke there, of the number of 1400 men, whereof 800 were pikers, armed in fine cosselets, foure hundred shot in shirts of male, with morians, & two hundred halbarders armed in Almaine riuets: these were furnished forth by the crafts and companies of the citie. To euerie hundred two wiffiers were assigned, richlie appointed and appareled for the purpose. There were also twelue wardens of the best companies mounted on horsebacke in coats of blake velvet, to conduct them, with drums and fifes, and six ensignes, all in lerkins of white sattin of Bridges, cut and lined with blake sarsenet, and caps, hosen, and scarfs according. The sergent at armes, capitaine Constable, and capitaine Sanders, brought them in order before the quēnes presence, placing them in battell arraie, enen as they should haue fought; so as the shew was verie faire, the emperours and the french kings ambassadors being present.

In this moneth also, the archbishop of Poike, the bishops of Elie, London, and others, to the number of thirtene or fouretene, being called before the quēnes counsell, and refusing to receiue the oath touching hir maiesties supremacie, and other articles, were deposed from their bishopricks: in whose roomes and places, first for cardinall Pole, succeeded doctor Matthew Parker, archbishop of Cantuarie. In the place of Beth, succeeded doctor Pangs. In stead of Boner, Edmund Grindall was bishop of London. For Hopton, Thurlbie, Tunstall, Pates, Christoferson, Peto, Coats, Morgan, Feacie, White, Dglethorpe, &c. were placed doctor John Parkhurst in Norwich, D. Cor in Elie, Jewell in Salisbury, Pilkenton in Duresme, doctor Sands in Worcester, master Wolnam in Westchester, Bentam in Couentrie and Lichfield, David in Sandwich, Allie in Excester, Hoine in Winchester, Scobie in Hereford, Bess in Carleill, Bullingham in Lincolne, Scamler in Peterburie, Bartlet in Bath, Cest in Rochester, Barlow in Chichester, &c. In like maner, were diuerse deans, archdeacons, parsons, & vicars, remoued from their benefices, and some of them committed to prison in the Tower, Fleet, Marshalsea, and Kings bench.

Moreover, about the same time were commissioners appointed to visit in euerie diocese within the realme, for the establishment of religion, according to the order appointed by act and statute, passed and confirmed in the last parlement. For London were appointed sir Richard Sacknill knight, Robert Horne doctor of diuinitie, doctor Huic a ciuillian, and master Saunge; who calling before them diuerse persons of euerie parish, sware them to inquire and make presentment accordinglie, vpon certeine instructions draue and deuised, for the better accomplishment and execution of that which they had in charge. Furthermore, about the same time, by vertue of an act established in parlement, all such religious houses as were againe erected and set vp, were now suppressed, as the abbeies of Westminster, the houses of the nuns and brethren of the Sion and Shene, the blacke friers of Greenwich, &c. And on the twelfe of August being saturdaye, the high altar in Pauls church, with the rood & the images of Marie and John, standing in the rood loff, were taken downe, & the prebendaries and petie canons commanded to wear no more their graie amises, but to vse onelie a surplice in seruice time. This was done by command

John Stow.
A muster at
Greenwich
by the citi-
zens of Lon-
don in pre-
sence of the
quēne.

Bishops de-
posed and o-
thers succe-
ding.
John Fox.

Commis-
sioners sent
abrode for
estab-
lishing of re-
ligion.

Religious
houses sup-
pressed.
Images ta-
ken downe
and burned in
the streets.

Calis
the articles
of the peace
betweene the
quēne and the
french king.

Sir John
Hason.
A generall
peace betwixt
the kings of
France and
Spainne.

The peace
proclaimed.

A treatie for
peace betwixt
the kings of
Spainne and
France.

Calis and
the articles
of the peace
betweene the
quēne and
the french king.

The deputie
commissioners
appointed
for the
princes.

Calis
the articles
of the peace
betweene the
quēne and
the french king.

Diuers po-
pish reliques
consumed
to ashes.

Ex L. S. 113.
Churches in
London stru-
ken & broken
by tempest.

An obsequie
for the French
king, Henrie
the second, in
whose time
Calis was
lost.

The manner
of the obsequie

The chiefe
mourners at
this obsequie.

Six bishops
receiue the
communion.

Ex L. S. pa. 114.
Embassadors
from Swe-

dement of doctor Grindall, newlie elect bishop of London, doctor Paie, then also newlie elected deane of Paules, and other the commissioners then appointed. Also on the euen of saint Bartholomew, the day and morrow after, were burned in Paules churchyard, Cheapside, and diuerse other places of the citie of London, all the roods and other images of churches; and in some places, the coopes, vestments, and altar clothes, bookes, banners, sepulchers, and rood lofts, were likewise committed to the fier, and so consumed to ashes.

¶ The first of September about midnight, fell a great tempest at London, in the end whereof, a great lightning, with a terrible clap of thunder strake the spire (being stone) of the keple of Alhallowes church in Bzedstreet, about a ten foot beneath the top, out of the which fell a stone that flew a dog, and ouerthrew a man plaieng with the same dog, and the spire of the keple was so perished, that not long after the same was taken downe with lesse charges to the parish, than the repairing would haue cost. And at the same instant, by the same tempest, one of the southdozes of S. Dionise church in Fenchurchstreet, with the doze of the reuerstie of the same church, were both stricken through and broken.]

¶ Upon Fridaie the eight of September, was kept in Paules church of London a solemne obsequie for Henrie, the second of that name, king of France, who departed this life, about the tenth of Julie last past, of a wound receiued the 29 of June, in running at tilt in a solemne iusts holden at Paris, in honor of the marriage celebrated betwixt his sister the ladie Margaret of France, and Philibert duke of Sanotie. He was stricken on the viser with a lance, as he ran against the counte de Montgomerie: the spits entering by the sight of his headpiece, & percing through his eie into his head, so perished his braine, that there was no meane to saue his life.

The obsequie for him was kept in vertie solemne wise, with a rich hearse, made like an imperiall crowne, fastened with great pillars, and covered with blacke velvet, with a balence fringed with gold and richlie hanged with scutchions, pennons, and banners of the French kings armes, without anie lights. And on the bare was laid a rich pall of cloth of gold, with a coat armor of the armes of France, and a cress with an imperiall crowne standing vpon the bare: doctor Parker archbishop of Canturburie elect, doctor Barlow bishop of Chichester elect, and doctor Scozie bishop of Hereford elect, executing at the dirge of this euening song in English, they sitting in the bishop of Londons seat, in the vpper quere, in surplices, with doctors hoods about their shoulders. The chiefe mourner was the marquesse of Winchester, lord tresuro, assisted with ten other lords mourners, with all the heralds in blacke, and their coat armours vppermost.

On the morrow being saturdaie, & ninth of September, a sermon was preached by doctor Scozie, in place of doctor Grindall bishop of London, who being appointed to preach that sermon, was letted by sicknesse. After the sermon, six of the lords mourners receiued the communion with the bishops, which bishops were in copes and surplices, onelie at the ministracion of the said communion. Which being finished, there was a great dinner kept in the bishop of Londons palace by Paules, where the mourners apparelled them, and so ended the solemnitie of the said erequies. The bishops had blacke gownes given them, and eight blacke coats a peece for their seruants, at the quenes charges.

¶ About the last of September, John duke of Finland, second sonne to Gustabus king of Swethen, was sent by his father to treat a marriage for his el-

dest brother Ericus, with the quenes maiestie of England: he arrived at Harwich in Essex, and was there honorable receiued and intertained by the erle of Oxford, which said erle, and the lord Robert Dudley, with a goodlie band of gentlemen and yemen, conuied him to London, where he was receiued of diuerse knights and gentlemen of the court, on the first of October, and was with his traine of about the number of fiftie persons well horsed, conuied to the bishop of Winchesters place in Southwiche, where he was lodged during his abode here, and removed from thence two daies before Easter home wards, and sped on his message as may appeare by that which followeth, taken out of Iohannes Lewenclaj comment. de bellis Norwicum.

Ericus king of Swethen, sonne of Gustabus late king of the said kingdome, hauing committed to prison his brother John duke of Finland, whom a little before he had imploied into England on an ambassage to the quenes maiestie, whom he sued to for marriage, and had his sute reiected; againe the second time solicited hir maiestie in the same sute notwithstanding, to his great dishonor, and (as it fell out) his iust disgrace. He attempted the same matter with the yongest daughter of Philip Lantgraue of Hanne, at whose hand (hauing the second time bene reiected of hir maiestie here) the matter being knowne there, he also not onelie receiued a deniall, but the ladie was by hir father bestowed vpon Adolfe duke of Han Holst, vncle of Frederike king of Denmarke, then enemye of the said Ericus. Thus farre Iohannes Lewenclaj.]

¶ Cuthbert Tunstall was translated from London to Durham, after the death of cardinal Wolseie, of whome (besides that which Holinshed in this booke reporteth) I will saie a little, he bring so reuerend a prelat; as the managing of the princes affaires by him doth well witness, and this present age can yet well remember. This man (being of a mild condition) was borne at Bachaford in Richmonshire, and (as Leland hath left in writing that he heard) the base sonne of one Tunstall an ancient gentleman: whose ancestors (as I haue read) came into England with the conquerour, attending on him as his barbar, for which cause he beareth in his armes three combes as a note to posteritie of the original of his gentrie. Which bishop although he is supposed to haue bene base borne (as manie noble capteins and other the valiant persons of the two; lo haue bene, whereof sir hundred examples as hath the prouerbe might be produced) yet was he not base in learning, eloquence, grauitie, and honorable calling both in spirituall & tempozall affaires: both in seruice of the prince and in charge of his church. For (besides manie other offices that he exercised) he was maister of the rols: sundrie time ambassadoz to foreine princes, bishop of London, and from thence (by vertue of Clement the seuenth his bulles to B. Henrie the eight in the yeare 1530, the five & twentieth of March) advanced to the see of Durham, and (by the kings letters) elected thereunto the yeare before said. In the which function he behaued himselfe, as the worthinesse of the estate required, and as the doctrine of the church in those daies would permit; of which I meane not to intreat, neither of his fall or rising: but will onlie meddle with mere tempozall accidents, as one that hath not bene accustomed to die his pen in the bloud of mens consciences, nor in the opinions of religion.

Wherefore to omit all such things, I saie of this bishop, that he was a man singularlie learned (as Caius tearmeth him *Literatissimus*) in the Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine tongues; and did not onelie erect sumptuous buildings for the mind and inward man (in furnishing when he was bishop of London a li-

The quenes
maiestie sued
vnto out of
Denmarke
about ma-
riage.

Iohannes
Lewenclaj;
Fr. Thin.
Description
and commo-
dation of bi-
shop Tunstall

The armes
of Tunstall

Tunstall
bare office

Buildings
founded by
Tunstall, &c.

Tunstall de-
pined from
his bishop-
ricke.

Tunstall re-
loped.

Tunstalls
death.

At Par. in a ch.
Cant. ca.
Wal. Warham.

Buildings
founded by
Cusack, &c.The queene
the first
out of
marriage
it ma-
ke.Annes
reclous.
Thin.
scripture
commen-
tion of bi-
p. Cusack.Cusack de-
posed from
his bishop-
ric.Cusack re-
posed.he armes
Cusack.Cusack
chap.Cusack
is office.Cusack in a ch.
Cusack, ca.
Cusack.

barle in Cambridge, with manie notable both writ-
ten and printed booke: compiling also manie other
bookes, aswell of diuinitie as of other sciences, wher-
of at this daie his arithmeticke is of great estimati-
on through Europe) but did also for the fleshy & out-
ward man build from the ground a most beautifull
porch or gatehouse (with a chapell annexed thereon-
to) of false stone in the castell of Durham, withall
adding vnto the said castell certeine gates with iron
bars and portcullises supported with strong walles
of stone on each part for the more strength against
the enimie: not forgetting to make a water-con-
duit for the ease of waſhing (and to serue the other of-
fices in the house) on the left side of the entrance in-
to the said castell. To which these sumptuous dedes
(for they are verie heroically) may be added the gate-
house built at Alnewike, and the tolbooth in the mar-
ket of Durham all of stone, with the rest of the hou-
ses of office next vnto the hinder part of the said
tolbooth, which afterwarde (with other great liberali-
ties) he gaue to the citizens of Durham.

Lastlie (at his owne charge) he new repaired with
stoneworke the third part of Lincolne, which his
predecessour Thomas Langley recovered against
the maner of Newcastle: and which, others his pre-
decessors (as occasion was offered therefore) did
from time to time most stately repaire. In the end
about the latter reigne of Edward the first (being
by his sonne or son-in-law, or by his sonne, or by his
sonne, or by his sonne, or by his sonne, or by his sonne,
sed, for that he somewhat fauoured the Romane reli-
gion, and was not so forward in furthering of the
gospell as that time required) he was for that cause
deposed from his bishopricke, from all other eccle-
siasticall government, and committed to the tower:
where he remained all the time of R. Edward. After-
warde (by the benefit of queene Marie) in the first
yeare of hir reigne, he was reuiewed into his see
of Durham, which he possessed all the time of hir
gouernement: during which he was not so feare
an executor of the Romane canons against the pro-
testants, as the other bishops of England were.

But he not continuing long (such are the incon-
stancies of our estates & vncertainties of our trou-
bles) he was againe (by the noble queene Elisabeth)
deprived of his bishopricke, after disputation and con-
ference had at Westminster: in which he defended
the Romane religion, in the first yeare of the said E-
lisabeth, about the truth of Christs gospell: and was
committed to the tower by Parker bishop of Cantur-
burie, who used him verie honourable, both for the
grauntie, learning and age of the said Cusack. But
he not long remaining vnder the ward of the said bi-
shop, did shortly after the eighteenth of Nouember
in the yeare 1559 depart this life at Lambeth, where
he first receiued his consecration, being a man of
such age, as that he attained to the number of foure-
score & five yeares when he died. He was buried in the
quere of the church of Lambeth, whose funerall ser-
mon was done by Alexander Nowell, then (as now
in the yeare 1586) deane of Beules. Who taking this
theame to intreat vpon, Blessed are they which die
in the Lord, did there deliuer such liberall & singular
commendation of this man for his vertuous life, ler-
ning, grauitie, and good seruice done to manie prin-
ces of England, that more could not be said of anie
man, being spoken trulie. Such force hath vertue,
that we ought to commend it euen in our enimies,
ouer whose dead carcase in the said church of Lam-
beth is laid a false marble, in which is engrauen this
epitaph of his, deuised by doctor Walter Haddon:

*Anglia Cusackum Tunstallumque nescit requirere,
Cuius summa domi laus erat ita foris.
Rhetor, arithmeticus, iuris consultus & equus,
Legatusq; fuit, denique presul erat.*

*Annum fatu, & magnorum plenus honorum,
Vertitur in cineres aureus iste senex.*

This man was (as it should appeare in stories) full
of contumacie and selfe will, vnto that he was and
of nature rebellious. For saith maister Fox in the
reigne of king Edward, being cast into the tower
for his disobedience, where he kept his Christmasse
thre yeares together, more worthe of some other
place without the tower, if it had pleased God other-
wise not to haue meant a further plague to this
realme by that man. Whobest he was indued with
such excellencie of learning, and that of sundrie sutes,
that of the learned he is noted for a mirror of that
age wherein he liued: and albeit a papist, yet not de-
piable of the praise which it pleased God to prouide
for him (being an enimie vnto the truth, perhaps
through feare as manie more) by those rare and ma-
nifold good means wherewith he was adorned. Insa-
much that Leland, a man of a cleare iudgement and
great insight to discern betwene substantiallie
and superficialie learned, comparing this bishop
Tunstall with profound Budens, saith as foloweth:

Quia te nostra canet Tunstalle Britannia laude?

An qua Budens Gallia doctus sum?

Candidus ille studet Græcam celebrare diuinum,

Græcorum celebras tu monumenta patrum.

Ille colit veteres intento pectore leges,

Sunt study leges cura diserta tui.

Ille rudes, assu docuit cognoscere partes,

Tu numeros primus verba Latina loqui.

Gallia causidicum tecum dignare Britannum

Conferri, muen dignum vterq; notu.

In this meane time, through controuersie raised
betwixt the Scotch nobilitie, and the queene Dow-
ger of Scotland, which chanced especiallie about
matters of religion, certeine of the lords there min-
ding a reformation therein, and the queene resisting
them to hir power, in purpose to mainteine the old
popish religion, which some name catholike, diuerse
companies of souldiers and men of war were sent
out of France into Scotland to aid the said queene,
where they were placed in diuerse townes and forts,
to the high displeasure of the more part of the Sco-
tish nobilitie: who loathing to be oppressed with stran-
gers in that sort, were forced to sue vnto the queene
of England for aid to expell the French, who sought
to subuert the ancient state of that realme, and to an-
ner the same into the crowne of France.

Their sute was the better liked of, for that it was
doubted, least the Frenchmen (vnder pretence of
bringing an armie into Scotland to appease the
Scots) might attempt some inuasion here in Eng-
land, considering that by procurement (as was
thought) of the duke of Guise, vncle to the queene of
France and Scotland, a title should seeme to be pre-
tended by his nece, the foresaid queene, as might be
gathered by manifest coniectures of the vsurping of
armes, and so forth. The names of the lords of Scot-
land that made sute for aid against the Frenchmen
at this season, were these: the duke of Chateau-
leault, the earle of Arraine his sonne, the lord
James prior of saint Andrews, the earle of Argile,
the earle of Glenearne, the earle of Rothes, the
earle of Southerland, the earle of Mounteith, the
earle of Huntly, the earle of Cathnes, the earle of
Erroll, the earle Marhall, the earle of Forth, the
earle of Cassilis, the earle of Glenilton, the earle of
Montrose, the lord Keith, the lord Woid, the lord
Dgletre, the lord Erskin, the lord Drummond, the
lord Hume, the lord Wolfe, the lord Wreighton, the
lord Levingston, the lord Somerville, the maister of
Lindseie, the maister of Martwell.

The queenes maiestie, with aduise of hir graces
councell, considering of this weightie businesse, and
withall

John Fox.

Collatio Buden
& Cusackii
Tunstalli.Anno Reg. 2.
Trouble in
Scotland.Frenchmen
sent into
Scotland.The Scots
sue to the
queens mai-
estie of Eng-
land for aid
against the
French.The lords of
Scotland that
were confede-
rat together
against the
French.

The queene's
maistie be-
termineth to
aid the Scots.

Sir William
Winter vice-
admirall.

1560

The lord
Grey generall
of the armie.

Sir James
Croft.

The number
of horsemen
and footmen
in the armie.
The chiefest
in charge of
this armie.

Dunglas.

A skermish at
Dunbar.

Two horsemen
and one footman
slaine.

Linton bygs.

Salt Preston.

withall foreseeing the malicious purpose of his ad-
versaries, and how the queene of Scots was in
France married and governed, so as she was not a-
ble to use the libertie of his crowne, did thinke it best
to prevent such mischiefs as might ensue, if timely
remedie were not used, to displace such dangerous
neighbours the Frenchmen, that began to nestle
themselves thus strongly so nere at hand for no
good purpose, as easilie might be ghesied. Whereupon
was a power raised and sent forth both by sea & land,
the duke of Rosffolke being appointed generall, and
sent into the north, for the direction thereof. And first
maister William Winter, appointed viceadmirall
of the queene's navie northwards, made saile toward
Scotland, and waiting alongst the coast in Janua-
rie, came into the Forth, & so to the road of Leith, and
there cast anchor, as well to impeach the landing of
such Frenchmen, as might hapilie be sent forth of
France, to the aid of the French there, against the
Scottish lords, named of the congregation; as also to
keepe them that laie in Fife from bittels: and
likewise to see that none of the Frenchmen by water
should passe to or from Leith: but to watch them so,
as they should not enjoy any commoditie that might
come to either place by the same water.

Whereover, after that the armie by land was come
together into the north parts, and had sojourned at
Berwick and thereabouts, the lord Greie of Wilton
being appointed generall of the said armie, departed
with the same out of the bounds of Berwick, and
marched to Coldingham, where they incamped that
night. Saturdaie the thirtieth of March, sir James
Croft, and sir George Howard departed Berwick
to the armie, with all the lances and light horsemen,
containing the number of twelve hundred and fiftie
horses. The number of the footmen amounted to a-
bout six thousand in all. The chiefest governors of
which armie were these: the lord Greie of Wilton
lieutenant generall, sir James Croft assistant with
him in that charge, the lord Scrope lord marshall, sir
George Howard generall of the men at armes and
dennances, maister Barnabie Fitz Patrike his
lieutenant, sir Henrie Persie generall of the light
horsemen, Thomas Huggens equier prouost mar-
shall, Thomas Gower master of the ordnance, ma-
ster William Belham capitaine of the pioneers, Ed-
ward Kandoll equier, sergeant Major, maister Tho-
mas Burrough, maister Cutbert Vaughan, maister
Williams, and maister Cornwell corporals.

This saturday at night the armie incamping at
Dunglas, the horsemen lodged in sundrie villages
nere about. Sir James Croft laie that night at Co-
berpseth, in the lard of Whitlakes house. Sundaie the
last of March, the armie remoued from Dunglas,
and marching by Dunbar, there issued out of the
towne certeine horsemen and footmen, offering a
skirmish: towards whome certeine of the English
lances and pikollers, with certeine harquebutters,
made forwards: but they kept themselves within
their strength. Yet some of the English horsemen
approched them so nere, that in skirmish two of
the enemies horsemen, and one footman were slaine. The
Englishmen received little damage, saving that
Peter Spince, one of their horsemen was hurt there.
This done, the armie marched on to Linton bygs,
where the footmen incamped that night. The horse-
men laie at Haddington: and in diuerse other small
townes: and sir James Croft laie at Clarking-
ton, west of Haddington, at the lard of Cockburns
house.

Upon daie the first of Aprill, the campe remoued
from Linton bygs unto salt Preston, and there in-
camped. This evening sir James Croft, with diuers
of the capitaines in his companie, met with the earle

of Arraine, the lord James prior of saint Andrews,
the master of Hartwell, sir William Kirkcaldie lard
of Grange, and diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie
with three hundred horse in their traine. After they
were met and had saluted each other, they rode alto-
gether unto salt Preston, where at the end of the
towne, my lord Greie lord lieutenant met them, and
embraced them, & so they lighted from their horses,
and entered into communication for the space of an
houre, and after toke leaue each of other, and so de-
parted for that night.

Tuesday the second of Aprill, my lord Greie,
sir James Croft, my lord Scrope, sir George Ho-
ward, with diuerse of the capitaines, rode to Hulse-
burgh church, and there taried the coming of the
duke of Chateau le rault, for the space of full two
houres: at length he came accompanied with his
sonne, the earle of Arraine, the earles of Argyle,
Glencarne, Southerland, Monteth, and Rothus, the
lord James prior of saint Andrews, the lord Keith,
uen alias Rinen, the lord Ogletre, the lord Both, the
master of Hartwell, the lard of Dymeston, the master
of Lindseie, the bishop of Galloway, the abbat of
saint Colmes inch, the abbat of Culros, the lard of
Pettircol, the lard of Cunningham head, the lard
of Grange, and diuerse others. They were two hun-
dred horse in traine.

Upon the dukes approach, they all lighted on foot,
as well on the one part as the other: and after cour-
teous embracings, and gentle salutations, they en-
tered into the house of one William Atkinson, nere
to Andyshe church, and sat there in counsell the
space of two houres, & then departed for that night.
The armie laie still in campe at salt Preston, from
mondaie, till saturday, Palmesunday euen. On
wednesday, the third of Aprill, my lord Greie,
sir James Croft, and my lord Scrope, sir George
Howard, sir Henrie Persie, and diuerse other cap-
itaines and gentlemen, rode unto Pinkie, a house
of the abbat of Dunferms, distant a mile and a halfe
from the campe, where the earle of Arraine, and the
lord James Steward, with diuerse other noble men
of Scotland meeting them, did conduct them into
the said house, where they had long conference to-
gether, which ended, they went to dinner, and after din-
ner, they returned with my lord lieutenant to salt
Preston, and viewed the English campe. Thurs-
daie the fourth of Aprill, five pong gentlemen, ap-
pointed to passe into England for pledges, & bound
thither by sea, through contrarie winds were forced
to come on land at salt Pannes. Their names were
as follow.

The lord Claud Hamilton fourth sonne unto the
duke of Chateau le rault, Robert Douglas halfe
brother to the lord James Steward, Argebauld
Campbell lord of Loughbennell, George Cream
second sonne to the earle of Monteth. James Co-
ningham sonne to the earle of Glencarne: they
were brought by to salt Preston, and remained
there that night. Saturdaie the first of Aprill, being
Palmesunday euen, the campe raised from salt
Preston, and marched forwards, halfe a mile from
Aberrieke, beneath a crag, called Arthurs seat, the
duke of Chateau le rault, the earle of Arraine, the
earle of Argyle, the lord James prior of saint An-
drews, and the rest of the noble men of Scotland,
accompanied with two hundred horsemen, as they
abouts, and five hundred footmen, waited for the com-
ing of the English armie. Whereupon the lord
Greie, sir James Croft, the lord Scrope, sir George
Howard, and sir Henrie Persie, repaired to them,
and had conference there with the duke, and other of
the Scottish lords that were in his companie. In the
meane while the armie laied: but yet at length, the
horsemen,

The earle of
Arraine and
James prior of
saint Andrews
other of the
Scottish
nobilitie.

The duke of
Chateau le
rault and his
companie.

The English
and Scottish
gentlemen
met, embraced,
and consule.

The Scottish
pledges ap-
pointed to
passe into
England.

A crag called
Arthurs seat.

T Church-
yard.
The number
of the English
and French
slaine.

Conference
betweene the
English and
Scottish

Sir Jam
Croft, at
George I
ward, for
take the
queene.

My lord
Greie met
George I
the French
armie.

J George ar
along with
both parts.
The French
men repelle
by the Eng-
lishmen.

e earle of
aine acco-
rd with
r of the
orthe
shire.

horsemen, the vanguard and battell, were com-
manded to march forth, who accordingly passing
forward along by the place where the duke & Sco-
tish lords stood, held upon their waie, till they ap-
proched nere to Letherike.

At their comming thither, Cromwell, the quene
regents trumpet, came to my lord lieutenant, and
brought with him a safe conduct, given under his
hand & seale, for the safe repaire of sir James Croft,
sir George Howard, and sir others to accompanie
them. Whereupon they preparing themselves to
go to him (after they had talked with my lord lieuten-
ant, and the duke Chatan le result) they departed
towards Edenburgh; where the said quene as then
laie within the castell. There went with them mas-
ter Summerfet, master Pelham, and foure other
gentlemen. Whilest they were in conference with
the quene, although an abstinence of all hostilitie
by appointment taken betwixt my lord Greie and
the said quene ought to haue ceased, the French-
men to the number of nine hundred, or a thousand
shot, backed with five hundred coiselets and pikers,
& about fiftie horsemen, were come forth of Leith,
under the conduction of monsieur Dossell, and the
counte Partignes, colonell of the French footmen.
My lord Greie understanding thereof, came by to
the hill, appointed an officer at armes called Ronge
Crosse, to go vnto them; with commandement from
him, that they should retire their forces forth of
the field into the towne of Leith: for if it were not for
the promise which he had made to the quene Dowager,
he would cause them to depart, not much to
their ease.

The herald doing his message, receiued answer,
that they were vpon their maister and mistresse
ground, and therefore meant not to remoue from
it. Ronge Crosse returning with this answer, was
sent againe from my lord lieutenant, to command
them eke sons to go their way backe to Leith: for if
they did not, he would fuerlie fend them awaie with
a mischief. But scarce had the herald done this se-
cond message, when the Frenchmen stepping forth,
discharged a whole volie of their shot into the field
against my lord Greie and his companie. Here-
upon, the Englishmen and they fell in skirmish,
which continued for the space of foure houres and
more, so hot & earnestlie maintained on both parts,
that the like had not lightlie bene scene manie a
day before. Yet at length, the Englishmen droue
the French footmen ouer the hill, wan the crag from
them, and put them from a chappell, where they had
stod a great while, vsing it for a couert and safegard
for them against the Englishmens shot.

Then the enimies that were in Leith shot off di-
uerse peeces of their great artillerie out of the towne
against the Englishmen, who on the other part
brought forth two field peeces, and couered them
with a troope of horsemen; and hauing planted them
to some aduantage, discharged the same among the
enimies: who perceiuing that, gaue place, & sudden-
lie the English demaunces gaue a charge, brake in
amongst them, and slue diuerse. To conclude, they
were put from their ground, and forced to retire
backe into Leith, being followed inchere to the
verie gates of that towne. There were slaine in
this skirmish of the French, about a seven score, and
amongst them twelue men of name, beside some of
them that remained prisoners. Of the English-
men, there were also diuerse slaine, and manie hurt.
But if the ground had bin knownen to the English-
men, and what aduantage was offered to them by
that presumptuous comming of the enimies so far
from their hold, it was thought their whole power
might easilie haue bene cut off, and utterlie distres-

sed. After that this skirmish was ended, and the
Frenchmen diuen into Leith, the armie incam-
ped at Letherike. The same daie the Scottish hos-
tages were imbarcked to passe into England. To-
wards euenting, sir James Croft, and sir George
Howard, returned from the quene regent, after
they had spent a long time in talke with hir.

On sundae the seventh of Aprill, a new trench
was cast beside the crag, and thereon two peeces of
ordnance planted. The same daie, sir James Croft,
sir George Howard, and sir Henrie Perrie, went
againe vpon assurance, to talke with the quene
Dowager. Vpon daie the eight of Aprill, the French-
men shot at the English campe verie soe out of St.
Nicholas steeple, where there were two great pe-
ces placed for to annoie them, although they did no
great hurt. But the same night, the Englishmen
cast a trench beyond the crag, and placed in the same
trench certeine small peeces of artillerie, which
went off the next daie against the enimies: and they
likewise shot off againe at the Englishmen; and so
likewise on wednesdaie the tenth of Aprill, on which
daie, a great part of the carriages for the great ordi-
nance, and diuerse bullets for the same, were landed,
and much thereof remoued, and brought to the inner-
most trench. Thursdaie the eleuenth of Aprill, the
great ordnance was landed, and two peeces thereof
mounted into their carriages.

The twelue of Aprill being good fridaie, a bullet
of a great pece of ordnance, being shot out of Leith
earlie in the morning, did light in the campe, and
slue thre men. The same night, they were answer-
ed againe with foure or five canons, and demica-
tions. Saturdaie was spent in warding the tren-
ches, and mounting the great artillerie. Sundae
the fourteenth of Aprill, being Easter daie, the Eng-
lishmen shot off in the morning all their great ordi-
nance, and the Frenchmen answered them againe,
and so they continued most part of that day, in shoo-
ting one at another. The footmen also skirmished so,
that diuerse were hurt on both parts. The same
day, the pile of Blacknesse was surrendred to mas-
ter Winter, vpon sight of the canon. There were
within it eightene Frenchmen, who were brought
awaie prisoners, and the house deliuered to master
James Hamilton. The same daie, nine French-
men apparelled like women, came forth of Leith,
and counterfeiting some like demeanour to the apa-
rell wherein they were disguised, trained one of the
English skouts within their danger, whome they
tooke, and chopped off his head, which they set vpon
the top of one of their church steeples.

Vpon daie the fifteenth of Aprill about none, there
issued out of Leith a fiftie horsemen, and about fife
hundred harquebussiers: who making to the new
trenches, were vpon the Englishmen that warded
in such wise vpon the sudden, before they could be
brought into any order; that so entering the trenches,
they slue and wounded no small number: and pos-
sessing the trenches a while, stopped and cloied the
touch holes of thre peeces of the artillerie, toke mas-
ter Maurice Barkeleie prisoner, and his ensigne.
Brian Fitz Williams was soe wounded, and a
soule sight there was. The alarm being brought
to the campe, sir James Croft and other repaired to-
ward the trench with all expedition, and perceiuing
the Frenchmen to be maisters of one of the tren-
ches, he called to capteine Vaughan, commanding
him with his band to enter the trench, and to relieue
those that were hardlie beset of the Frenchmen.

This was done with great manhood shewed by
the said Vaughan and others, who entering the trench,
repelled the enimies, and slue sixtene of them that
were in the trench. Capteine Summerfet and cap-
teine

The French
men diuen in-
to Leith.

Saint Ni-
cholas Stee-
ple planted
with two
great shot pe-
ces.

Ordnance
landed.

Good fridaie
to some bad
fridaie.

Warre ma-
cheth no diffe-
rence of time.

The pile of
Blacknesse
surrendred.

Fine French
men in wo-
mens appa-
rell.

Blacke mon-
daie.

The French-
men wain the
trench.

Master
Barkeleie ta-
ken prisoner.

The French-
men repelled,
and some of
them slaine.

e duke of
ataule
tr and his
pauce.

e English
Scottish
lemen
& embrace
consult.

ye Scottish
dges ap-
ned to
le into
igland.

crag called
thursdaie.

I hope and
long str-
ship betwe-
the parts.
The French-
men repelled
the Eng-
lishmen.

Church-
the
number
of the English
of French
men.

reference
were the
English and
Scottish.

Maister Arthur Greie hurt in the shoulder.

A new supplie cometh to the arme, the capitaines names.

An hot alarme of an houres continuance.

Ordinance planted in trenches.

The bishop of Calence and his companie.

A skirmish of two houres continuance.

A new ordinance planted.

seine head with their hands followed them also, as they retired, and maister Arthur Greie, with certeine of his demilances, of whome he had the conduction, suddenly came vpon them, and charging them with great courage, drave them into the towne, and made no small slaughter of them. In which charge maister Arthur Greie was shot through the shoulder. The great artillerie in Leith was not idle, during this skirmish, discharging to the number of an hundred shot, greatlie to the annoiance of the English, and hinderance of the service, which else might by them have bene atchieved. This night the Englishmen drave backe their ordinance, which the Frenchmen had cloied with nailes and wires in the touch-holes, but the same were planted againe before daie. Moreover, our pioners cast a new trench along by the old chappell.

Tuesday the sixteenth of Aprill, a supplie of two thousand & two hundred footmen came to the campe, over whome were capitaines, sir Andrew Corbet, sir Rowland Stanleie, sir Thomas Hesketh, sir Arthur Spanwering, sir Laurence Smith, maister Francis Tunstall, maister Edward Littleton, capitaine Caruell, Philip Sturleie, and David Morris. They were garded with five hundred horsemen: sir Rafe Sadler, sir Francis Leake, sir John Foster, and sir Nicholas Strange having charge to see them safetie conducted: who after they had brought them past all danger of enemies, left them in safetie by the waie, & were come a daie or two before them to the campe.

Wednesday the seventeenth of Aprill, it rained sore the more part of the daie; but yet the same night maister Winter caused diuerse of the shipboates, being verie well manned, to give a great alarme at the side of the towne towards the water, discharging manie basses and harquebusers of Croke into the towne: the alarme was verie hot for the space of an houre. During this businesse there was a right pitifull crye made by the women and children within the towne. The pioners being applied in worke to make trenches, on Fridaie all daie at night they placed certeine peeces of the ordinance in the trenches beside the chappell.

Saturdaie the twentieth of Aprill, manie peeces were shot off out of the trenches into the towne. There issued notwithstanding out at the gates an hundred shot, which placed themselves in the holes of the bankes, to haile such of the Englishmen as came forth to offer the skirmish. All this daie also the pioners, both Scots and English were occupied in making of a new trench nere to the towne. Sir Gervis Clifton & capitaine Read with their bands garded them, and two hundred lances. The same daie the residue of the great ordinance with armout was brought on land. Sundaie the one and twentieth of Aprill, the bishop of Calence named Monluc, accompanied with sir Henrie Perrie, and three hundred light horsemen came to Letherie: the lord lieutenant, sir James Croft, the lord Scrope, and sir Rafe Sadler met him at the further end of the ward that was set of purpose for his entring into the campe. After they had receiued him with salutations according vnto the manner, he was conducted by Rouge Crosse the officer of armes from the campe into Edinburgh, and so went vp to the castle to conferre with the queene Dowager. He was no sooner entred into the castle, but that there issued forth of Leith the number of two hundred Frenchmen about twelue of the clocke, and began a hot skirmish, which continued two houres, at the which diuerse were slaine on both parts.

The same night the lord lieutenant caused nine peeces of the great ordinance to be planted in the new trench: so that the next daie being mondaie,

the same peeces were shot off verie earlie, directed towards the steeple of saint Antonies church. And although those peeces laie a quarter of a mile off, the peeces of ordinance that laie in the same steeple were dismounted by them; and likewise those that laie in the steeple of saint Nicholas church; at the which diuerse peeces were hurt; and with sir Gervis Perrie the peeces that laie in that steeple were also displaced; and a gunner slaine that stood at one of them, the peere and the gunner coming running downe both together. At this church (as was reported) their store of vittells and munition was laid, so that batterie was made against the same all that daie, and a great pece of the church wall beaten downe, and the steeple defaced. The bishop of Calence, after he had talked with the queene Dowager, returned to commune with the lords of the congregation.

Tuesday the thirteenth of Aprill, being saint Georges daie, the pioners Scottish and English were busily applied in worke; about the casting of trenches to make a fort; and still the artillerie went off against the towne. Wednesday the foure and twentieth of Aprill about three of the clocke in the after none, there issued out of Leith six hundred horsemen, who offered the skirmish: and under the place called little London where they were busie in fortifying all that daie, there were four hundred of their shot were placed ready to breake out, if occasion served. At length certeine of the English lances gaue a charge vpon their horsemen, who therewith retiring, drave the Englishmen within danger of their shot. But although the Frenchmen that daie shewed themselves verie valiant in skirmishing even in the face of the English artillerie: yet being neuerly pursued by those lances, they were forced to retire without anie great hurt done to the Englishmen, although the skirmish continued nere hand two houres. In this last charge young maister Spolone was hurt.

Thursdaie the five and twentieth of Aprill, the pioners laboured sore for the most part of the daie in finishing the new fort named Montpelham; to the gard thereof capitaine Gaughan was appointed gouernor, with twelue hundred soldiors. This fort was raised on the south side of the towne, the plot whereof was cast square, with foure bulwarks at euerie corner, and two battering peeces planted in places conuenient within the same. This thursdaie also, about five of the clocke in the after none, there issued out of Leith on the east side, seauentie or eightie horsemen, and two hundred harquebusers, offering the skirmish, towards whome certeine of the English light horsemen roundlie made, and charging them, drave them backe to their footmen, who with their shot receiued the light horsemen so sharplie, that they were forced to retire. In which retire James Hamilton a Scottishman was taken prisoner, for the rescue of whome the horsemen made forward againe: but the enemies shot was so hot, that they were not able to recover him; but yet they slaine two of the French horsemen in fight.

During the time of this skirmish, there was great shooting off with the great ordinance on both sides, & much hurt done as well to the English as French. This daie capitaine Perrie, and capitaine Haies, having charge of a troope of light horsemen under sir Henrie Perrie, and the lord of Strange were taken prisoners before Dunbar; and to the number of twentie or thirtie others were likewise taken or slaine the same time. The same night also, two thousand footmen with the pioners were sent to the other side of the towne, beyond the canon milles, where the pioners cast a trench for the safe lodging of

The artillerie from Leith to the space

The enemies ordinance displaced.

A skirmish and both sides were slaine

The place where the artillerie

A fort made

A skirmish

A trench made from enemies.

The French expelled.

Great ordinance planted and discharged.

The new fort called Montpelham.

A skirmish

Another skirmish

A fire in Leith, and the English were taken prisoners.

James Hamilton taken prisoner

Capitaine Gaughan.

the armie, which remoued the next day being fridaie, and the six and twentieth of Aprill from Lestrike dole into the ballie by the said canon milles called the red Bzaies, nere to the riuer side on the south part of the towne of Leith. As the armie was thus remouing from Lestrike towards the said place called the red Bzaies, the Frenchmen within Leith shot off manie of their great peeces of artillerie, but without doing anie great hurt. As the armie was incamping, certeine of the enimies horsemen and footmen skirmished with the English lances and light horsemen a long time; there were two Frenchmen slaine and their horses also. In the time of this skirmish two canons were conueied and planted in the new trench, which discharged diuerse shots at the enimies.

Saturdaie the seauen and twentieth of Aprill, the great artillerie was planted aloft on the hill above the campe, within lesse than a carriers shot of the towne walles, and the pioners were set a worke to cast new trenches from the place where the same ordinance was lodged vnto Spontpelham, drawing so nere vnto Leith, as the harquebus might reach them that watched and warded within the greene bulwke. Where issued out of Leith vnder the west bulwke certeine of the Frenchmen, the which were chased into the towne by the lord of Orange and others. The French kept the same daie a trench which they had made without the towne, continuallie shooting at the Englishmen in the campe: but the same night the Englishmen wan that trench from them, slue diuerse of them therein, together with their scout. And this done, they gaue a great alarm to the towne both by land and water, the shipboates shooting off against the towne verie hottie, and they within the towne likewise at the Englishmen. The same night was the great ordinance planted, and maister Parkham hurt. On sondaie the eight and twentieth of Aprill the said great ordinance went off, and shot continuallie the more part of that daie. The bishop of Valence departed the same daie towards Berwik: and this night sir George Howard that had bene sent backe to Berwik, to signifie to the duke of Norfolk the state of the siege, returned with sir Richard Lee, being conducted with fure hundred horsemen.

Mondaye the nine and twentieth of Aprill, the peeces of the great artillerie were occupied in shooting off verie hottie, and the French likewise shot off theirs, and comming forth of the towne skirmished with the Englishmen. This night the pioners made new trenches toward the south bulwke. Tuesdaye the last of Aprill was spent in shooting off the great artillerie into the towne. About fixe of the clocke in the after none, a sudden fire was raised within the towne, which hugelie increased and continued the most part of that night. At the beginning when it first appered, the English ordinance was shot off to the place where the fire was, which shot together with helpe of the wind, and being verie great at that present, did maruellouslie augment the same fire: yet neuertheless the French at that present time offered a skirmish, and continued the same nere hand for the space of two houres, manned their walles, and made the best prouision they might for doubt of some assault. It was indeed appointed, that certeine bands should make an alarm to the towne: in so much that capteine Laughan with diuerse of the soldiers of Spontpelham entred the ditch, and approaching the walles, discovered the height of them. And notwithstanding that the French did what they could to annoie them in the ditches with carrier shot, yet did capteine Laughan slay in the ditch a pretie while, and retired with his men without receiving

anie great hurt.

Wednesdaye the first of Maie, the Frenchmen set by verie earlie in the morning their spais poles in certeine bulworks, and fourtene ensignes: the which being discovered of them in the campe, they faluted them with a peale of great ordinance, and likewise the Frenchmen answered them againe, and so continued the most part of that daie. The same daie John Brian lieutenant to capteine Capell, wan a trench fro the French at the west side of the towne, and in despite of them kept it all that daie with the losse onelie of one man. Thursdaye the second of Maie, the pioners made the trenches for the artillerie to be planted in batterie. The night following they remoued and placed the same artillerie in the new trench: and the next morning being fridaie and the third of Maie, about foure of the clocke, the same batterie went off, and continued all that daie. In the after none of the same daie certeine Frenchmen issued out of the west bulwke, and skirmishing with the Englishmen on that side the water, returned without anie great hurt.

The night ensuing the pioners made a new trench by the citadell wherein they might lodge some shot, and capteine Laughan with diuerse of the bands in Spontpelham gaue two false assaults to the towne, entred the ditches, and blewed the flankers: whereupon the French shot off the same flankers, and manning their walles, shot off two or thre bolles of their small artillerie, slaying and hurting to the number of twentie of the Englishmen. Among other, little Boston lost his life that night, and so at length the residue returned. Saturdaie the fourth of Maie, there were thre ensignes appointed to gard the new trenches, and towards night, when the ward should be releued, and the watch set, the Frenchmen that were in the trench vnder the citadell, made a sallie vpon the sudden. Whereupon the Englishmen that garded the said trench were constrained to abandon a great part thereof for a time: but yet the Englishmen effrons taking courage, laid to them afresh, repelled them againe, & drave them backe into their olone trenches, slue foure of them in sight, and hurt manie others. This was the lot of warre, to be overthelme by force of the enimie, as the poet saith:

Qui Martem experti, per vim subiguntur ab hoste.

Whilist this was in doing, the French had finished their bulworks and rampiers with carriers and harquebusers of Croke, as thicke as was possible, which went off without ceassing at the Englishmen, for the space of an houre and more. The English artillerie planted in the trenches did answer them againe continuallie, and the great peeces did much hurt among them, in sight of them that watched in the same trenches. The same night the Englishmen conueied two culuerings over the water to scowze the mills: and before the breake of the daie they had burnt one of the same mills. Sundaie the fift of Maie earlie in the morning at the releuing of the watch, and entring of the ward, foure soldiers that belonged to the great ordinance issued out, and set fier on the other mill, which burnt verie ontragiouslie without ceassing, for the space of an houre or more. The French began to assemble towards the mill, in hope to haue quenched the fire, but they were deceived: for suddenlie the Englishmen cut two holes through their trenches, & placing in the same the two demiculuerings, shot them off at the Frenchmen, so that they were driuen to forsake the mill, and in their retire some of them were slaine.

This daie also, as foure French gentlemen came forth to discover the English trenches, capteine Kead commanded one of his soldiers to shot at them, but through mishap his peece burst, and a shiner thereof

Maie poles set by in Leith on Maie daie.

A trench won from the French.

Capteine Laughan bleweth the enimies flankers.

The French repelled by the English.

The mills burnt by the English and the French driuen from thence.

The enimies ordinance placed.

Foot raised.

Skirmish.

The French repelled.

The new fort called Spontpelham.

Another skirmish.

James Hamilton taken prisoner.

Prisoners taken and slaine.

Captaine
Heades arms
broken.

The earle of
Argile with
his armie
commeth to
Edenburgh.

The assault
giuen to Leith
the seauenth
of Maie.

The horsmen
appointed to
gard the field.

The English
men repelled
by the policie
and deuises
of the French.

The number
slaine & hurt
at the assault.

thereof sue out, and brake the arme of his said cap-
taine. Mondae the first of Maie, the armie lieng qui-
et all the morning, in the afternoon the English or-
dinance on the further side the water began to shot
off against the enimies verie hotlie, so continuing
till night. This daie the earle of Argile, and diuerse
other noble men of Scotland, came to Edenburgh
with two thousand horsmen and footmen, who hel-
ed themselves in order of a muster, on the hill under-
neath the castell. Which being perceiued of the French
within Leith, they shot off three great peces of artil-
lerie at them, but (as God would haue it) without
hurt, for two of the bullets lighted short, and the third
did fall in a garden within the towne of Eden-
burgh. The night insuing, the great ordinance in
the Englishmens trenches and bulwarks continu-
ed shooting on euerie side. And herewith commande-
ment was giuen by the lord lieutenant, and the coun-
cell, that the whole armie should be readie armed
with their weapon and furniture according by mid-
night.

In the morning by two of the clocke the seuenth
of Maie being tuesdaie, diuerse bands passed forth
towards the towne, and entring the ditches offered
the scale: other captaine with their men appoched
the bulwarks, and other there were appointed to en-
ter beside the mils. Beside the English bands com-
manded thus to giue the assault, there were a thou-
sand Scots ioined with them, whereof five hundred
with captaine Laughan, and such other captaine as
were commanded to attempt the bulwark next to
Montpelham, and other five hundred went with such
of the English captaine as were commanded to as-
sault the breach beyond the water. Moreover, as well
the lances as light horsmen were assigned to gard
the fields; sir George Howard with the lances kee-
ping betwixt the fort of Montpelham and the sea
westward, and sir Henrie Perke with the light
horsmen betwixt the campe and the sea eastward.
The rest of the footmen that went not to the assault,
were also appointed to gard the trenches and field, in
such wise as was thought expedient. So that perfect
direction was giuen in euerie behalfe by the lord
lieutenant, and other of the counsell. And upon war-
ning giuen by captaine Randall sergeant maior, such
as had bene commanded to giue the assault in the
seuerall appointed places, pleased forward with cou-
rage inough, and boldlie aduentured to cline the
walls, & enter at the breaches, but yet their attempt
wanted the wished successe: for what through the
Frenchmens policie in stopping the current of the
riuer that night, and other deuises for their owne
safeguard, and the annoiance of the assailants: and
what by reason of the vnfitnesse of the ladders, being
too short by two yards and more, the assailants were
repelled. For during the whole time of the assault,
which continued for the space of an houre and a halfe,
the French shot off their flankers, and mainteined
their shot from the walls so thicke, that it seemed a
verie hell for the time.

They also hurled dowe ouer the walls upon the
assailants heads, great plentie of stones, logs, and
mightie peces of timber, which did much hurt to the
Englishmen and Scots, that forced themselves to
cline by. But yet neuertheless, manie there were
that entered the towne in sundrie places, of the which
some came backe againe, although others were bra-
ten dowe and slaine. To conclude, at length all that
escaped with life, were forced to retire with the losse
of seauen or eight score Englishmen, some haue said
two hundred, which were slaine outright, beside those
that were wounded, being in number at the least
two or three hundred: and amongst other, there were
diuerse captaine and gentlemen that were hurt, as

sir Thomas Hesketh, master Sutton, master New-
port, master Conweie, captaine Wood, Thomas
Fittion, with others. Upon the repulse thus giuen to
our men by the French, they aduanced and set vp
fourtene ensignes presentlie about the towne, and
continued other wise quiet all that daie. Wednesday
the eight of Maie in the afternoon, sir George Ho-
ward, and sir Richard Lee departed towards War-
wike with certaine companies of horsmen for their
safe conduction. Thursday the ninth of Maie, the
Frenchmen wrought verie earnestlie within the
towne, to fortifie the necessarie places, and repare
the breaches, euen in the face of the English ordi-
nance, which went off diuerse times, and did them
much hurt.

The same daie also the French had manned to the
sea wards a bote fraught with fittie arquebusers,
meaning to conueie them ouer to Insketh: but the
English ships discovering them, prepared certaine
botes to encounter them, whereof they being aware,
returned. Fridaie the tenth of Maie, master Ang-
lie, captaine Dickman, and captaine Holborne, came
to the campe from Warwike, with a supplie of four-
hundred and fittie souldiours. The same daie about
ten of the clocke at night, there chanced a bzall to
fall out among the Scots that watched in the tren-
ches nearest vnto the towne of Leith on the west
side, insomuch that one of them fell to and killed an
other: which disorder being perceiued of the French
within Leith, they issued out, and meant to haue
bled the vantage: but the Englishmen that wat-
ched nere vnto the Scots staied the frate, and did
not onelie bring them to quiet, but also put the
Frenchmen to flight. On sundaie the twelue of
Maie, about midnight the Frenchmen, to the num-
ber of two hundred, sallied forth of the towne, mind-
ing to giue a camisado to the Englishmen, who
kept watch that night in the trenches at the west side
of Montpelham; but they were descried, and certaine
of them killed, and so had the repulse. Wednesday
the fifteenth of Maie, sir Francis Leake came to the
campe with a supplie of five hundred men from War-
wike.

Thursday the sixteenth of Maie towards night,
the Frenchmen to the number of one hundred foot-
men, and thirtie horsmen, came abroad and hel-
ed themselves verie braue, skirmishing with the
Englishmen at the west end of their towne. Tues-
daie the one and twentieth of Maie, about seauen of
the clocke at night, there issued forth of Leith six
horsmen, and one hundred footmen arquebusers,
marching toward Montpelham to offer skirmish.
Whereupon captaine Laughan went forth to them
verie orderlie, and skirmished with them a prettie
while: and in the meane time, off went the great ordi-
nance on both sides. In the end the Frenchmen
were giuen to retire into the towne, for the Eng-
lishmen shewed themselves verie egre, and valiant-
lie charged their enimies, put them to retire, and cha-
sed them in at their gates, to the which they followed
them right hardilie.

The same night, maister Francis Summerfet
and other captaine were appointed to keepe a fort
built aboue the campe, and now finished, toke name
of him being captaine thereof, and was after called
Summerfets mount. The same daie a souldiour of
captaine Daries band was hanged for going to
Edenburgh, contrarie to a proclamation, inhibi-
ting anie souldiour so to doe without speciall licence.
Wednesday the two and twentieth of Maie, sir Pe-
ter Carew came to the campe, being sent from the
court. Thursday the foure and twentieth of Maie at
seuen of the clocke at night, the French sallied forth
to the number of two hundred footmen, and thirtie
hors-

Sir George
Howard and
sir Richard
Lee.

A supplie fro
Warwike of
four hundred
and fittie sul-
diours.

The French
after con-
sidered to their
vnderance.

Sir William
Hall and
other wot on
came to Ed-
enburgh.

Sir Francis
Leake brings
with a supplie
to the campe.

Frenchmen
attacking be-
tween as they
gathered
together.

A skirmish
between the
English and
French.

The French
men chased.

Summerfets
mount.

Edenburgh
gunners
were decei-
ued by the
Frenchmen.

Sir Peter
Carew sent
from the
court.

housmen, at the release of the warders when the watch should be set, meaning (as it appeared) to have wonne the trenches from the Englishmen. Whereupon a fozie skirmitish followed, diuerse slaine, and manie hurt on both parties: pet in the end the Frenchmen were driuen home by plaine fozce. This was at the west side of the towne, where they had foztified towards the sea.

The same daie the Frenchmen of Dunbar toke an English hoie laden with double bare, base, oren, and stiches of bacon. Saturdaie the eight of June, sir John Penill with three hundred men, capteine Bridges, and capteine Durie, with other three hundred, set from Barwikie towards the campe, where they arrived on mondaie the tenth of June, on which daie the queene Dowager departed this life. The thirtenth of June, sir William Ceuill, principall secretarie to the queenes maiestie, and doctor Mot-ton deane of Canturburie and Poike came to Barwikie, appointed commissioners on hir said maiesties behalfe, to treat of an accord with the conte de Brandon, and the bishop of Valence, commissioners sent for that purpose from the French king, and his wife Marie quene of Scotland. The fourteenth of June being fridaie, a certeine number of Frenchmen came forth of Leith to gather cockles on the sands towards Montpelham: which the Englishmen perceiuing, set upon them, slue thre score and ten, and toke sixtene of them prisoners.

On sundaie the firstenth of June, the fore remembred commissioners came to Edinburgh: and as master secretarie and doctor Mot-ton passed the English forts and campe, they were saluted with a gallant peale of the harquebusiers that shot off their harquebusies verie liuelie. Mondae the sevententh of June about eight of the clocke, an abstinence of warre was concluded, warning being giuen by the discharging of two peeces of the great artillerie out of the castell, and then the Frenchmen shewd and advanced themselves upon their rampiers. Saturdaie the two and twentieth of June, the abstinence was broken off, which till then had bene tralie kept and obserued. Thursdaie the fourth of Julie, about thre of the clocke in the after none, the French came out of Leith, according to their accustomed maner to gather cockles. Whereupon the lord lieutenant being at that present in Montpelham, sent a drum unto monsieur Doissell to signifie to him that his soldiers had gone further without their bounds than they might do by the order taken by the commissioners of both parts. Doissell answered, that they were no souldiours, but poze people which went to gather cockles for their release and sustenance. The drum said, that if they kept not themselves within their appointed limits, my lord lieutenant meant to send them backe not greatlie to their ease: whereunto Doissell replied, that if he so did, he would do the best he could to aid them. Whereupon the English hoies, men and footmen out of Montpelham gaue a charge upon them, and slue of them to the number of fiftie, and toke certeine of the residue prisoners. Fridaie the first of June, about six of the clocke in the after none, issued out of Leith fouretene housmen, and an hundred footmen, which offered the skirmitish: but upon the shooting off the great artillerie from Montpelham, they retired home againe into the towne.

The night following about twelue a clocke, one Scattergood an Englishman that was a gunner, had seined himselfe to slee from the English campe for in mislaugher into Leith, and was rescued of the Frenchmen, believing that he had meant no deceit, came out of the towne, after he had remained there about seauen daies: in which meane while he

had understood fullie the state of the towne, and now upon his returne made relation therof as he knew. On saturdaie the first of June, the lord Greie lord lieutenant, master secretarie Ceuill, and sir Rafe Sadler, betwixt thre and foure of the clocke in the afternone, gaue order that there should no pece be shot, nor shew of hostilitie made till seauen of the clocke the same night: and herewith sent sir Gerueis Clifton unto all the souldiours that warded in the trenches and bulwarks on the west side of Leith, to command them to obserue the like order. And sir John Penill was sent with like commandement unto the souldiours that laie in Summerfets mount. The peace now in the meane time being concluded, on the mozrow being sabbath, and seauenth of June, sir Francis Leake, and sir Gerueis Clifton, accompanied with two French gentlemen, were sent to the towne of Leith, to signifie unto monsieur Doissell, the bishop of Amiens, la Brosse, Martigues, and other the French lords and capteins, that they were come thither by commandement from the commissioners, to cause the peace already concluded to be proclaimed: which accordingly was done in maner as followeth.

The forme of proclaiming the
foresaid peace betweene the
parties at hostilitie.

THe most mightie princeesse, Elisabeth by the grace of God, quene of England, France, & Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: and the most christian king, Francis and Marie, by the same grace of God king and quene of France and Scotland: haue accorded upon a reconciliation of a peace and amitie to be inuiolable kept, betwixt them, their subiects, kingdomes and countries. And therfore in their names it is strictrie commanded to all maner of persons bozne vnder their obeisances, or being in their seruice, to fozbeare all hostilitie either by sea or land, & to keepe good peace each with other from this time forwards, as they will answer thereunto at their vttermoost perils.

Immediatlie after this proclamation was ended, sir Francis Leake and sir Gerueis Clifton were brought to monsieur Doissels lodging, where was prepared for them a great banquet of thirtie or forty dishes: and yet not one either of flesh or fish, sauing one of the flesh of a powdered horse, as a certeine person hath written that tasted thereof, as he himselfe auoucheth. Where then we see the course of war, the end whereof of necessitie must be peace. For when both parts are either wearied, weakened, slaughtered, or discomfited, as that they be constrained to surceasse, least they be slaine euerie mothers sonne: then peace is sought, and hard conditions receiued rather than it shall be refused. That if were Gods will (saith Schardus writing of the accidents happening in the yeare 1570, which all men counted a fortunate and blessed yeare, albeit famine, the Turkish warre, the pestilence, and most cruell overflowinges of waters did then outragiously take on: because thre verie greuous warres, namelie the first of the Polanders against the Muscovits, the second of France within it selfe by ciuill dissention, & the third betwene the Sweweners and the Danes, were then finished) that it were Gods will (saith he) that

A a a a a.

king

Order taken
for the reducing
of all
signes of ho-
stilitie.

The peace
concluded and
word sent to
the French
that it should
be proclaimed.

Sir Francis
Leake and
sir Gerueis
Clifton bar-
ketted by
monsieur
Doissell.

Schardus in
rebus gestis
imperatore
Maximilian
secundo.

George
and ana
ichard

English
cavaliers.

English
cavaliers
and
infantry.

English
troops of
the hundred
fiftye sol-
ds.

French
cavaliers
and
infantry.

William
and
James
and
John
and
George.

French
troops
bringing
a supplye
to the campe.

French
troops
bringing
a supplye
to the campe.

French
troops
bringing
a supplye
to the campe.

French
troops
bringing
a supplye
to the campe.

French
troops
bringing
a supplye
to the campe.

French
troops
bringing
a supplye
to the campe.

kings and princes would be admonished by examples in due time to consult of peace, and to make much thereof, rather than after manie calamities suffered and taken, to thinke how beneficiall and pretious it is. Then should they without seeking or sweating inuoy those things which to obtaine they undertake great voiaiges, and yet nothing nere their purpose without much bloudshed, slaughter, and wastfullnesse, as sometime verie wiselike said Cyneas to Pyrrhus, dissuading him from the Itallish warre: and as one both learnedlie and stiee wryteth, saleng:

*Hic est periculum sacrorum lusus & usus,
Ludendi ut faciat consumpta pecunia finem:
Sic ubi vastata gentes lachrymantur & vrbes,
Aurea tum demum feruntur federa pacis.
Heu quanto satius foret hac prauertere damna!
Atque animos hominum saluis coalescere rebu!*

While this
hystoriogra-
pher is so
large in the
description
of this siege
of Leith.

Thus haue I bene more large in this matter concerning the siege of Leith, than may be thought peradventure necessarie, sith the thing is yet fresh in memorie: but because there came to my hands certein notes of one or two persons that were there present, and for helpe of their owne memories wrote the same, I haue thought it not impertinent to insert the effect of them, that the same may serue to further those that hereafter shall wryte the hystorie of this time more at large, sith my purpose is not to continue the same otherwise than I find things noted in the abridgements of Iohn Stow and Richard Grafton: except in some recitall of expeditions and tour- nies made, as this, and other into Scotland, and that same of the right honourable the earle of Warlike into Normandie, which I haue thought good to enlarge, according to such notes as haue come to my hand, beseeching the readers to accept the same in good part: and if anie thing be omitted, either in this place or anie other, that were as necessarie to be spoken of, as those points which I haue touched, or afterwards may touch, to impute the fault to the want of good instructions, and not to anie negligence or lacke of good will in me to aduance euery mans worthie doings according to his merits.

The articles
of the peace
at the siege
of Leith.

But now concerning the articles of the peace, being about thirtene in all, the chiefeest may seme to rest herein, that the French souldiours and men of warre should depart out of the realme of Scotland within a short time limited of twentie daies, as Ludouico Guiccardini hath noted; six score of them onlie excepted, as thre score to abide in Insketh, and thre score in the castell of Dunbar, they to be answered their wages at the hands of the estates of Scotland, and to be subiect vnto the lawes and ordinances of that realme. That the fortifications about Leith should be razed and demolished: and likewise the fort which had bene built and raised before the castell of Dunbar by the French, for a strength thereto. That the Frenchmen should not conuie into Scotland anie men of warre, or munitions without consent of the parlement assembled of thre estates of that realme. That the king and queene of France & Scotland should not fro thenceforth beare the arms of England, sith the same appertained onlie to the queens maiestie of England and to no other person.

The end of
this peace
thus con-
cluded.

See more here
of in Scotlan
pag. 374.

These and other articles were compiled and established in the conclusion of this peace, as well to the honour and suertie of the queens maiestie of England, hir realmes, dominions, and subiects, as also for the wealth and preservation of the realme of Scotland, the nobles and other subiects of that realme. After that this peace then was fullie established, agreed, and concluded, the Frenchmen were imbar- ked at Leith in English vessels; those onlie excepted that were appointed to remaine as pledges with the Englishmen till the ships came backe againe,

and a few other that were permitted to passe through England into their countrie. Thus were the French forces remoued out of Scotland, a matter so much importing to the confirmation of peace betwixt vs and that realme, and also to the auoiding of further perils, that this iourne ended with so honorable and profitable a peace, concluded by the high industrie and prudent policie of our queens maiesties commissioners afore mentioned, may be accomped one of the most necessarie expeditions, and most beneficiall seruices that had bene made and put in practice in manie yeares before. For the queens maiestie (as some haue trulie wrytten) had not onlie hir chiefe desire, by remouing of the French hir dangerous neighbors, that were about to nestle themselves so neare hir elbow: but also a perfect peace with the Scots was thereby procured, like to continue manie yeares (if the said Scots shall not seekie their owne wo) being full vnable to aduantage themselves by warres against vs, as to the wiser and best sort of them I trust is not unknowne.

But to leaue the further consideration of the benefit that may grow herof to this realme, vnto their iudgements that haue riper heads to vnderstand the same: I will proceed, and herewith make an end of this matter, concerning the siege of Leith. After that the Frenchmen were departed, and the forts about Leith and Dunbar razed and demolished, according to the covenants of peace, the queens maiestie called backe hir armie without reteining anie pece within Scotland to hir owne vse. In which honorable and bright dealing, she was more same and estimation, than if she had seized and kept in hir possession halfe the realme of Scotland: spectallie regarding the perplexed state of the people by war, which she redressed by the establishment of peace, a thing which the alwaies loued, as the contrarie she most hated: as one hath noted of hir grace, saleng:

Virgo pacis amans, quae stat contraria belli.

The queens maiestie by the aduise of hir most honorable counsell, meaning to abolish all corrupt, base, and copper monies then currant in this realme of England, coined in the times and reignes of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the first, to the great hinderance and decaye of the commonwealth of this realme, and therewith to restore vnto all hir subiects fine and pure sterling monies, both of gold and silver, to the great honor and benefit of the whole realme: published a proclamation on Michaelmasse euen before none, that the teston coined for twelue pence, and in the reigne of king Edward embased by proclamation to six pence, should now forthwith (that of the best sort marked with the portculet) be currant for foure pence halfe pence: the second marked with the greihound for two pence farthing: the third and worst sort not marked as afore, not to be currant at all, nor receiued for anie value. The grote to be currant for two pence, the former pece of two pence for a pence, &c.

It was not long after this, but that hir grace re- storing to hir subiects fine sterling monie, called all the said base and corrupt coines into hir maiesties mint, allowing to them therefore after the rate before mentioned, so much of the said fine monies as they brought in of the said base monies. About the same time, hir grace also finding this realme greatlie in furnished of armour, munitions, and powder, for the defense thereof in time of necessitie, did so largelie and plentifully prepare and cause to be brought into the same, such sufficient furniture of armour and weapons, as England hath iust cause to praise and giue thanks to God and hir maiestie; for that it is certeine, that the realme was neuer so ampie stored nor provided of all manner of kinds of conuenient

The common
dation of the
foresaid peace
concluded peace

T. Church
yard.

The queens
meaning to
remouing the
French out of
Scotland.

The queens
armie reuolue
out of Scot-
land.

Paules stee-
ple on fire by
lightning.

The queens
is graued
with the tolle
of Pauls
steple a pro-
uident means
to repare it.

The queens
benelolence
to recte o-
thers.

Iohn Stow.
A fall of gold
monie a me-
king of new
coines.

Anno Reg.

1560

Additions to
Lanquet.
The queens
furnisheth her
land with ar-
mour and mu-
nition.

Overleas
appointed to
reuerse the
repairing of
Pauls.

1560
The queens
furnisheth her
land with ar-
mour and mu-
nition.

The merchant
raioys from
Leith.

1561
William Gell
was whipped.

A false Chyff
whipped till
he changed
his song.

Paules stee-
ple on fire by
lightning.

The queens
is graued
with the tolle
of Pauls
steple a pro-
uident means
to repare it.

The queens
benelolence
to recte o-
thers.

Overleas
appointed to
reuerse the
repairing of
Pauls.

1560
The queens
furnisheth her
land with ar-
mour and mu-
nition.

he commeth
tion of the
cto con-
ded peare.

The merchant
tailors fre
scholl.

Church
d.

he queene
aning in
rouing
ench out
otland.

he queene
ie reuoked
of Scot-
d.

1561
William Gessreie
the shipper.

John Gessreie
shipper till
he changed
his long.

James Gessreie
paid fire by
lightning.

The queene
is granted
with the losse
of Paules
scholl a pro-
mote means
to repaire it.

The queene
doouolence
towards o-
thers.

Reg. 3.

Quintus
appointed to
repare the
burning of
Paules.

60
trons to
uer.
quene
meth his
with new
and mup
1.

conuenient armes and weapons, as it is at this pre-
sent. The one and twentieth of March a notable
Grammar schole was founded by the maister, war-
dens, and assistants of the right worshipfull compa-
nie of the merchant tailors of London, in the parish
of S. Laurence Pountreie in the same citie, the right
worshipfull Emanuel Lucar, Robert Rose, Willi-
am Perike, John Sparke, & Robert Duckington
then maister and wardens of that companie.

The tenth of Aprill was one William Gessreie
whipped, from the Sparthalsea in Southworke, to
Bedlem without Bishops gate of London, for that
he professed one John Poze to be Christ our sau-
lor: on his head was set a paper, wherein was writ-
ten as followeth: William Gessreie a most blasphemous
heretike, denieng Christ our sauour in heauen. The
said Gessreie being staied at Bedlem gate, John
Poze was brought forth, before whom William
Gessreie was whipped, till he confessed Christ to be
in heauen. Then the said John Poze being exami-
ned, and answering ouerthwartlie, was comman-
ded to put off his cote, doublet, and shirt; which he se-
med to do verie willingly, and after being tied to
the cart, was whipped an arrowes shot from Bed-
lem, where at the last he also confessed Christ to be in
heauen, and himselfe to be a sinfull man. Then was
John Poze sent againe into Bedlem, and Ges-
sreie to the Sparthalsea, where they had laine pillo-
ners nigh a yere and a halfe, the one for professing
himselfe to be Christ, the other a disciple of the same
Christ. On wednesday the 4 of June, betwene
four & five of the clocke in the afternoon, the steeple
of Paules in London being fired by lightning, burst
forth (as it seemed to the beholders) two or three yards
beneath the foot of the crosse, and from thence burnt
downe the spire to the stoneworke and bells, so ter-
rible, that within the space of foure houres the same
steple with the rofes of the church, so much as was
timber or otherwise combustible, were consumed,
which was a lamentable sight and pittifull remem-
brance to the beholders therof. After this mischance,
the queens maiestie being much grieved for the losse
of so beautifull a monument, directed hir highnesse
letters to the maior of the citie of London, willing
him to assemble the citizens to take some order for
speciall aid and helpe for the repairing againe of the
said monument. And she of hir most gracious dispo-
sition, to giue a comfort to others for the furtherance
thereof, did presentlie giue and deliuer in gold one
thousand markes, and a warrant for a thousand lode
of timber, to be taken out of hir maiesties woods or
elsewhere: and the citizens of London granted one
beneuolence, and three fifths to be forthwith paid.
The clergie vnder the prouince of Canturburie
granted the fourth part of the value of their benefi-
ces charged with first fruits, & not charged with first
fruits the thirtieth part. The clergie of the diocesse
of London granted the thirtieth part of their benefi-
ces in first fruits, and the twentieth part out of first
fruits. Now immediatlie by commandement of the
queenes highnesse, hir priuie counsell toke order that
six citizens of London, and two of the cleargie of the
church of Paules, had charge and commandement to
ouersee and set forthward this worke, who made such
expedition, that within one moneth next following
the burning thereof, the whole church, that is to saie,
all the foure great rofes of the same were covered
with boards and lead, after the manner of a falle
rofe. And the greatnesse of the worke dispatched in
so short time could scarce be credited of anie, but
of such as saw and knew the same. And the cause of
this great hast was for feare of raine, which might
haue perished the waltes, to the destruction of the
whole church, & the people that were therein. And be-

fore the said yere was fullie ended, all the said fles of
the said church were made & framed of new & maine
timber, & covered with lead, & fullie finished. And the
same yere also, the great rofe of the west end was
framed, and made of new & great timber in Porke-
shire, & brought to London by sea, and set by & cou-
red with lead, and fullie finished. And in like maner
within the said yere, the whole rofe and frame of the
east end of the said church was made in Porkeshire,
& brought by sea to London, and there laid readie to
be raised when the season of the yere serued. This
one thing resteth to be told, that by estimation of
wise men, 10000 pounds more than is yet granted
vnto it, will not perfect & finish the church and steeple
in such sort as it was before the burning thereof.

In this meane time also, by reason of the queens
maiesties letters directed to the maior and his bre-
thren of the citie of London about the burning of
Paules, there were certeine aldermen and commo-
ners of the said citie named and called together by
the authoritie of the maior, to deuise some good order
and speedie remedie for the reliefe and comfort of the
said citie, whensoever anie chance of fire hereafter
should happen (as God forbid) within the said citie or
liberties thereof. And the persons so called after sun-
drie meetings, and with god aduiseement and delibe-
ration, agreed and penned a certeine order for the
speedie remedie thereof, as well for the readie know-
ledge of the place, wheresoever the same fire should
happen, and for the sudden extinguishment & suppress-
ing of the same, as also for the safe keeping of the
goods of such persons in whose house anie fire should
chance. Which orders and rules vndoubtedly would
be to the great comfort & safetie of the citie and citi-
zens of the same, if they were published and made
known in time, and executed accordingly. But
what should I saie? I can but lament, not onlie for
this, but also for manie such painefull and profit-
labors, which for god gouernement of this citie had
bene taken. For as soone as the talking thereof is
done, and the bookes framed and deliuered, so soone is
it put in oblivion, and nothing at all thought vpon,
vntill an houre after the mischance be past.

This yere was chosen lord maior of London a
worshipful citizen named William Harper, one of the
companie of the merchant tailors. This man with-
ing in his life time to benefit his countrie, founded
a free schole in the towne of Bedford where he was
borne, and now lieth buried, prouiding a competent
stipend and living for a scholemaster, there to traine
up and instruct children in vertue and learning for-
euer. The sixteenth of Nouember, the queenes ma-
iestie published a proclamation, wherein she restored
to the realme diuerse small peces of silver monie,
as the pece of six pence, foure pence, three pence, two
pence, and a penie, three halfe pence, and three far-
things. She also forbade all forren coines to be cur-
rant within the same realme, as well gold as silver,
calling them to hir maiesties mints, except two sorts
of crownes of gold, the one the French crowne, the
other the Flemish crowne. Thus did hir maiestie
in all hir actions directed to common vtilitie shew
at a certeine perfection, purenesse, and soundnesse,
as here in hir new stampes and coines of all sorts; so also
in Gods religion, setting the materiall churches of
hir dominions free from all popish trash: which one
hath aptlie noted by waie of comparison, saieing:

*Eiectis paleis purgatur ut area multo
usque laborantis serui sudore, renouatis
ut nitet ampla domus, quas struxit aranea telis:
sic prius idolis confectis, templa fiantur
Cunctis scopis, quicquid fuit, abradentibus vncis
Dentibus obscurum, spurcum, verbone repugnans
sacro, religioque erectis cultior ibat*

Aaaaaa.

1477

All the fles of
Paules made
and framed of
new timber.

Centhsand
pounds in his
sufficient to re-
pare Paules
ast: was at
the first.

God orders
nothing
worth if they
be not put in
execution.

Free schole
in Bedford
towne found-
ed by Wil-
liam Harper
maior of Lon-
don elect.

New coines
of small peces
as six pence,
etc.

*Iam peilibus, Christusque Dei cognoscitur agnus,
Offensas delens mundum, peccataque tollens
Vandalis populo non indulgentia papa.*

Anno Reg. 4.
Monstruous
births in di-
uerse places of
England.

1562

France at dis-
union in it
selfe by ciuill
warres.

The queenes
maiesties mis-
trust of incor-
uenience, and
the same re-
medied.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie sent
ambassador
into France.

In other am-
bassage in Ju-
lie directed in-
to France.

Ships of Lon-
don, Excester,
& Falmouth,
swoll: by the
French in
Britaine, the
thirtieth of
Julie, and
nineteenth of
August.

This yeare in England were manie monstrous
births. In March a mare brought forth a foale with
one bodie and two heads, and as it were a long taile
growing out betwene the two heads. Also a sow
rowed a pig with foure legs like to the armes of a
manchild with armes and fingers, &c. In Aprill a sow
farrowed a pig with two bodies, eight feet, and but
one head: manie calves and lambs were monstreu-
ous, some with collars of skin growing about their
necks, like to the double ruffes of shirts and necker-
chers then vsed. The foure and twentieth of Maie, a
manchild was borne at Chichester in Suffe, the head
armes, & legs thereof were like to an anatonie, the
breast and bellie monstrous big, from the nauill as
it were a long string hanging: about the necke a
great collar of flesh and skin growing like the ruffe
of a shirt or neckercher, comming by above the
eares pleited and folded, &c.

The realme of France being in great trouble a-
bout this season, by the means of ciuill dissention and
warres that rose betwixt the house of Guise and o-
ther of that faction upon the one side, and the princes
of Conde and other that took part with him on the
contrarie side: the queenes maiestie informed how
that the duke of Guise and his partakers hauing got
into their possession the person of the yong king, un-
der pretext of his authoritie, sought the subuersion of
manie noble men and good subiects of the crowne of
France, namelie such as were knowne or suspected
to be zealous for a reformation to be had in matters
of religion: hir maiestie therupon considering, that
if their purpose might be brought to effect, it was to
be doubted that they would not so rest, but seek to
set things in broile also within this hir realme of
England, and other countries nere to them adioi-
ning: first as one that had euer wished quietnesse,
rather than the troubles of warre, sent ouer Sir Hen-
rie Sidneie at that present lord president of Wales
(a man of such estimation as his word ought to haue
deserued credit) to trie if he might doe anye good to
bring the parties to some attonement. But such wil-
full headinesse seemed to rest in some that were chiefe
of the one faction, that their desire seemed altogether
bent to enter into wars. Hir maiestie yet hoping the
best, appointed to send another honourable ambas-
sage, which by their wisdoms and good aduise might
persuade the parties vnto concord, whereby all due
authoritie, honoz, & dignitie might be restored to the
king, and euerie other degree kepe their comes and
places as to them appertained, but all in vaine. For
this motion of a pacification to be had could take no
place, neither might the will of the yong king, or of
his timorous mother, as it then seemed, be regarded,
otherwise than as stood with the pleasure & appoint-
ment of those that were knowne to be the chiefe au-
thors and furtherers of all those troubles.

Whilist the queenes maiestie therefore did thus
trauell in respect of the suertie which hir grace bare
to hir welbeloued brother the said king, and to the
commoditie and quietnesse of both the factions, an
open iniurie was offered to hir maiestie: so as it
might appeare what minds they bare towards hir,
that had thus excluden and refused all offers & means
to grow to some good and indifferent conclusion of
peace. For whereas manie merchants, as well of
London as of Excester, and other the west parts of
hir realme, were sojourning for cause of traffike, in
diuerse parts and hauens of Britaine; and hauing
dispatched their businesse, and got their lading aboard,
their ships were readie to hoise by sailes, and to re-
turne each one towards the place from whence hee

came, they were suddenlie arrested, their goods seized
vpon, and they themselves cast in prison: and some
that in reuenge of such offered iniurie attempted to
make resistance, were cruellie slaine, their ships con-
ueied auaie, their goods confiscat, without other pre-
tense, but onelie that it was said to them that they
were Huguenots. Neither was this done by priuie
persons, but by open violence of the gouernors & ma-
gistrats of those places where the same disorder was
executed: so that it appeared from whence they had
their commission to vse such wrongfull dealing, and
how farre the same would extend, if they might once
haue time and occasion to accomplish their purposed
intentions.

Whereouer, when complaint of such iniuries was
made vnto the lawfull magistrats there, they found
no redres at all. For what might the poore merchants
profit by their plaints, when the packets of the am-
bassadors letters, directed to hir maiestie, were taken
from the bearer, & no punishment had against those
that committed so vnciuill an outrage? A thing that
offended hir maiestie so much more, for that as she
tooke the matter, there wanted no good will, either in
the king, or his mother, or in the king of Nauarre,
the kings generall lieutenant, to see such a presump-
tuous and vnrulie part punished of their people: but
rather that there lacked in them authoritie to haue it
redressed. Furthermore, it greatly grieved hir, that
the yong French king, hir dære brother was brought
to such a streit, that he was neither able to defend the
libertie of his people, nor the authoritie of his lawes,
nor to deale by rightlie with other princes and poten-
tats accordinglie, as by the bonds of leagues and of
covenanted alliances had bene requisite. Neither did
such disorder in gouernement of the kingdome of
France touch anye so much and particularlie, as the
queens maiestie of England.

She therefore lamenting that the king and queene
mother should be thus in the hands of them that pro-
cured all these troubles, and led by and done at
their pleasures, and driuen to behold the spoile and
sacking of diuerse his cities, and miserable slaughter
of his subiects: and againe hir grace thinking it ex-
pedient to preuent that such as were knowne to
beare no good will, either to hir or hir realme, should
not get into their possessions such townes and ha-
uens as laye against the sea coasts of hir said realme,
whereby they stuffing the same with garrisons and
numbers of men of warre, might easilie vpon occa-
sions seeke to make inuasions into this hir said
realme, to the great annoiance of hir and hir louing
subiects: at the request of the French themselves,
thought it expedient to put in armoz a certeine num-
ber of hir subiects, to passe ouer into Normandie,
vnto such hauens as were approached vnto this hir
realme of England, as well for the safegard of the
same, as also for the reliefe and preservation of the
inhabitants there: and other that possessed the gos-
pell, liuing in continuall danger to be murdered and
oppressed, and therefore crauing hir aid to saue and
deliuer them out of the bloudie hands of their cruell
adueraries, that sought their hasty destruction.

For the conduction therefore of such forces as she
meant to send ouer at that present, she ordeined the
lord Ambrose Dudley earle of Warwicke to be hir
principall lieutenant, capitaine generall, chiefe lea-
der and gouernoz of hir said subiects, that should in
such wise passe ouer into Normandie. Hereupon,
the said erle the seuenteenth of October, in this fourth
yeare of hir maiesties reigne, took shipping at Dor-
setmouth in the haven there, at one a clocke in the
after none, being aboard himselfe in the queens ship,
called the *Sweto barke*, and setting forward, sailed all
that after none, and the night following, directed to-
wards

Letters ta-
ken from the
queens amb-
assadors.

The es-
tablishment
of the
peace.

Light
men.

Another
and by
the
hand
and the
hand.

The French
troubles touch
most the
queens
of England.

The chiefe
causes that
moued the
queens mai-
estie to send
a power into
France.

Further
the
hand
and the
hand.

Spice
the
hand
and the
hand.

In all
the
hand.

The earle
of Warwicke
sent
into
Normandie
with an
armie.

wards Petwouhen, but in the morning about eight a clocke, when his lordship was within twentie miles of the towne of Petwouhen, the wind suddenlie changed cleane contrarie to his course: so that being obliged to returne about the next midnight, he arrived in the downes, and there remained at anchor, till about eight of the clocke in the next morning being mondaie, and then was set on land by bote at Sandon castell besides Deale, and the same date at night came to Douer, & there laie till fridaie at thre of the clocke at after none; and then taking ship againe, sailed forth: but finding the wind nothing prosperous for his course, after he had lien all that night & the daie following, tossing & tumbling on the seas, he was constrained to come backe againe, and arrived in the haven of Douer, about ten of the clocke on saturdaye at night, and so remained there till tuesdaye next insuing at thre of the clocke in the after none, and then went to shipboard againe in the said ship called the Petwouhen: and directing his course for wards, on thursdaye morning about eight of the clocke, his lordship landed at Petwouhen, where he was most joyfullie received with a great peale of artillerie.

The next daie, being fridaie, & the thirtieth of October, there came to Petwouhen from Diepe, fiftie light horsemen Scots, brought by one of maister Billigrues servants. On saturdaye the last of October, the earle of Marwicks commission was proclaimed in Latine, English, and French, by Blew mantell, pursuant at armes: which being ended, his lordship went into the church, and there sir Adrian Poinings knight marshall gave him his oth, and then my lord gave the said sir Adrian his oth. And after him were sworne Cutbert Vaughan controllor, John Fisher knight porter, William Bownfield maister of the ordinance, William Robinson water bailie, and captaine Thomas Wood cleake of the counsell. On mondaie the second of November, the earle of Marwike, with the knight marshall, and the controllor, rode out of Petwouhen to Hanteuille, and so towards Hondeuille, accompanied with all the horsemen English and Scottish, and a thousand footmen. The Scottishmen & Pontgoneries hand passed forth, and skirmished with them of Hondeuille, and the Scots brought awaie with them a botle of thre hundred shepe: but in the morning, they were returned backe againe by commandement of the earle of Marwike.

Maister controllors souldiours went as far as Harlue, and there skirmished with them of that garrison, but without anie hurt to either part. My lord lieutenant riding all about the hils, viewed the countrie, and at night returned. On wednesdaye the fourth of November, a barke of Petwouhen, belonging to Francis Clarke, brought into the haven of the same towne, foure Britons laden with wines, to the quantitie of two hundred tunns of good Gascoigne wines, which they ment to haue brought to the enemies: but being thus taken as a good pise, it was discharged in Petwouhen, and stood the Englishmen and others of that towne in good stead. On fridaie the first of November, about nine of the clocke in the morning, a great alarum rose in the said towne of Petwouhen: for upon the hils on the north side of the towne, the Keingraue, and the sonne of the viceadmerall of France, shewed themselves, accompanied with two thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen. And herewith, the Keingraue sent a trumpet to the towne, to aduertise the lord lieutenant, that he was on the hils there at hand; and that understanding his lordship was come into the countrie, and entred into Petwouhen, if it would please him to promise upon his honor, and by

the faith of a gentleman, that he might come, and returne in safetie, he would be glad to come & see him. Whereupon the lord lieutenant, taking with him certeine capteins and gentlemen, rode forth of the towne, and sent before him sir Adrian Poinings the marshall, with Stephan Pedcalfe his maiesties trumpet to the Keingraue, who talking with him, returned, and met with the lord lieutenant: who therewith passed forward, and meeting with the Keingraue, they embraced each other, and conferred together as they had occasion. And the Keingraue told the lord lieutenant (among other talke) that he was come to be his neighbor, and so with such merie speech they communed together: and after taking their leave either of other, they returned unto their homes.

The counte Pontgonerie and monsieur Beauuois had some talke also with the Keingraue, casting out bitter and sharpe words in reprove of the duke of Guise, and others that were of his faction. The Keingraue comming backe to his armie the same afternone, forraied all the countrie, and drove awaie the most part of all the cattell that they might meet with: and comming to the church of Hanteuille, where an hundred and fiftie of Pontgoneries hand laie, they skirmished with them, and in the end Pontgoneries souldiours were forced to retire, and abandon the place, leaving it to the enemies; and comming awaie, withdrew the same night into Petwouhen. The Almans the same evening, dividing their armie into two parts, the one halfe of them went and lodged at Hondeuille, and the other halfe at Harlue. The morrow after, the Frenchmen that had abandoned the church of Hanteuille the night before, went thither againe, toke and kept it against the enemies, in like manner as they held it before.

The eleventh of November, a proclamation was made in the name of the lord lieutenant, by the officer at armes Blew mantell, as well for good orders to be kept by the souldiours against the French inhabitants of the towne, & reforming of certeine grievances, whereof the French had made complaint: as also for their comming to church to heare common prater and preaching at due times, for the avoiding of unlawfull games, whozome, wicked dyes, and other blasphemies; and likewise concerning diuerse other good orders to be obserued, and disorders to be eschewed, as was thought necessarie to give warning of, with condigne paines appointed for punishment of such as should transgresse in the same.

On thursdaye the twelfth of November, there went out of the towne of Petwouhen towards Harlue, thre bands of Frenchmen, conteining about six hundred footmen; and suddenlie they were beset by the Almans and Frenchmen of the garrison of Harlue: so that the French protestants were driven to take a village called Granille, where they maintained the skirmish for the space of two houres, till the lord lieutenant, hearing of the perill in which they stood, sent forth with the controllor the number of a thousand footmen, and all the English and Scottish horsemen, and monsieur Beauuois with diuerse French horsemen: who comming before Harlue, fell in skirmish with the enemies, to whose succor there issued forth of Harlue a great number of the Almans, both horsemen and footmen. But the Englishmen behaved themselves so valiantlie, that they beat them out of the field, and drove them in the end to the verie gates of their towne, with such lionlike courage, as was wonderfull: choosing rather to die in battell (if hap had so cut their cards) in an honest cause, than in their sick beds: as moved by the poets reason not amisse for a souldior to

A a a a a. ij.

Stephan
Pedcalfe
trumpetor.
The earle of
Marwike and
the Keingraue
talked
together.

The church
of Hanteuille
recovered.

A proclamation
for good
orders to be
kept by the
souldiours.

A skirmish
betweene
the French
and Almans.

ers ta-
rom the
is ambag-
a fery-
s.

Exercise of
warlike
militia at
Petwouhen.

Highness
of the
duke of
Guise.

Arms recei-
ved by the
lord lieutenant,
and other of-
ficers.

French
les touch
the queene
England.

chiese
a that
the
es mas-
ter into
ce.

Arms recei-
ved by the
lord lieutenant,
and other of-
ficers.

Arms recei-
ved by the
lord lieutenant,
and other of-
ficers.

Arms recei-
ved by the
lord lieutenant,
and other of-
ficers.

Arms recei-
ved by the
lord lieutenant,
and other of-
ficers.

remember and resolutelie to rest vpon, to wit:

*Absumpti longis animam cruciatibus edunt
Languentes morbis: in bello pulchra paratur
Ator, homo momento pugnans extinguitur bore,
Evolat in tenues letus cito spiritus auras.*

The Englishmen
retire to
Bewhauen
with hono^r.

Monsieur
Beauuois.

Wines taken
and brought
to Bewhauen

A proclama-
tion for har-
quebut shot.

An alarum
vpon occasion
of fier made by
the papists.

Execution.

A proclama-
tion to reſtreine
the outrage
of ſouldiours.

Wines
brought to
Bewhauen.

A ſupplic of
ſouldiours
out of Eſſex

This skirmiſh was ſhoullie mainteined and conti-
nued for the ſpace of three long houres. Their great
artillerie was ſhot off freſhlie from the walls and
bulwarks. At length, when the night drew on, the
retire was founded, and the Engliſhmen came their
waie backe to Bewhauen with hono^r, hauing loſt
not paſt eight of their ſouldiours, that were ſlaine and
ſix other hurt: whereas there was one of the eni-
mies capitaine ſlaine in ſight, with twentie ſouldiours,
and another of their capitaine, with diuerſe others of
their numbers grieuouſlie wounded. Monsieur
Beauuois ſhewed himſelfe that daie verie forward
and ballant, & ſo likewiſe did the Scottiſhmen. The
thirtieth of Nouember, a pinneſſe of the French-
men that belonged to Bewhauen, being gone ſouth
the night before, brought into the haven a ſhip laden
with Rochell wines, five and twentie tuns, that was
bound to paſſe by to the enemies, and ſo eſteemed a
good piſſe. On the fourteenth of Nouember, and
their ſhip fraught with twentie tuns of Calcoigne
wines was brought in as a piſſe, likewiſe taken by
a barke of Bewhauen, that belonged to a French-
man, called Jehan de Bois, an earneſt aduerſarie
to the papists.

The ſeventh of Nouember, a proclamation was
made by Blewmanſell, concerning orders taken
and paſſed by the lord lieutenant, that no Engliſh-
man nor Frenchman ſhould ſhot off anie harque-
buſe within the towne; nor that anie Frenchman,
except monsieur Beauuois, or monsieur Brique-
mault, or their companies, ſhould be out of their
lodgings after nine of the clocke at night till the next
morning on paine of death: except in caſes of ala-
rums. The twelſe of Nouember, about ſix of the
clocke at night, one of the mills without the gate
was ſet on fire by ſome of the papists (as was
thought) whereof roſe a great alarum. The thir-
teenth of Nouember, the Keingraue was ſene on
the north hils of the towne, with foure ſcore horſe-
men: wherevpon the Scottiſh horſemen, and three
bands of footmen iſſued out, marching by towards
the ſame hils, in hope to meet with their enemies,
but they were retired towards Mondouille, and ſo
nothing was done. It was repo^rted for a certeine
truth, that the duke Daumale was there at that pre-
ſent with the Keingraue.

On wedneſdaie, the five and twentieth of Nouem-
ber, one of capitaine Cockſons ſouldiours was han-
ged in the market place: and an other that was
brought thither likewiſe to be executed had his par-
don, at the ſute of certeine French gentlemen. And
herewith was proclamation made, that where it had
beene proclaimed afore, that none ſhould take anie
thing forcible from the French on paine of death,
for breach whereof, ſuch execution was preſentlie
done: the lord lieutenant did by this proclamation
eſſons charge and command, that none vpon like
paine ſhould breake or ſpoile anie houſe or ſhip: or
take anie timber, wood, or anie other thing from the
French, without their good will, conſent, and agree-
ment. The ſame afternone came into the haven
hoies and botes laden with wine, cider, perrie,
wheate, beefe, biſquet, meale, and other prouiſion of
viſtels. Two French ſhallops of Bewhauen had
taken them beſides Hundue, and beaten backe a
ſhallop of the enemies, ſlaing ten or twelue French-
men that came ſouth of Hundue to haue ſucrozed
the hoies. The five and twentieth of Nouember, there
landed at Bewhauen ſix hundred ſouldiours Eſſex

men, under the leading of Aurie Darſie, Reginald
Higate, and William Twodie, each of them ha-
ving his appointed number of two hundred to his
enſigne.

Moreover, where as well diuerſe prentiſes, as
other Engliſhmen were come ouer, ſince the pla-
cing of the garrifon in that towne of Bewhauen,
not offering their ſervice anie waie, other than by
ſtragling abroad to ſeeke pillage, whereby they fell
oftentimes into the hands of the enemies, both to the
diſhono^r of their countrie, & loſſe of their owne liues,
for reformation hereof proclamation was made
the laſt of Nouember, that all Engliſhmen within
the ſaid towne, aboue the age of ſixteen peares, and
under three ſcore, being not retained in the queens
maieſties paie, ſhould at one of the clocke that pre-
ſent daie repaire to the bulwark called the bul-
wark of ſaint Ado^rſſes, there to preſent his name &
perſon to the comptrollo^r, that order might be taken
how to emploie them in ſome certainte of ſervice,
vpon paine to euerie one failing hereof to ſuffer ten
daies impriſonment, & alſo to be baniſhed the towne.

The ſame daie the queens ſhip called the Hare,
comming from Do^rſtmouth, arrived at Bewha-
uen; and in hir came ſir John Do^rſtinarie, whoſe ripe
ſkill, deepe iudgement, and great experience in mat-
ters of fortification had byed in him ſuch knowledg,
as he may worthilie be called a maſter in that ſci-
ence. They were by the waie aſſailed by a French
ſhip of foure ſcore and ten tuns and better: but they
that were aboard in the Hare, ſo manfully acquitted
themſelves, that they vanquiſhed the enemies, toke
the ſame ſhip, & brought hir with them being laden
with wines, which they meant to haue conueied to
the aduerſaries in ſome garrifon. The ſame daie ſir
John Poze landed at Bewhauen, bringing ouer
with him five hundred ſouldiours out of Denſhire, for
a ſupplic of the garrifon there. He himſelfe returned
backe into England, but the ſouldiours were appoin-
ted to the leading of other capitaine: ſo that Francis
Summerſet, brother to the earle of Moreſer had
three hundred of them; Oliver Spanners an hun-
dred, and Edward Dymſie the other hundred. On
tueſdaie the eight of December monsieur de Beau-
uois, capitaine Francis Summerſet, and capitaine
Edward Pozele, with diuerſe other capitaine, offi-
cers and gentlemen, rode to the Keingraue, lieng
at a faire houſe not farre from Mondouille, where
they dined with him, had great and hartie chere, and
after returned againe to Bewhauen. The ſame
daie the Keingraue ſent for a preſent unto my lord
of Warwicke, a great horſe, verie faire, with ſaddle
and bryde; eſteemed to be well worth an hundred
pounds.

Moreover, the ſame daie at night, the Double
Roſe with certeine other botes and French ſhallops,
paſſed ſouth of the haven: Edward Duleie, and
capitaine John Ward being aboard in the ſaid Dou-
ble Roſe, with diuerſe other Engliſhmen & French-
men, to the number of a hundred good ſouldiours, who
ſailing downe the river landed beſide Tankerville,
and laie cloſe all that night in the wood. And in the
morning about nine of the clocke monsieur Bimar,
enſignebearer to the counte Montgomerie, with ſir
or ſea^ren Frenchmen vnarmed went to the caſtell
gate, and there fell in talke with monsieur Dimeræ,
who was capitaine of that fortreſſe, hauing with him
about ten ſouldiours that were appointed to remaine
with him vpon the gard of the ſame caſtell. Whilſt
they were thus in talke, the Engliſhmen and other
Frenchmen comming ſouth of the wood that was
there at hand, reared by their ladders, which they
had brought with them for that purpoſe, at the breach
which was made the ſummer before by the duke
Daumale;

A proclama-
tion for the
ſembling of
ſouldiours at
ſaint Ado^rſſes.

A ſkirmiſh
before Har-
den.
The French
men beaten
into Harſen

Sir John
Do^rſtinarie a
Florentine,
and an expe-
rienced engi-
neer.

Monsieur
Brique-
mault
ſlight hurt.

Sir John
Poze brings
with him
a ſupplic
of ſouldiours
to Bewhauen
out of Den-
ſhire.

A proclama-
tion for obſer-
uing of op-
era.

A preſent ſent
by the Keing-
raue to the
card of War-
wicke.

The death of
the lord Greu-
il wilton.

Edward
Duleie.

The caſtell
Tankerville
tooke by the
Engliſhmen.

the at
cathen.

Proclama-
tion for the ad-
mbl ng of
soldiers at
the Tower.

Sir John
Doctinaria
Florentine,
and an excel-
lent engi-
ner.

Sir John
Doctinaria
th a supplie
of soldiers to
Newhaven
out of De-
vonsheire.

A present sent
by the King
Graue to the
earle of Wor-
wicke.

Edward
Dudley.

The castell of
Tarkeruile
surrendered to
the English.

Damale; and entring by the same, came doونه into the base court. Which thing when the French soldiers that kept talke with them within at the castle gate perceived, they began to laugh. The capitaine of the castell therewith turning his face, & beholding as good as thre score armed men within the castle at his backe, he suddenlye said: Ha, ie suis vostre, I am yours sirs, and so yelded with his ten soldiers. And in this sort was the castell taken, & the capitaine brought prisoner to Newhaven.

On the twelfe of December, at ten of the clocke in the morning, the earle of Warwicke, monsieur de Beaunois, and monsieur de Biquemaunt, with all their horsemen & thre thousand footmen, passed forth of Newhaven unto Harflue, out of which towne there issued seaven hundred Keiffers of the retinue of the counte Keingraue, and thre hundred footmen, who fell in skirmish with the French and Englishmen verie hottie: but at length the Englishmen drave them to the verie gates of Harflue, and shue them even at the same gates, and upon the walles of the towne; inso much that they were constrained to shut their gates, and off went the ordinance from the gates and bulwarks, discharging bullets amongst the English soldiers streite. But yet there were not laine past seven of the English part, albeit divers were hurt and wounded, & amongst other was monsieur de Beaunois shot into the side of the necke through his gorget; and capitaine Antwyl fell through the arme. Moreover, whereas they carried forth with them foure barrels of gunpowder to mainteine the skirmish, through negligence by setting fire in the same, there were to the number of twentie greynoulie burned. Of the enemies were laine that daie about thirtie, and hurt about fiftie. Manie of their horses were also laine in this skirmish, which continued about thre houres. As the Englishmen were returning backe, the Keingraue with two hundred horses, and a certeine number of footmen, was laid fast by in an ambush, thinking to have cut off part of their men: but he failed of his purpose. For the lord lieutenant marching with his men in battell aiaie, brought them home in safetie, without other impeachment. The seauententh of December, the counte Montgomerie, and sir Hugh Haulet arrived at Newhaven in one of the queenes ships called the Aid.

The nineteenth of December a proclamation was made for orders to be obserued, concerning the imbarcking of such soldiers as were licensed to depart by passeport or otherwise: and likewise prohibiting the taking into anie vessel anie drie fish, wine, sugar, or anie household stuffe without special licence of the lord lieutenant. Whilist things passed thus in Normandie at Newhaven & thereabouts, where the earle of Warwicke & other valiant capteines were ready to make proofe of their high prowesse in time & place as occasion might serue, there ended his life at home that honorable baron, and right famous capitaine in his daies William lord Greie of Wilton, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and at that present gouernor of Berwicke, and warden of the east marches against Scotland. He deceased the five and twentieth of December, in the yere 1562, at Cheshnut in Hertfordshire, then the house of Henrie Denie esquier that had married mistresse Honore Greie, the said lord Greies onelie daughter. The six and twentieth of December the counte de Montgomerie took shipping at Newhaven rode, accompanied with foure hundred harquebutters Frenchmen, and sailed to Depe, there to be gouernor of that towne. He went in an English barke belonging to Nicholas Spalbe secretarie to the earle of Warwicke lord lieutenant.

The third of Januarie a Gallip that was sent the same morning from Newhaven, laden with beere and other bittels to passe unto Tankerville, was assailed about Harflue, by a Gallip of Hungarie, which drave the hoie to the shore: so as the Englishmen forsooke their hoie, and came running to Newhaven, to declare what had happened. Whereupon the lord lieutenant sent forth foure French Gallips by water, and the horsemen with six hundred footmen passed forth by land, and used such diligence, that they came euen as the Frenchmen were haling up the hoie towards Harflue: and skirmishing with the Frenchmen (being foure score good harquebutters) for the space of a long houre; at length recovered the hoie, and took thre of their Gallips with their ordinance, which they brought to Newhaven, with the losse of one onelie man, an harquebuter of capitaine Zouches band. The fourth of Januarie in the morning, the English scout, being thirtie good harquebutters, were set upon by the enemies that drave them unto the verie gates. They shot also with their harquebusses into the towne, and over the mount roiall among the English soldiers. They hurt at that present thre of the scouts; but when they perceived the Englishmen were in a readinesse to approach them, they departed, being in number thre hundred horsemen and a thousand footmen, soldiers of Mondenille and Harflue. The six of Januarie were apprehended capitaine Blondell, capitaine Poucombell, monsieur Dimence, and Misanina with others, for some conspiracie or traitorous practise which they went about, and had maliciouslie contriued. The same daie capitaine Edward Hozse with his two hundred soldiers, & capitaine Francis Blunt with his hundred took shipping at Newhaven rode, and sailed to Depe, there to remaine with the counte Montgomerie, whose wife the countesse Montgomerie went also with them to hir husband the same time.

On the saturday following, the twelfe daie after Christmasse, being the ninth of Januarie, a great tempest of wind and thunder happened in the towne of Leicester, which vncouered two and fortie bases of houses, and ouerthrew manie, renting and tearing them in peces, in a strange and marvellous manner. The people that were assembled that daie in the market place to buie and sell their usuall chafer, wares, and commodities, were sore amazed and astonished with the hideousnesse of that most outrageous & violent tempest. On thursdaie the 14 of Januarie at one of the clocke in the morning, there issued forth of Newhaven thre score horsemen, and a thousand footmen, all English; & comming to Mondenille, where the Keingraue late gaue to them within an aldrum, but neither the Keiffers, nor the Almane footmen, nor French that were within that towne would come forth: and therefore after the Englishmen had tarried there the space of foure houres, they returned backe againe to Newhaven.

The fiftenth of Januarie, at one of the clocke in the afternoon, there issued forth of Newhaven thre score horsemen, and fiftene hundred footmen, which comming to Harflue, gaue a like aldrum to that towne; but none of the garrison there would come forth: whereupon the Englishmen returned home againe to Newhaven. The sixteenth of Januarie, the castell of Tankerville was surrendered to the Keingraue, after he had laine about it eight daies, with two thousand horsemen and footmen. It was now yelded by composition (after it had bene kept by the space of thirtie eight daies) that those within should depart with bag and baggage, the galle being sent from Newhaven to fetch them awaie. There were no more within it at that time when it was

A hoie recovered which the French had taken.

Certaine apprehended for conspiracie.

A great tempest in Leicester.

An aldrum given to Mondenille.

An aldrum given to Harflue.

The castell of Tankerville delivered to the Keingraue.

Tremaine.

Francis
Clerke
Frenchman.Prizes taken
by him of as
bout 5000
crownes va-
lue.Capteine E-
meric taken
by the Sco-
tish hoymen.A proclama-
tion for the
obseruing of
orders.A prize
brought to
Newhaven.Three other
prizes of
sackes, ba-
stards, &c.A souldier ex-
ecuted for
fighting con-
trarie to the
orders in that
case giuen.Three other
pardoned.The admerall
of France
summoneth
Hunsloe.

was thus deliuered: but capteine John Ward, capteine Edward Dumble, and capteine Saule, his lieutenant Kileie, with seuentie English souldiers, & thirtie French. The 19 of Januarie, there landed at Newhaven capteine Tremaine, with 50 hoymen verie well appointed to serue the queenes maiestie there. The foure and twentieth of Januarie, Francis Clerke Frenchman arrived at Newhaven, with two tall ships of his owne, right well appointed for the wars, bying with him thre rich prizes, valued at about fiftie thousand crownes, one of them was a mightie great hulke, laden with wood & allume. The 26 of Januarie, capteine Tremaine with all his hoymen, & capteine Clerke with his Scottish hoymen, and 600 footmen, went forth of Newhaven towards Houndeuille, & by the waie in a little village, there was a French capteine came forth of Houndeuille, named monsieur Emerie, having with him thirtie souldiers, where falling in hand to spoile the same village, the pezzants about gathered them selves together, and set vpon him and his souldiers. Now whilst they were thus in fight, the Scottish hoymen came suddenlie vpon them, toke the said capteine fore wounded, due twelue of his souldiers, & toke fourtene other of them prisoners, whome with their capteine wounded (as he was) they brought home the same night vnto Newhaven.

The thre and twentieth of Januarie, a proclamation was made for orders to be obserued by the souldiers, and other resiants within the towne of Newhaven, concerning politike gouernement thereof, as well for the better defense against the enemies without, as the quiet demeanour of the men of warre and inhabitants within. The fift of Februarie, two ships of Britons laden with Gascoigne wines, butter, bacon, lard, salt, and other vittels, were brought into Newhaven by a thallop of Killebeuf, that was resiant with other Frenchmen in Newhaven, seruing against the papists, and had taken those two vessels, as they were going to vittell the enemies.

The first of Februarie thre faire mightie ships of warre, belonging to Francis Clerke, brought into Newhaven thre rich prizes, laden with sackes, bastards, sugar, oranges, graines, and other merchandises. This Clerke had not bene forth past six weeks at this time, and yet he had got about eightene prizes, well tooch by last valuation the summe of fiftie thousand pounds. On saturdaye the first of Februarie, a souldier of capteine Appleyards band was executed in the market place; for that contrarie to order taken and published afore that time by proclamation, he had not onclie drawn his weapon against another souldier, but also maimed him, and plaid other lewd parts in contempt of the lord lieutenants commandements. There was another also condemned to die, and two others aduoged to lose their hands: but the lord lieutenant of his mercifull clemencie granted to those thre his pardon, for their passed offenses. On sundaye the seventh of Februarie, was Hunsloe summoned by an herald, sent from the French admerall, monsieur de Chatillon. On mondaie the eight of that moneth, the said admerall came befoze Hunsloe, with six thousand hoymen Keiffers, and other of his owne retinues, beside footmen, and a thousand hoymen of the countreies thereabout. And about six of the clocke at night there was a great peale of ordinance shot off at Newhaven for a welcome to the said admerall.

The twelue of Februarie, the French gallees of Newhaven passing forth, and waiting about Hunsloe to seeke adventures, in hope of surtie, by reason the lord admerall of France laie therby at Touque, rode at an anchor: whilst some of them that were aboard in hir went on land, to gaine somwhat

of the enemies. But they within Hunsloe perceiving this, made out their great gallees, with fiftie god mariners and souldiers, who comming vpon the gallees of Newhaven lieng at anchor, put hir in great danger of taking. For there were but fiftie men left aboard in hir at that present, wherof thre of them were Englishmen, who perceiving in what danger they stood, waited anchor with all speed, and drew towards the shore, to take in the rest of their compagnie; and getting them aboard vnto them, they manfully stood to their defense, being in all but foure and twentie men. Neuertheless, they so behaued themselves, that continuing in fight about a long houre, at length they overcame their enemies, due seuen of them outright, wounded seuen and thirtie, toke their galle and brought hir to Newhaven, with thirtene hels, diuerse copes, and church ornaments, sheepe, and other spoiles, which they had got aboard in the countreie, togither with thre and fortie god prisoners, and the artillerie which was found aboard in the foresaid great galle, wherewith she was verie well appointed and furnished.

Of the French protestants there were but thre slaine and six hurt, and one of the thre Englishmen was also hurt. As it hath bene crediblie reported, the French protestants might thanke those thre Englishmen that were with them in their gallees for that their god hap: for if they had not manfully stood to it at the first, and bestowed such artillerie as they had aboard with them freshlie against the enemies, the French had yeelded. But by Gods god helpe, and their worthie courage, the victorie remained on their side. The fourteenth of Februarie there came from the lord admerall of France, lieng then at Touque, monsieur de Kohen, and monsieur de Grandemont, a knight of the order, monsieur de legnie the admerals sonne in law, and diuerse other French gentlemen, to confer with the lord lieutenant, who receiued them right gladlie, and made them great chere. They remained in Newhaven till the eighteenth of Februarie, and then departed and went to Caen, whither the said lord admerall was removed, & had entred the towne, & laie within it, preparing with all speed to besiege the castell.

The same daie that the French lords departed from Newhaven towards Caen, monsieur Brique-mault, and sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight arrived at Newhaven in one of the queenes ships called the Aid. The admerall Chatillon being got into the towne of Caen, kept the castell besieged, within which was inclosed the marquesse Dalbeuf. There were sent to him from Newhaven the six & twentieth of Februarie, seuen canons, two demie culuerings, & one minion. On the morrow following being fridaye, and six and twentieth of Februarie, sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, monsieur Brique-mault, and monsieur Beauuois, with a thousand souldiers French, and as manie English, to wit, capteine Zouch, capteine Twedie, capteine Wigate, & of them with two hundred: capteine John Ward, capteine Parkinson, capteine Saule, master Wheeler, and capteine Fisher with his band, each of them with his hundred, and capteine Belham with the labourers were imbarked in the rode at Newhaven, and sailed forth towards Caen, to come to the siege which the admerall of France had laid to the castell there.

The same date as the counte Montgomerie had imbarked at the hauen of Diepe in an English vessel, and was comming towards Newhaven, there came out from Fekampe thre thallops, by the appointment of the Keingraue (as was said) which made towards Montgomerie, whose meaning when he perceived, he set vpon the strongest of the same thallops,

The counte
Montgomerie
maketh a
French
thallop.Montgomerie
goeth to Caen
to speake with
the admerall.The castell of
Caen battle-
d.It is rendred
to the adme-
rall.Bailly, Fa-
ult, and So-
la, yeelded to
the admerall.The canon
sent to the
castell of
Hunsloe.

It is paid.

A proclama-
tion vpon
the death.A proclama-
tion in the
French kinges
name.The French
by

The counte
of Montgomerie
was a
French
captaine.

Montgomerie
came to Caen
to conferre with
the admerall.

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The castell of
Caen battie
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o sent to the
se of Caen.

the counte
of Montgomerie
was a
French
captaine.

Montgomerie
came to Caen
to conferre with
the admerall.

The canon
was to the
chill of
Caen.

the counte
of Montgomerie
was a
French
captaine.

the counte
of Montgomerie
was a
French
captaine.

the counte
of Montgomerie
was a
French
captaine.

the counte
of Montgomerie
was a
French
captaine.

shallops, so that there followed a sharpe conflict be-
twixt them, but in the end the victorie fell to Mont-
gomerie, the shallop being taken, the captaine and
maister slain, and three English vittellers rescued,
which the said shallops had taken. Montgomerie
herewith arriving at Newhaue, and bringing his
prize with him was forthwith received, and after he
had talked a while with the lord lieutenant and the
councell, he went aboard againe and sailed to Caen,
there to confer with the admerall.

The first of March in the morning they began to
batter the castell of Caen, in such wise that about
four of the clocke in the afternoon, they within be-
gan to parley, but it took none effect: and then went
off the artillerie againe till night, and in the morning
the batterie efflowes began. And before that two
times of the said artillerie had gone off, they within
offered to parley againe, and finally agreed by com-
position to yield; and so on that tuesday by ten of the
clocke, the castell was surrendred into the hands of
the French admerall, and the marquesse Dalbent,
and other that had the place in keeping, departed in
safetie. On wednesday the third of March, the towne
of Baienur was also yielded unto the lord admerall
of France, and on the morrow following Saleise,
and after wards S. Lo., with diuerse other townes
and castles, yielded likewise unto him. The tenth
of March the great gallie and the foists were sent a-
waie from Newhaue, with a canon and shot and
powder unto Hundue, where they met with mon-
sieur de Mouie, that came thither with a faire com-
panie of horsemen and diuerse footmen French, and
of Englishmen, captaine Tuttle with his two hun-
dred, and captaine Fisher with his hundred.

The canon which came from Newhaue was
immediatlie planted, and about ten of the clocke in
the forenoon it was shot off, and after it had bene
six times discharged, they within began to parley,
and in the end they agreed to yield by the castell unto
monsieur de Mouie, with condition, that their sol-
diers and men of sparte might depart onelie with
their rapiers and daggers, leauing all the residue
of their moueables behind them. And according to
this capitulation, captaine Lion with his hundred
soldiers, and captaine Nicholas with his hundred,
and fiftie other soldiers which were within depar-
ted, and left the castell unto monsieur de Mouie,
whereby his soldiers, as well English as others,
gained greatlie by the spoile.

The twelue of March proclamation was made in
name of the lord lieutenant, that no souldier should
draw weapon to do hurt therewith unto anie of the
French within the towne of Newhaue, no limits
of the same, no to molest them, no to spoile nor take
anie thing violentlie atwaie from anie of them, no
to breake downe their houses, no to carrie atwaie
their timber on paine of death. There was also a
proclamation made in the name of the king & adme-
rall, that no captaine, burgesse, souldier, mariner, or
other of the French nation within the towne or
without, should draw anie weapon, nor picke anie
quarrell, nor vse anie inuisious words against anie
man to moue them to wrath, speciallie against the
Englishmen on paine of death: no that anie bur-
gesse or inhabitant, of what qualitie or condition so-
euer, except captaines, gentlemen, and souldiers, re-
ceiuing paine, should beare anie weapon on the like
paine.

The five and twentieth of March, sir Adrian Pot-
nings knight, marshall of Newhaue departed
from thence, and returning into England, remained
there still. Whereas monsieur de Beauuois had by
the admerall Chatillions commandement, charged
by publike proclamation, all strangers, forreners,

and French souldiers to depart the towne, by the
23 of March last past, and that all other having
their wiues and families should depart with them,
within foure daies after the same proclamation, to
giue aid for the conseruation and keeping of the
townes of Hundue, Caen, Baienur, Saleise, S. Lo.,
and other places, latelie brought into the obedience
of the king, vnder the authoritie of the prince of
Conde, vnder paine for making default, to be taken
as god prisoners of warre to those that should ap-
prehend them. Proclamation was also therupon made
in the lord lieutenants name, the six and twentieth of
March, being fridaye, that it should be lawfull to the
quenes maiesties subiects and friends, to apprehend
and take as their god and lawfull prisoners, all such
as contrarie to the former proclamation, should re-
maine in the towne of Newhaue, after five of the
clocke after none of the daie then next following
being saturdaye; those persons onelie excepted, whose
names had bene presented and inrolled in bills re-
mainting with the lord lieutenants secretarie.

Provided, that no person seizing vpon the bodie
of anie such offendor, should by vertue or colour ther-
of spoile anie of their houses, meddle with their
goods or moueables, without order and meane of iu-
stice vpon paine of death. On the sundaye yet being
the eight and twentieth of March, another proclama-
tion was made, to giue respit to the said strangers,
forreners, and French souldiers, vntill foure of the
clocke in the afternoon of the same daie. And fur-
ther there was another proclamation published this
sundaye, that none should seize vpon anie of those
strangers, forreners, or French souldiers, by colour
of the two former proclamations, vntill the lord
lieutenants pleasure should more fullie be knownen
therein.

The thirtieth of March being tuesday, proclama-
tion was efflowes made, that whereas all forreners,
being not anie of the burgessees, or proper inhabi-
tants of the said towne of Newhaue, nor of the
garrison or armie of the Englishmen in the same
towne, had bene warned by severall proclamati-
ons to depart the towne; and yet the same proclama-
tions notwithstanding, a great number made their
abode still in the towne, in contempt of those pro-
clamations: the lord lieutenant by this proclama-
tion gaue full power and authoritie to the said prouost
marshall of the garrison of the Englishmen in that
towne, to apprehend and take as god and lawfull pri-
soners, all such forreners, as well souldiers, and ma-
riners, as other without exception, which should be
found in the towne at anie time after five of the
clocke in the afternoon on saturdaye then next com-
ming: monsieur Beauuois and his familie, and all
ministers then being within the towne, being ne-
uertheless clarelie excepted; and diuerse prouisions
also included in this selfesame proclamation, for the
mitigating of extremitie, by wrong interpreting
thereof, in behalfe of them that were to depart, as
also that the gaine that should come by euerie parti-
cular prisoner so arrested by the prouost marshall,
should returne to anie of the quenes maiesties sub-
iects, by whose meane and procurement the same pri-
soner was detected, and caused to be apprehended.

On monday the first of Aprill, the Keingraue
with foure hundred horsemen, and about five hun-
dred footmen, came downe the hill, betwixt Saint Ad-
dresses & Englefield, where sir Hugh Paulet knight
met with him, by appointment of the lord lieutenant
accompanied with fortie horsemen, and a thousand
English footmen: and after they had talked together
by the space of an houre, they departed the one from
the other: master Paulet returning to Newhaue,
and the Keingraue to Montdeuille, the place where
he

appointed to
depart out of
Newhaue.

Proclamation
for the lawfull
taking of pri-
soners.

Another pro-
clamation in
the behalfe of
strangers.

Another pro-
clamation for
the lawfull ap-
prehending of
prisoners.

Exceptions
against the
foresaid pro-
clamation.

The Kein-
graues with
his horsemen.

Execution on
Easter euen.

A proclama-
tion to be pac-
king out of
Jewshauen.

Garter king
of armes bun-
gling the gar-
ter to the lord
lieutenant.

A proclama-
tion for auoi-
ding.

Ministers
excepted.

Places for-
bidden by pro-
clamation to
be resorted
vnto.

Execution for
pilfering.

A proclama-
tion for the
auoiding of
the French
out of Jew-
shauen.

The lord
lieutenant
proceeding to
be gathered
by his procla-
mations.

he vsuallie remained. On Easter euen, two souldiers that had serued vnder capteine Parkinson were hanged in the market place of Jewshauen, for running awaie to the Keingraue and vnto Diepe. Another also that serued vnder capteine Turner was condemned for the like offense, but pardoned thogh the great clemencie of the lord lieutenant.

The eight and twentieth of Aprill, proclamation was made, that all the papists, and the wifes and children of all them that were departed forth of Jewshauen, and made their abode at that present in Pontreuiliers, Harflue, or elsewhere abroad in the countrie, and likewise all other, whome the last proclamation for their auoiding out of the towne in any wise touched, should depart on saturday then next ensuing, on paine to haue their bodies arrested as prisoners, and their goods to be confiscate. Other articles were contained in the same proclamation, as well for the forerunners that should come forth of the countrie to the market, as for the behauiour and demeanour of the French inhabitants of the towne, with promise of reward to such as should discover and apprehend any espyall, either dwelling in the towne, or coming and going to or from it. The first of Maie, Garter principall king of armes arrived at Jewshauen, bringing with him the garter to the lord lieutenant, chosen on S. Georges daie last past to be one of the conferrers of that most honorable order. The fourth of Maie proclamation was made, that all the French burgesses & others should bring and deliuer all their armour and weapon into the towne hall of Jewshauen, which commandment was incontinentlie obeyed and accomplished.

The seauenth of Maie, proclamation was made for the auoiding of all such, whome the former proclamations had in any wise touched, for their departure forth of the towne, that they should depart by tuesday next (the ministers of the church excepted) and that none should enter into the towne, of what condition or estate soeuer he should be, without licence of the lord lieutenant, except he were a burgesse of the towne, and of the number of those that had their names inrolled, as by the rolls lastlie made it might appeare, on paine to be apprehended as good and lawfull prisoners. The twelue of Maie it was prohibited by proclamation to all burgesses, inhabitants, and others, not to go vnto Harflue, or Pontreuiliers, or elsewhere out of sight of the towne of Jewshauen, on paine to be taken as lawfull prisoners. The fifteenth of Maie, a manner of the great gallie suffered in the market place of Jewshauen, for robbing and pilfering of ships there in the haven, and three other that were condemned for the like offense had their pardons.

The sixteenth of Maie was proclamation made, that all Frenchmen, being within the towne of Jewshauen, otherwise called Haute de Grace, as well men, women, as children, should depart the towne, betwixt that present tyme and six of the clocke at night on the next daie being mondaie, except surgeons, apothecaries, bakers, butchers, smiths, masons, locksmiths, carpenters, and other such artificers, vpon paine to be attached as good and lawfull prisoners, and their goods to be confiscate. By the tenor of these severall proclamations it maie appeare, that the lord lieutenant proceeded nothing rigorously against the French, in removing them forth of the towne; although it maie be, that some which had to deale therein, dealt hardlie enough with them. But in such cases there must of necessitie be some diligent heedfulness bled, for otherwise in such packing away, some might peradventure carie with them too much, & others too little. But howsoever this matter was handled, true it is, that it was thought expedient to auoid the French

out of the towne. For after the duke of Cusse was slaine before Dyleance, and that the parties were agreed, as by edit of the pacification published in March last past it maie appeare, the whole deuises as well of them of the one religion as the other tended to this end, both to recouer the towne of Jewshauen out of the Englishmens hands, either by pacifice or open force. And such intelligence was bled betwixt the French within that towne, and the enemies without to bring this to passe, that the English could assure themselves no more of the one than of the other, and so were diuised for their owne safeties, to rid the towne of so doubtfull partakers.

The seven and twentieth of Maie, proclamation was made, that all manner of furniture and apparell, appertaining to ships within the garrison, haven, or rode of the towne of Jewshauen, should be brought in: or a note to be given therof in writing to the lord lieutenant and counsell there, before twelue of the clocke the next day. Saturday the two and twentieth of Maie, about one of the clocke in the morning, the Keingraue with five hundred horsemen, and twentie two ensignes of footmen, came downe to the village called Lheure, nere vnto the new fort, which by order of the lord lieutenant was latelie before begun to be built, sir John Dortmarie being chiefe deuiler of the fortifications about the same. The enemies meaning was, to haue taken the same fort by a sudden assault: but the English scouts looking well to their charge, gaue intelligence to the lord lieutenant thereof, who incontinentlie going to the bulwarketall, set out by the posterne capteine John Ward with his hundred souldiers, and capteine Parkinson with his hundred, to passe to the fort, there to be an aid and defense to them that late in the same.

About three of the clocke in the morning, the Keingraue suddenly with his bands of horsemen and footmen gaue them in the fort an hot alarm; and immediatlie the earle of Marbrike gaue in charge to these capitaines, Read, Apleyard, Luttre, Zouch, Antwisell, Ward, Dorton, and Parkinson, hauing with them a thousand footmen, and twentie horsemen, to set vpon the enemies in the village of Lheure, nere adioining to the said new fort, where the valiant English souldiers shewed well the wonted valour of their worthy ancestors, giving such an hardie onset vpon their aduersaries, that greater manhood had not lightlie appeared in any encounter, than was used by those martiall capitaines, and their warlike bands at that present, to the high honor of their countrie: insomuch that they beat backe their enemies, slue and tooke of them to the number of foure hundred, beside thirtie faire horses, and an ensigne, which one Castwicke lieutenant to capteine Antwisell got.

Amongst the numbers of them that were slaine, there were found about thirtie handsome gentlemen and verie well appointed. To conclude, the Englishmen behaued themselves so manfullie on each side, that by plaine force of armes they drove the enemies quite out of the village, & after set it on fire, because the enemies should not come to incampe therein, as their purpose was to haue done at that present. The six and twentieth of Maie, the Frenchmen in number about three thousand horsemen and footmen came downe towards the windmills, nere to the bulwarketall called saint Adolpes, against whom the English horsemen and footmen issued forth of the towne, giving them a right hot skirmish, which continued for the space of two houres, insomuch that there were slaine of the French to the number of 200; beside an hundred and about that were hurt. On the English side that daie were lost about a do-
zen

The Englishmen for their owne surtie were forced to double their watch mightly

The Keingraue with his forces,

The number which the French lost: the (historical)

An alarm given to the new fort by the Keingraue.

The hardie onset of the Englishmen made vpon their aduersaries.

The alarme put to flight.

Another skirmish.

The Frenchmen drill to calice.

Captaine Gifford and capteine Delham.

Another skirmish.

Captaine Gifford and capteine Delham.

A new supply of powder sent.

Captaine Gifford and capteine Delham.

Another skirmish.

The Englishmen
were forced to
outhe their
watch night

The Rein-
raue with
is forced.

In alarm
given to the
new fort by
the Rein-
raue.

The hardie
milit of the
Englishmen
made upon
their aduers-
aries.

The Almon-
ist to fight

Another
skirmish.

The French-
men

Captaine
Hollis

Another
skirmish

Examine
both the
french and
english

Examine

Captaine
Hollis

Examine
Hollis

Examine
Hollis

men or thirtene persons, and amongst others, was
capitaine Tremaine slaine, and manie hurt. So con-
clude, the Englishmen like hardie and worthy sou-
diers tooke and kept the field, so as the Frenchmen
in the end were driuen to retire, and besides other
losses which they received, they had aboue fiftie of
their horses killed and hurt.

In this skirmish, being one of the notablest that
had bene lightlie scene manie a daie before, capitaine
Hollis shewed worthie proofe of his most valiant
courage, winning to himselfe such commendation,
as the same will not be forgotten, whilste anie shall
remaine alieue that beheld his manfull dealings: be-
ing such at that present, as deserue to be registred in
the booke of fame, & to continue with posteritie for e-
uer. On saturday the first of June at seven of the
clocke at night, the Keinsgraue hauing laid in the
village of Aheure an ambush of six hundred horse-
men, and fiftene hundred footmen, there came downe
also betwene the abbeye and the village called En-
glestow towards the towne, the number of a thou-
sand footmen, which began a verie hot skirmish, first
at the new fort, comming euen hard to the ditches,
where the Englishmen manfullie incountered them.
Hercelwith also the Keinsgraue appointed other to
come downe, and approch the bulwarks of saint Ad-
dresses, saint Francis, & saint Michaell, and to (con-
clude) round about the towne: so that there were of
them to the number of six thousand that were im-
ploied in this skirmish, which was maintained right
ferrele for the space of two hours, with verie sharpe
and cruell fight: in the end the enemies were forced
to giue place, with the losse of five hundred of their
men, Almans, Frenchmen, Gascoignes, and Spa-
niards.

The Englishmen berelie in this seruice shewed,
that they were nothing degenerat from the ancient
race of their noble progenitors. Besides those that
were slaine on the French part, amongst whom was
one of their capitains of good account amongst them,
they toke also Bassompierre an Almane, coronell
over ten ensignes of footmen. The presence of the
lord lieutenant was not wanting that daie, both to
incountage his worthie souldiers, and also to see them
applied with weapon and munition, so as they should
not be unprouided of anie thing that was needfull
for seruice. Of Englishmen there was hurt capitaine
Gilbert, and capitaine Belham, and about fiftene o-
ther hurt and slaine. The seuenth of June capitaine
Edward Dupleie arrived at Petowhauen, with an
hundred souldiers. The morrow after, the first canon
shot light within the towne of Petowhauen, nere
to the bulwark of saint Addresses, striking into the
house where capitaine Wheeler was lodged, which shot
being brought to my lord of Warwicke by Blew-
mantell pursuant at armes, his honor beholding it,
reioiced thereat, and said, by Gods grace he would
answer them againe.

The ninth of June arrived at Petowhauen three
captains with their bands, of an hundred a peece,
being of the garrison of Berwicke: to wit, capitaine
Tremaine, capitaine Cornwell, & capitaine Carew.
Edward Kandoll also landed there the same daie,
appointed to be knight marshall. For ye must under-
stand, that sir Adrian Poinings, being knight mar-
shall upon his returne into England, was otherwise
employd, and went not backe againe: and then was
sir Thomas Finch of Kent appointed to go ouer to
supply the come of knight marshall: who making
his prouision readie, sent ouer his brother Erasmus
Finch to haue charge of his band; and his kinsman
Thomas Finch to be his prouost marshall, whilste
haleng till he had euerie thing in a readinesse to
passe ouer himselfe. At last, he imbarcked in one of the

queenes maiesties ships called the Greichound, ha-
ving there aboard with him, beside these, and sir
his owne retinue, fourtie other gentlemen, two of
them being brethren to the lord Wentworth, James
Wentworth, and John Wentworth, with diuerse o-
thers, who in the whole (accounting the mariners) a-
mounted vnto the number of 200 persons and by
ward. And as they were on the furthest coast toward
Petowhauen, they were by contrarie wind and foule
weather driuen backe toward the coast of England;
and pling towards Rie, they forced the capitaine of
the ship, a verie cunning seaman named William
Maline, and also the maister and mariners, to thrust
into the haven before the tide, and so they all perished,
fewen of the meaner sort onlie excepted, where of three
died shortly after they came to land.

The dead bodie of sir Thomas Finch amongst o-
thers was cast on shore, & being knowne, was con-
ueied home to his house, and there buried in his pa-
rish church. After this mischance, and losse of that
worthie gentleman, the said Edward Kandoll was
appointed knight marshall, who ordeined a right suffi-
cient personage, capitaine John Shute, to be his pro-
uost marshall. The fiftenth of June, capitaine Ri-
chard Sanders, and capitaine William Saule, with
their bands of an hundred souldiers a peece, and ca-
pitaine Durie, with two hundred, arrived at Petow-
hauen: and the morrow after arrived capitaine Ro-
berts with another hundred of souldiers. And on the
seuententh of June, being thursdaie, sir Fran-
cis Knolles, vicechamberleine of the queenes maie-
sties house landed there, being sent ouer by his ma-
iestie and his counsell, to view the state of the
towne.

On fridaie the eightenth of June, a sergeant of
capitaine Blunts band, and a souldier of capitaine
Darcies band, were executed in the market place of
Petowhauen, for drawing their weapons against
their capitains, and forsaking their appointed places
of warding, and such other lewd parts which they had
committed. The five and twentieth of June, procla-
mation was made, that no souldier of the new fort
should resort to the towne of Petowhauen, without
licence of his capitaine, or some of his principall of-
ficers, on paine of death: or that anie man should
presume to passe the limits of the said new fort, ex-
cept upon occasion of seruice, in companie of his
capitaine or lieutenant, on like paine. And this order
was taken, because diuerse stragling abroad, had
bene taken prisoners, and slaine by the enemies, to
their owne reproch, & hindrance of the princes ser-
uice. The eight and twentieth of June, the French-
men came downe to the village of Aheure, & there
verie nere to the fort began to skirmish with the
Englishmen. There were of them ten ensignes of
footmen, and two hundred horsemen. This skirmish
lasted thre houres, and yet there were not past four
slaine. The night following, they placed five ca-
nons betwixt the towne and the brickehills, and like-
wise they placed other peeces of their artillerie at
the foresaid village of Aheure, so that they shot both
into the towne and fort.

The first of Iulie about midnight, they issued forth
of their trenches, and skirmished with the English
scouts, drove them under the bulwark of saint
Addresses, and there perceluing that the English-
men had a prime sallie out, after a long skirmish
they retired. They had meant to haue set the mills
belonging to the towne on fire: but they had such
plaie made them, that about thre of the clocke in the
morning, they became to be quiet, and left the Eng-
lishmen in rest, hauing done to them little or no
hurt at all. The great ordinance on both sides was
not idle, whilste this skirmish was in hand. The se-
cond

Sir Thomas
Finch

Edward
Kandoll

A supplie
of souldiers
arrived at Petow-
hauen.

Sir Francis
Knolles

Execution of
souldiers for
drawing upon
their cap-
tains.

A proclama-
tion forbid-
ding resort of
souldiers to
Petowhauen
without li-
cence.

A long skir-
mish without
anie great
hurt.
Canons plac-
ed to beat
the towne.

Six hundred
out of North-
folke, and three
hundred out of
Sussex.

Captaine
Sanders
hurt and dis-
cith.

Ordinance
planted and
discharged in
great num-
bers.

The ordi-
nance in the
steeple dis-
mounted.

William Ro-
binson killed.
William
Bromfield
hurt.

A new sup-
plic of writ-
shire and Glo-
cestershire
men.

The galeasse
burnt by ca-
stille.

The constable
of France
commeth to
the siege.

cond and third of Julie, there landed nine hundred
soldiers that came south of Northfolke and Sus-
sex, pellow clothes and blew clothes verte well ap-
pointed, having to their captains Ferdinando Lig-
gens, Philip Starcke, John Higfield, and Edward
Dexter. Also there came the same time fiftie carpen-
ters, sixtene sawyers, and eight smiths in hir
works. Moreover, on the third daie of Julie, about
ten of the clocke at night, the French gaue a great
alarm to the towne, beat in the scouts: but incont-
inentlie issued forth five hundred soldiers out at
the falling place, vnder the greene bulwke, and
beat the Frenchmen backe into their trenches, and
kept them waking all that night.

The same time, captaine Sanders was hurt with
a shot in the leg, whereof he shortly after died: other
losse at that time the Englishmen receiued not. The
fift of Julie, a proclamation was made for soldiers
to resort in time of alarms, vnto that part & quar-
ter, which was assigned to their captains, and not to
absent themselves from their ensignes, whether it
were at alarms, watch, ward, or other seruice. The
six of Julie, about thre of the clocke in the morn-
ing, the enemies planted thre canons, and thre
culuerings, discharging that morning to the num-
ber of foure score and ten shots: but perceiuing they
did little hurt, they staied their shooting, saying that
now and then they shot into the bulwke, and ouer
it into the towne: they also leuelled a peece, and shot
it off towards the new galle, five therein two men,
and hurt thre or foure other. The same daie, a canon
and a culuering were sent south of the towne to the
new fort. The twelue of Julie, about foure of the
clocke in the morning, the French laid batterie to
the bulwke of saint Adresses, continuing the same
all that daie. They also dismounted the same daie
the ordinance in the steeple of Petowhen, and beat
downe the great bell, cleane defacing the steeple.
They discharged that daie against the towne (as
was gathered by due estimation) to the number of
twelue hundred canon shot.

The same evening was William Robinson esqui-
er, waterballie of the towne of Petowhen slaine
with a shot: and also William Bromfield maister of
the ordinance hurt with the same, and being con-
uied ouer into England, he shortly after died of
that hurt. The fourteenth of Julie, sir Hugh Paw-
let knight landed at Petowhen, bringing with him
eight hundred soldiers out of Wiltshire and Glo-
cestershire. The same daie came the Frenchmen
downe to the number of thre thousand, euen hard to
the gates of the towne, beating the Englishmen
out of their trenches: but yet in the end, they were
forced to retire, and of Englishmen there were not
past twentie slaine, and about an hundred hurt. But
the Frenchmen (as was esteemed) lost about foure
hundred horsemen and footmen, albeit they toke
from the Englishmen at that present a culuering,
which was set forth to annoie them. But their force
at that time was such, as they persuaded, & so retired
with that peece, though they well paid for it. The
same daie also in the after none, the little galeasse
called the For, went out of the haven, fraught with
fiftie men, to flanke along the shore, and to beate
the Frenchmen with hir shot: but as she was shew-
ing off at them, a linnen stocke fell into a barrell of
powder and set it on fire together with the vessel, so
that the suddenlie sank, and all that were aboard in
hir were lost, saving fiftene that saved themselves
by swimming.

The one and twentieth of Julie, the constable of
France, accompanied with the marshalls Montmo-
ranci and Burdillon, and many other lords and
knights of the order, came to the abbey of Crail

le, where the marshall Bissacke was lodged, who
had the generall charge in the armie, before the com-
ming of the said constable. They dined together
there in the said Bissacks lodging, and after din-
ner they sat in counsell together how to proceed in
the siege. Fridaie the thre and twentieth of Julie, the
constable came into the trench that was cast ouer
against the bulwke of saint Adresse, alongst by
the sea side, and sent his trumpet to summon the
towne. The lord lieutenant appointed sir Hugh
Paulet to go forth, & make the answer in his name:
which was in effect, that the queens maiestie of Eng-
land had appointed him and others to keepe that
towne; and therefore they meant not to deliuer it to
anie other person, without hir graces especiall com-
mandement. In the meane time, there were diuers
of the English captains and gentlemen, which ac-
companied the said sir Hugh, offered the wine which
they had brought out of the towne with them in fla-
gons of silver and gilt, vnto such captains and
gentlemen as accompanied the trumpet by com-
mandement of the constable, to surueie the state of
the trenches, and Palisad, as the French writers
themselves confesse. Amongst others, there was
captaine Pontmes the lieutenant of one of the en-
signes colonels of monsieur Dandelot, with whom
captaine Leighton, being of acquaintance, had some
talke.

The Englishmen and Frenchmen were no sooner
departed, they to their trenches, and the English-
men into the towne, but that the enemies having
planted that morning eight canons in batterie a-
gainst the castell, and the bulwke of the haven,
caused the same to be shot off, continuing the same
till wednesdaie at none, being the eight and twen-
tith of Julie. There were six other canons also plan-
ted by them in the meane space, which likewise made
batterie to the castell, and to the towne gate. In this
meane time also, Cutbert Claughan comptroller,
departed out of this life, a skilfull man of warre, and
no lesse circumspect than hardie, both to preferre
those which he had vnder his conduction, and to in-
courage them to do manfullie, when time thereto
serued. Saturdaie, the foure & twentieth of Julie, the
batterie still continuing as before, certaine peeces
were bent also to beat and traueise the haven. The
Englishmen therefore setting fire on two wind-
mills that stood there, abandoned a trench which they
kept: and the Palisad, captaine Poiot, lieutenant
of an other of the ensignes colonels of the French
footmen under monsieur Dandelot, entred with his
band, and toke possession of a tower that stood at the
end of the said Palisad. The French yet had bot a-
biding there, notwithstanding all the diligence and
policie which they could vse to lodge there in safetie.
Among others, captaine Richieu maister of the
campe, was hurt in the shoulder with an harquebuse
shot.

The marshall Montmoranci caused a platfome
to be raised, joining to the Palisad, where about eue-
ning the same daie he planted foure peeces of artil-
lerie. On sundaie the five and twentieth of Julie,
monsieur de Estrée, great maister of the artillerie,
accompanied with the seneshall of Agenois, vied
all diligence that might be to place the artillerie for
batterie: where vnto also, monsieur de Castlac ap-
plied himselfe by the constables commandement,
who had compounded a matter in variance betwixt
him and monsieur de Estrée. This sundaie and
mondaie following, they were verte buise to bring
their purpose in that behalf to passe, & likewise to
aduaunce their trench vnto the side of the breach. The
marshall de Burdelon abode in the trench there all
sundaie, and lost two of his gentlemen. The mar-
shall

An. Re
The marshall
Montmoranci

The constable
summoned
the towne.

Sir Hugh
Paulet an-
swer to the
constable.

The place of
Cours and
the bulwke of
Montmoranci.

The bul-
wke of saint
Adresses bat-
tered.

Captaine
Pontmes.
Captaine
Leighton.

The castell
battered.

Thus we see
things in opti-
mism impossi-
ble, by unfor-
tunate.

Cutbert
Claughan de-
parted this
life, his comp-
troller.

Windmills
on fire.

The great in-
crease of peo-
ple in
Petowhen.

Richieu ma-
ister of the
campe hurt.

Montmoranci
caused a plat-
fome to be
raised.

De Estrée,
great maister
of the artillerie.

Monsieur de
Castlac.

The high ba-
nner of the
order of
saint

the

The marshall
of Montmorencie

shall Montmorencie, accompanied with diuerse lords & knights of the order, remained all mondaie in the trenches, to prepare things readie for the batterie, not without some danger of his person. For the stones that were beaten with the bullets coming out of the towne flew verie fast about his eares, of the which there was one that lent him a blow on the shoulder, an other of them philipped him on the fingers, and lighting also in other parts of his bodie, if his armor had not defended him the better, he had not escaped without further harme. The same daie, the prince of Conde and the duke of Montpensier came to the campe, and alighting at the conestables lodging, went from thence to the trenches, to relieue the marshall Montmorencie, and to supplie his rowme, whilst he might in the meane time go to sup with his father, and to take his rest. Monsieur Desfrée, and the other that had charge about the planting and ordering of the artillerie, used such diligence, and were so earnestlie called vpon and incouraged by the prince of Conde, continuallie remaining in the trenches, that on tuesday in the morning, the artillerie began to batter the bulwourke of saint Adresses, and other places.

The place of
Conde and
the duke of
Montpensier

The bul-
wourke of saint
Adresses bat-
tered

The way
from the
camp to the
trenches

The great in-
crease of peo-
ple in the
trenches

The great in-
crease of peo-
ple in the
trenches

The great in-
crease of peo-
ple in the
trenches

This was done not without great danger of the pioneers and men of war that garbed them, for as the french desperatlie made their approach, so they were made by English gunners to tast the bitter fruit that the canon & culuerings yielded. But such was the multitude of the frenchmen that were now assembled together, in hope to recouer that towne, which being possessed by the English, cut off all trade from Rouen and Paris, and so consequentlie from the chiefe parts of the whole realme of France, that with their generall aid, and drawing the water downe to the sea, the marshes were made passable and firme ground, which to men of great experience was thought a thing impossible. The castell, the walles, and other defenses of the towne were battered, breaches made, and the trench which before the comming of the conestable, was but brought to the point ouer against the bulwourke of saint Adresses, was now within foure daies aduanced nere hand the space of two miles, vpon the causeie or breach which was all of stone, without anie earth to coner them: so that they were driven to make the best shift they could with wallfathes, sandbags, baskets and sagots. Yet all this had neuer come to passe, nor could haue bene wrought without infinite slaughter, and far more losse of french blood, that necessarilie should haue bene spilt, if the great mortallitie of pestilence which entred the towne about the beginning of the summer, through a malicious infection, had not so greatlie increased, that it was to take a waie daillie great numbers of men, besides those that being sicke thereof, escaped with life, but were yet so feeble and weak, that they were not able to helpe themselves, nor to do anie seruice available at all.

There died so manie daillie through the vehemencie of the infection, that the streets laie full of dead carcases, not able to be removed or buried, by reason of the multitude that perished. Herewith they were greivouslie annoyed for want of fresh vittells; but the lack of fresh waters, which the enemy by long siege had cutt off: And now the shot of the canon, ranging within six and twentie paces of the towne, was so terrible, as the like had not lightlie bene heard of: and sundrie breaches there were already made; namely two verie great and easie for the enemies to enter. All these dangers and misfortunes notwithstanding, the honorable earle of Warwicke with his capitaine and soldiers in courageous order stood at those severall breaches, ready to defend the same, if the enemies had presumed to haue given the assault,

nothing afraid of death nor bloudie wounds; before which he preferred the seruice of his prince. And albeit the aduenture was great, yet by his owne example he incouraged other to cast awaie all dread of danger, and to shew themselves bold, which to a soldier in battell is a whetstone to set him on edge. And surelie in this point he was warriourlike minded, if a man may allow the poets words in the like sense:

Res magna non absque graui discrimine fuit,

In dubijs prodest generosa audacia rebus.

Which when the conestable perceived, he caused a trumpet to sound the blast of imparlae, that talke might be had for the concluding of a composition betwixt both the parties. This offer, considering that soze contagious mortallitie wherewith the towne was most greivouslie infected, hauing so greatlie infected the English forces within the same, was thought not vnmet to be receiued. Herevpon, after a fallie made by the Englishmen, and a faire skirmish betwixt them and the frenchmen that late afore the fort de l'heure, on the tuesday the seauen and twentieth of Iulie maister William Delham capteine of the fort, with another gentleman and a trumpetter, went forth by appointment, and was receiued first by monsieur de Losses, who brought him to the marshall Montmorencie, and after by his appointment went with him by the Keingraues campe to the conestable: and till his returne a truce was accorded on that side of the fort. After that maister Delham had talked a space with the conestable, the matter was put ouer till the next daie, and so he returned.

The morrow after being wednesday, and the eight and twentieth of Iulie, the conestable about seauen of the clocke came to the end of the trenches next to the towne, where sir Maurice Denis treasurer of the towne, sir Hugh Paulet, capteine Horseye, capteine Delham, capteine John Shute prouost marshall, and Nicholas Halbie secretarie to my lord lieutenant came forth, and passed ouer the haue to commune with him. And during the parlee betwixt them, a truce was accorded and alented to by both parts: the which neuertheless was broken two severall times through the vnrule insolencie of certeine harquebutters. And though by the good diligence of the capitaine they were incontinentlie quieted and staied: yet the ballant earle of Warwicke, standing at a breach in his hose and dublet in sight of his enemies, was by a lewso soldier of the french (contrarie to the law of armes) shot through the thigh with an harquebuse. The conestable and the English commissioners appointed, had long conference together; and before they concluded, the marshalls Montmorencie and Burdellion (and at length the marshall Bullac also) came to the place where they were thus in parlee: but the conestable toke vpon him to haue onellie authoritie to accept or refuse such conditions as should be offered, or agreed vnto by the English commissioners in this treatie. And so at length they passed certeine articles in forme as followeth.

Captaine
Delham went
forth to talke
with the con-
missioners.

The commis-
sioners ap-
pointed to
talke with the
conestable.

Additions to
Lanquet.
The earle of
Warwicke
hurt.

The cones-
table toke
vpon him to
be chiefe in
authoritie on
the french
part.

The articles of agreement touching the surrender of Newhanen.



That the earle of Warwicke should render againe the towne of Newhanen into the hands of the said conestable of France, with all the artillerie and munitions of war then being in that towne, and belonging to the french king and his subjects.

Item, that he should leaue the ships that were in the said towne at that present, belonging either to the king or his subjects, with all their furniture: and generallie, all such merchandise and other things, being likewise at that present within that towne, as

25 b b b b j, either

either belonged to the king or his subjects.

3 Item, for the more suertie of the premises, the said earle should presentlie deliuer into the hands of the said constable, the great towre of the said haven, so that the soldiors which were placed therein enter not into the towne: and that the said earle of Warwicke should cause the gates there towards the towne to be warded, till it were in the possession of the said constable, without planting any ensignes on the said towre, according to the said agreement; and also that the said earle should deliuer four such hostages as the said constable should name.

4 Item, that the next daie, by eight of the clocke in the morning, the said earle should withdraw his soldiors which are in the fort, to deliuer it immediatlie into the hands of the said constable, or such as should be by him appointed to receiue the same at the said houre.

5 Item, that all prisoners which haue bene taken before the said haven, should be deliuered on either side, without paying any ransom.

6 Item, that the constable should for his part suffer the said earle of Warwicke, and all those that are in garrison in the said Newhaven to depart with all things whatsoever that belonged to the queene of England and his subjects.

7 Item, that for the departure as well of the said earle, as the removing of his soldiors, and other things before rehearsed, the said constable agreed to giue them six whole daies, beginning the morrow then next following; to wit, the nine and twentieth of Julie: during which six daies, they might franklie and frelie take and carrie awaie all the said things. And if wind or foule weather shuld hinder, that their passage could not be made within the said terme, in this case the said constable should grant them such further time of delaie, as might be thought reasonable.

8 Item, the said constable did likewise permit, that all the ships and English vessels, and all other that should be appointed for the portage and conueying a waie of the said things, should safelie and frelie passe into and fro the said haven, without any staie or impeachment, either by the French armie or any other. The said four hostages were appointed to be master Oliver Spaner, brother to the earle of Kentland, capteine Pelham, capteine Housle, and capteine Leighton. In witnesse whereof, the said lords, the constable of France, & the earle of Warwicke signed these articles the eight and twentieth of Julie, 1563.

Additions to
Lanquet.
The earle of
Warwicke
commends b.

The French
king commeth
to the campe
before New-
haven.

Thus the earle of Warwicke, as he had during the whole time of his abode there in that towne of Newhaven, shewed himselfe a right hardie & valiant capteine: so now in the end he proued himselfe to be both prudent and polittike. For by accepting of these honorable conditions to go with all armor, munition, ships, goods, bag and baggage, in any wise appertaining or belonging either to the queenes maiestie, or to any of his graces subjects, he saved the liues of a great number, which otherwise scaping the scourge of the infectiue plague, must needs haue fallen vnder the edge of the sword. The constable, during the time of the parole, sent his yongest sonne monsieur de Thoree to the king and queene mother, to aduertise them of the treatie of this peace. And after it was once concluded and signed by the earle of Warwicke, he sent his eldest sonne the marshall Montmorencie, to present the same unto them at Criquefort, halfe waie betwene Newhaven and Fiescamp, who were right iollfull of the newes: and the next daie they came to the campe, shewing great signes of their conceived gladnesse, for the recovering of that towne thus out of the Englishmens hands.

On saturday the most part of the Englishmen took ship and departed homewards: for glad might he thinke himselfe that could get sonest out of that unholysome and most vnsauorie aire. Many sicke persons yet were left behind, impotent and not able to helpe themselves. The miserie whereof Edward Handoll esquire high marshall of the towne (who was appointed to carrie and see the bittermost of the composition accomplished) perceiuing, moued with naturall pittie of his countrymen relinquished without comfort, caused the said sicke persons to be caried aboard, not sparing his owne shoulders, at that time feeble and full of the plague, himselfe and his men still bearing & helping the poore creatures on shipboard. A rare fact worthy reward, and no doubt in remembrance with God, the true recorder of mercifull deserts. Thus was the towne of Newhaven reduced againe into the hands of the French, more vndoubtedly through the extreme mortalitie that so outrageouslie afflicted the soldiors and men of warre within the same, than by the enuies enforcements, although the same was great, and advanced to the bittermost of the aduersaries power.

Besides the meaner sort of those that died of the pestilence during the siege, these I do find noted as chiefe: Cutbert Haughan comptroller of the towne, Francis Summerset cosine to the earle of Worcester, Auerie Darcie brother to the lord Darcie, John Zouch brother to the lord Zouch, Edward Dymbie, Thomas Durie alias Polgnard, Richard Croker, John Cockson, Thomas Kemish, John Doud, William Sante, Wilfrid Antwisell. Besides these being captieins in chiefe dieng there in that towne, or else sickening there and dieng upon their returne into England, there were diuerse other gentlemen, and such as had charge, which likewise ended their liues by force of that cruell and most greivous pestilent infection. There were diuerse also that were slaine, as well by canon shot, as otherwise in the field in skirmish, as both the Tremains brethren of one birth, Nicholas and Andrew, capteine Richard Sanders, with master Robinson, and master Bionfield, of which two before ye haue heard: also one Leighton a gentleman, & diuerse mo whose names I know not, worthy neuertheless to be remembred & placed in ranke with such worthy men, as in their countries cause haue lost their liues, and are therefore by writers registred to liue by fame for ever.

But now to passe to other matters at home. As ye haue heard, the plague of pestilence being in the towne of Newhaven, thorough the number of soldiors that returned into England the infection thereof spread into diuerse parts of this realme: but especially the citie of London was so infected, that in the same whole yeare, that is to saie, from the first of Januarie 1562, vntill the last of December, in 1563, there died in the citie and liberties thereof (containing one hundred & eight parishes) of all diseases twentie thousand, three hundred, three score and twelue: and of the plague being part of the number aforesaid, seuentene thousand, four hundred, and four persons. And in the outparishes adjoining to the same citie, being eleven parishes, died of all diseases in the whole yeare, three thousand, two hundred, four score and eight persons: and of them, of the plague two thousand, seuen hundred, thirtie and two. So that the whole number of all that died of all diseases, as well within the citie and liberties, as in the outparishes, was twentie three thousand six hundred and threescore: and of them there died of the plague, twentie thousand one hundred thirtie and six.

The eight of Julie in the morning, happened a great tempest of lightning and thunder, whereupon rough a woman and three kine were slaine, in the Count

John Stow.
Edward Handoll full of pite and compassion.

Chiefe peris-
nages that
died of the
plague at
Newhaven.

Dieries &
names by re-
non that st.
slaine.

John Stow.
Pestilence
transported
from New-
haven to Lon-
don.

One hundred
and eight per-
sons in Lon-
don, besides
eleven in the
suburbs.

Tempest at
London by
lightning and
thunder.

King & his
high places
marion as
expected.

Therold
plague to the
poore citizens
of London.

In earth-
quake in di-
uerse places
of England.

Amatores
had kept at
the Guildhall.

Anno Reg. 6.

Lightning &
thunder in
December.

Thousand
shipmen to
war.

1564

Perme kept
at Hertford.
Rich. Grafron.
A peace be-
tweene Eng-
land and
France.

The noble de-
cent of the
wed of Span-
ishmen.

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Touent garden néere to Charingcrosse. At the same time in Essex a man was torne all to pées as he was carting haie, his barne was bozne downe, and his haie burned: both stones and trées were rent in manie places. The counsell of king Philip at Antioerpe and other places, that no English ship with ante cloths, should come into anie places of the low countries: their colour was (as they said) the danger of the plague, which was at that time in London, & other places of England. Peruerthelesse they would gladlie haue gotten our wolles, but the quēnes maiestie thorough sute of our merchant aduenturers caused the wolle fleet to be discharged, and our cloth fleet was sent to Emnden in east Friseland, about Easter next following, in the yeare of our Lord 1564. For so much as the plague of pestilence was so hot in the citie of London, there was no tearme kept at Spichaelmasse. To be short, the poore citizens of London were this yeare plagued with a threefold plague, pestilence, scarcitie of monie, and dearth of vittels, the miserie whereof were too long here to write: no doubt the poore remember it, the rich by sight into the countries made shift for themselves, &c.

An earthquake was in the moneth of September in diuerse places of this realme, speciallie in Lincoln & Dorhamptons shires. After the election of the maior of London by the counsels letters, the quēnes maiesties pleasure was signified vnto sir Thomas Lodge then maior, that for so much as the plague was so great in the citie, the new maior elected should keepe no feast at the Guildhall, for doubt that thorough bringing together such a multitude, the infection might increase. For that weeke there died with in the citie and out parishes, more than two thousand: wherefore sir John Whight, the new maior, took his oth at the uttermost gate of the tower of London, from the first daie of December, till the twelue, was such continuall lightning and thunder, especiallie the same twelue daie at night, that the like had not bene seene nor heard by anie man then living.

In the moneth of December was giuen on the shoure at Grimsbie in Lincolnshire a monstrous fish, in length nineteene yards, his taile fifteene foot broad, and six yards betwene his eyes, twelue men stood by right in his mouth to get the oile. For that the plague was not fullie ceased in London, Hilarie tearme was kept at Hertford castell beside Ware. This yeare the thirtieth of Aprill, an honorable and iollull peace was concluded, betwixt the quēnes maiestie and the French king; their realmes dominions and subiects: and the same peace was proclaimed with sound of trumpet, before hir maiestie in hir castell of Windso, then being present the French ambassadoys. And shortly after, the quēnes grace sent the right honourable sir Henrie Careie lord of Hunnesdon, now lord chamberleine (of whose honourable and noble descent it is thus written

— cuius fuerat matertera pulchra
Regina genitrix Henrici nobilis uxoris

accompanied with the lord Strange, beside diuerse knights and gentlemen, vnto the French king, with the noble order of the garter, who finding him at the citie of Lions, being in those parties in progresse, he there presented vnto him the said noble order: and Garter king at armes inuested him therewith, observing the ceremonies in that behalfe due and requisite. The plague (thanks be to God) being cleane ceased in London, both Easter and Whitsunmer tearmes were kept at Westminster. And here by the waie to note the infection of this plague to haue bene dispersed into other countries besides Eng-

land, it is read in Scharidius *In epitome rerum gestarum sub Ferdinando primo imperatore*, that the pestilence did so rage in Germanie, and poisoned such peopled places, namelie Roymberge, Franckford, Magduburge, Danike, Hamburg, and their borders, that by estimation (saith he) there died of that contagion to the number of three hundred thousand. A grievous scourge of God (saith mine author) howbeit verie few thereby so terrified, that they reformed their wicked lues. Which plague in Germanie I therefore doe here repeat, because by all likelihoods it is to be gathered, that as it raged in the same yeare both there and here; so the cause maie be all one that bred so benemous an effect.

There was on the bigill of S. Peter a watch in the citie of London, which did onelie stand in the highest streets of Cheape, Cornhill, and so forth to Algate: which watch was to the commons of the same citie as chargeable, as when in times past it had bene commendable done. The first of August, the quēnes maiestie in hir progresse came to the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and was of all the students (being inuested according to their degrees taken in the scholes) honourable and iollullie receiued in the Kings college, where she did lie during hir continuance in Cambridge. The dates of hir abode were passed in scholasticall exercises of philosophie, physick, and diuinitie: the nights in comedies, and tragedies, set forth partlie by the whole vniuersitie, and partlie by the students of the Kings college, to recreate and delight hir maiestie, who both heard them attentiuely, and beheld them cherefullie.

At the breaking vp of the diuinitie act, being on wednesdaie the ninth of August (on the which daie she rode thorough the towne, and viewed the colleges, those goodlie and ancient monuments of kings of England hir noble predecessors) she made within saint Maries church a notable oration in Latine, in the presence of the whole learned vniuersitie, to the students great comfort. A copie whereof I haue set downe, as I receiued it in writing at the hands of one that then was present, and noted the same as hir maiestie uttered it. Whose words vnto me in a letter, wherewith the same oration was sent, I doe here set downe *Bona fide*. This hir maiesties extemporal oration (saith he) lieng among my papers these twentie yeares and more, I thought good now to send to you, that if anie occasion be fittie offered in the discourse of hir highnesse reigne, you maie (if you please) insert it. In truth, I my selfe neuer elswhere read it, which hath made me euen religiouslie to preserve it. After Abraham Hartwell in his *Regina literata*, dwelling vpon this onelie argument of hir comming and doings at Cambridge, glanceth in a diffick or twaine at the effect hereof. But this is the thing it selfe, as I my selfe (as most vnto the) being both an ear and also an eye witnesse, can testify.

Serenissimæ reginæ Elisabethæ oratio;
publicè Cantabrigiæ habita, coram vniuerso
academiæ cœtu, anno 1564:
C. regni sui sexti.



Si feminilis iste meus pudor (subditi fidelissimi & academia charissimæ) in tanta doctorum turba illaboratum hunc sermonem et orationem me narrare apud vos impediatur: tamen non bilium meorum intercessus & erga academiam beneuolentia me aliquid proferre inuitat. Duobus ad hanc rem stimulis moneor. Primus est, bonarum literarum propagatio: alter est, vestra omnium expectatio.
B b b b b .ij.

The plague in Germanie whereof three hundred thousand died.

Watch on S. Peters night.

Abraham Hartwell in *Regina literata*. The quēnes progresse thorough Cambridge.

A. F.

Tho. Newton.

Duo stimuli quibus monebatur regina maiestas

in Academia
orum ceteris non
nihil eloquentiam

tio. Quod ad propagationem spectat, unum illud apud Demosthenem memini: Superiorum verba apud inferiorum librorum locum habent, & principum dicta legum auctoritatem apud subditos retinent. Hoc igitur vos omnes in memoria tenere velim: quod semita nulla praestantior est, siue ad bona fortuna acquirenda, siue ad principum gratiam conciliandam, quam ut gnauiter (ut capistis) studiis vestris exhibeatis operam: quod ut faciat, vos omnes oro obsecroque. De secundo stimulo, vestra nimirum expectatione, hoc unum dico, me nihil lubenter pretermisuram esse, quod vestra de me anima beneuola concipit cogitationes.

Iam ad academiam venio. Tempore antemeridiano vidi ego adificia vestra sumptuosa, a meis maioribus, clarissimis principibus literarum causa extructa. Et inter videndum, dolor artus meos occupavit, atque eam mentis suspiria, quae Alexandrum quondam tenuisse feruntur. Qui cum legisset multa a principibus posita monumenta, conuersus ad familiarem seu potius ad consiliarium, multum doluit se nihil tale fecisse. Hec tamen vulgaris sententia me aliquantum recreauit, quae etsi non auferre, tamen minuire potest dolorem. Quae quidem sententia haec est: Romam non uno adificatam fuisse die: tamen non est ita sevilis mea aetas, nec tam diu fuit, ex quo regnare capi, quin ante redditionem debiti naturae (si non nimis citò Atropos lineam vitae meae amputauerit) aliquod opus faciam: & quando vita hos regit artus, nunquam a proposito deflectam.

Et si contingat (quam citò futurum sit, nescio) me mori oportere, priusquam hoc ipsum quod polliceor complere possim: aliquod tamen egregium opus post mortem relinquam, quo & memoria mea in posterum celebris fiat, & alios excitet exemplo meo, & vos omnes alacriores faciam ad studia vestra. Sed iam videtis quantum intersit inter doctrinam lectam, & disciplinam animo non retentam. Quorum alterius sunt complures satis sufficientes testes: alterius autem vos omnes nimis quidem inconsideratè testes hoc tempore effeci, quae meo barbaro orationis genere tam diu doctas vestras aures detinuerim. Dixi.

Outerier and
Belman for
the daie.

Great fouds
in Thames.

Ex l. 8. pa. 1123
Creation of a
baron name-
the Sir Robert
Dudley baro
of Denbigh.

The next daie, he went forthward on his progresse to Finchinbyoke by Huntington. The thirtieth daie of August was enacted by a common counsell of the citie of London, that all such citizens as from thence forth should be constrained to sell their household stuffe, leases of houses, or such like, should first cause the same to be cried through the citie by a man with a bell, and then to be sold by the common outerier appointed for that purpose, and he to receive one farthing upon the shilling for his paines. The twentieth of September arose great fouds in the riuer of Thames, where through the marshes néere abiding were ouerflooded, and manie cattell drowned.

The creation of Sir Robert Sutton alias Dudley knight of the garter, and master of the horse, to the queenes maiestie, who was created baron of Denbigh, and after earle of Leicester on Michaelmasse daie at saint James, with the gift of the manour of Killingworth, and other things there to him and his heires, to the yerlie value of foure and twentie pounds & better. First, the said lord attended on the queenes highnesse, to the chappell, and from the chappell to seruice, and when he was returned to the chamber of pcesence, the said lord with other departed to the lord chamberleins chamber, and shifted

them: the said lord Robert in his surcet with the two, his mantle borne before him by the lord Hurston, and led by the lord Clinton lord admerall by the right hand, and the lord Strange on the left hand, in their parlement robes, Carter bearing the patent, & before him the officers of armes, and so proceeded into the chamber of pcesence, where the queenes highnesse sat vnder the cloth of estate with the noblemen on eche side of hir, the ambassado: of France was also present with another stranger an Italian.

And when the said lord with the other came in the queenes sight, they made their obeisance three times, the said lord knéed downe: after the which Carter presented the letters patents to the lord chamberleine, and he presented the same to the queenes highnesse, who gaue it to Sir William Cecil secretarie, who read the same with a loud voice, & at the words of Creation, the lord of Hunsdon presented the mantle to the queens maiestie, who put on the same, where by he was created baron of Denbigh for him and his heires. Then the patent was read out to the end, after the which he deliuered it to the queene againe, and his highnesse gaue it to the said lord, who gaue his maiestie most humble thanks, and he rose vp and departed to the chamber they came from, the trumpets founding before him.

Then he shifted him of those robes, and put on the robes of estate of an earle, and being led by the earle of Suffer on the right hand, and the earle of Hunting-ton on his left hand, the earle of Warwike bearing his sword the pointell vprward, and the girdle about the same, all in their robes of estate, the lord Clinton lord admerall in his parlement robes, bearing his cap with the coronall, Carter before him bearing his patent, and the other officers of armes before him, they proceeded as afore into the chamber of pcesence, where, after they had made their obeisance, the said earle knéed downe, and Carter deliuered his patent to the lord chamberleine, who gaue the same to the queenes maiestie, & his highnesse gaue the same to Sir William Cecil secretarie to read, who read the same. And at the words *Cinctus an gladij*, the earle of Warwike presented the sword to the queenes highnesse, who girt the same about the necke of the said new earle, putting the point vnder his left arme, and after his maiestie put on his cap with the coronall. Then his patent was read out to the end, and then the said secretarie deliuered it againe to the queene, and his highnesse gaue it to the said new earle of Leicester, who gaue his humble thanks for it.

And then he arose and went into the counsell chamber to dinner, the trumpets founding before, and at dinner he sat in his kirtle, and there accompanied him the foresaid ambassado: of France, and the said Italian, with diuerse other erles and lords. And after the second course, Carter with the other officers of armes, proclaimed the queenes maiesties stile, and after, the stile of the said earle, for the which they had sixtene pounds, to wit, for his baronie five pounds, & for his earle dome ten pounds, and Carter had his gowne of blacke velvet garbed with three garbs of the same, laid on with lace, lined thorough with blacke taffata, and garbed on the inner side with the same, and on the sleeves eight and thirtie paire of aglets of gold. The earles stile was as followeth: *Du tresnoble & puissant seigneur Robert comte de Leicester, baron de Denbigh, chevalier du tresnoble ordre de la iaretierre, & grand esquier de la royne nostre souveraigne.* On whose scutcheon, containing sundrie cotes, adorned with the cognissances of both orders, as well S. Michaels as S. Georges, with other ornaments, were made these verses, now common to be read:

Quot clypeos atatum clypeo coniungis in uno,
Tot tibi virtutes atatum sunt pectore iunctae:

The earle
attendance at
this creation.

The execution
of the ceremonies
at this creation.

Creation of
an earle, and
namely the
earle of Leicester.

The queene
her selfe girt
the sword
and girtle
about the
earles necke.

The officers
for sixtene
pounds at
this creation.

Ex Schardio.

Ferdinand
interleth the
true date
most daie of
his owne
birth.

Let me
know mine end
and the number
of my daies,
that I may be
certified how
long I haue
to liue.

The godlike
like male and
female that
God gaue
Ferdinand.

Storie in
questions.

Anno Reg. 7.
howes that
were with
gunpowder.

The Thames
begun ouer.

Quot baro
borne downe.

*Somerg pietas, via imperterrita Grej,
Intemerata fides Rastings, nobile pectus
Ferrarij, Quinci probitas, bonitasque Boghani,
Martia Talboti virtus, fidsima dextra
Beauchampij, Herculei monti inconcussa Guidonis,
Barklei vigor, & generosa modestia Liffi.]*

The second of October in the afternoon, and on the morrow in the forenone, was a solemne obsequie at Paules church in London, for Ferdinando late empero: departed. ¶ Of this empero: it is said, that lying sicke, and so sicke that Richard a preacher of his court then present could not hold him up: howbeit comming at last to himselfe and somewhat in recoverie, he said to the standers by: You thought that I would neuer come againe, naine mine houre is not so lone: I do certeinlie know that I shall not die before Whitson tide. Now when he had liued till that daie, and eight daies after, as hauing the verie time of his departure told him by secret reuelation, (and satisfied at full touching the request that Dauid made to God about the length of his life, saieing:

Da mihi nosse mea quae sint fata tempora vitae,

Et quando vltima sint fata futura mihi)

he said to them that were about him: It is the holie ghoſts pleasure that I should not die before saint James tide, that as he was a pilgrime among vs, so I with him should passe my pilgrimage out of this my native countrie. After which words spoken, his disease grew to greater force and sharpnesse, inso much that at last, euen at the verie time prefixed, namelic St. James daie, he departed this life, after he had liued firtie yeares, nine moneths, and od daies. He gouerned the empire aboue the space of seauen yeares, & had to wife Anne queene of Hungarie and Boheme, by whom he had fixtene children, some male; namelic, Marimilian, Ferdinand, John and Charles: also eleuen females; to wit, Elisabeth married to Sigismund king of Poland, Anne, Marie, Margoline, Catharine, Cleor, Margarite, Barbara, Arsule, Helen, and Ione. He is commended for his carefulnesse, his watchfulnesse, his bountifullnesse, his gentlenesse, his vprightnesse, his discret-nesse, his peaceablenesse, and other qualitties, wherein he had a kind of singularitie. And thus much of him by waie of praise, as I found it readie to my hand.]

The seauenth of October at night, from eight a clocke till after nine of the clocke, all the north parts of the element seemed to be covered with flames of fire, proceeding from the northeast and northwest, toward the middelt of the firmament, where after it had staid nigh one houre, it descended west: and all the same night (being the next after the change of the moone) seemed nigh as light as it had bene faire daie. The twentieth of Nouember in the morning, through negligence of a maiden with a candell, the snuffe falling in an hundred pounds weight of gunpowder, three houses in Bucklersburie were soze shaken, and the maid died two daies after. The one and twentieth of December began a frost, which continued so extremlie, that on Pelwepeares euen, people went ouer and alongst the Thames on the ise from London bidge to Westminster. Some played at the football as boldlie there, as if it had bene on the drie land: diuerse of the court being then at Westminster, shot dallie at pichs set vpon the Thames: and the people both men and women went on the Thames in greater numbers, than in anie street of the citie of London. On the third daie of Ianuarie at night it began to thaw, and on the fift daie was no ise to be seene betwene London bidge and Lambeth, which sudden thaw caused great floods and high waters, that bare downe bidges and houses, and drowned manie people in England: especiallie in Poplythe, Doves bidge was borne awaie

with others.

The third daie of February, Henrie Stuart lord Darleie, about the age of nineteene yeares, eldest sonne to Mattheu earle of Lincolne (who went into Scotland at Whitson tide before) hauing obtained licence of the quenes maiestie, toke his iourneie towards Scotland, accompanied with fise of his fathers men, where when he came, he was honozable receiued, & lodged in the kings lodgings, and in the summer following, he married Marie queen of Scotland. About this time, for the quenes maiestie were chosen and sent commissioners to Bruges, the lord Pontacute knight of the honourable order of the garter, doctor Wolton one of hir maiesties honorable counsell, doctor Haddon one of the masters of requests to hir highnesse, with others: master doctor Aubrey was for the merchant aduenturers of England: they came to Bruges in Lent, Anno 1565, and continued there till Michaelmasse following, and then was the diet prolonged till March in the yeare 1566, and the commissioners returned into England.

The two and twentieth of Aprill, the ladie Margarete countesse of Lincolne, was commanded to keepe hir chamber at the Whitehall, where she remained till the two and twentieth of June, and then conueied by sir Francis Knolles and the gard to the tower of London by water. On Peters euen at night, was the like standing watch in London, as had bene on the same night twelue moneths past. The first tenth of Julie, about nine of the clocke at night began a tempest of lightning and thunder, with shouers of haile, which continued till thre of the clocke in the next morning, so terrible, that at Chelmefford in Essex 500 acres of come was destroyed, the glasse windowes on the east side of the towne, and of the west and south sides of the church were beaten downe, with the tiles of their houses also, besides diuerse barnes, chimneys, and the battlements of the church, which was ouerthrowne. The like harme was done in manie other places, as at Leeds, Crancheboke, Douer, &c.

Christopher prince and margraue of Baden, with Cicilie his wife sister to the king of Swethland, after a long and dangerous iourneie, wherein they had trauelled almost eleuen months sailing from Stockholm, crossing the seas ouer into Lifeland, from whence by land they came about by Poland, Prussie, Pomerland, Weckelburgh, Friseland, and so to Antwerpe in Babant, then to Calis, at the last in September landed at Douer, and the eleuenth daie of the same they came to London, and were lodged at the earle of Bedfordes place nere to Rute bidge, where within foure daies after, that is to saie, the fifteenth of September she trauelled in childbed, and was deliuered of a man child: which child the last of September was christened in the quenes maiesties chapell of White hall at Westminster, the quenes maiestie in hir owne person being godmother, the archbishop of Canturburie, and the duke of Northfolke godfathers. At the christening the quene gaue the child to name Edwardus Fortunatus: for that God had so grationlie assisted his mother, in so long and dangerous a iourneie, and brought hir safe to land in that place, which she most desired, and that in so short time before hir deliuerance.

The eleuenth of Nouember, the right honozable Ambrose earle of Warwick married Anne eldest daughter to the earle of Bedford. For the honoz and celebration of which noble mariage, a goodlie challenge was made and obserued at Westminster at the tilt, each one six courtes: at the tournie twelue strokes with the sword, thre pusses with the punchon kasse; and twelue blowes with the sword at bare

Henrie Stuart married the quene of Scots.

Commissioners chosen to go to Bruges

1565
Ladie Lincolne sent to the tower.

Standing watch at ar midsummer in London.

Tempest at Chelmefford of lightning thunder and raime.

The margraue of Baden and his wife Cicilie came to London.

She is deliuered of a child.

The quene giveth the name.

Mariage of the earle of Warwick.

Robert Thomas
maister gunner
slaine by casualtie.

Anno Reg. 8.

Paules gate
blowen open.

Order of saint
Michael.
1566

The marques
of Baden re-
turneth into
his owne
countrie.

Ground for
the Burie in
Cozenehill first
purchased.

The first
stone of the
Burie laid.

The queenes
progresse to
Driford.

riers, or twentie if any were so disposed. At ten of the clocke at night the same daie a valiant seruice-able man called Robert Thomas, maister gunner of England, desirous also to honour the feast and marriage daie (in consideration the said earle of Warlike was generall of the ordinance within his maiesties realmes and dominions) made three great traines of chambers, which terrible yielded forth the nature of their voice, to the great astonishment of diuerse, who at the firing of the second was unhappily slaine by a peece of one of the chambers, to the great sorrow and lamentation of manie.

The foure and twentieth of December in the morning, there rose a great storme and tempest of wind, by whose rage the Thames and seas ouerwhelmed manie persons, and the great gates at the west end of S. Paules church in London (betwene the which standeth the broken pillar) were through the force of the wind, then in the westerne part of the tooles, blowen open. In Januarie monsieur Rambulet a knight of the order in France was sent ouer into England, by the French king Charles the ninth of that name, with the order: who at Windsor was stalled in the behalfe of the said French king, with the knight hood of the most honorable order of the garter. And the foure and twentieth of Januarie, in the chappell of his maiesties palace of Whitehall, the said monsieur Rambulet inuested Thomas duke of Norfolk, and Robert earle of Leicester, with the said order of S. Michael.

The marquess of Baden and the ladie Cicilie his wife, sister to the king of Swethen, who came into this land in the moneth of September last past (as before is declared) being then by the queenes especiall appointment at their arriuall honorable receiued by the lord Cobham, an honorable baron of this realme, and the ladie his wife one of the queenes maiesties priue chamber, now in the moneth of Aprill 1566 departed the realme againe, the marquess a few daies before his wife, being both conducted by a like personage the lord of Aburgauennie to Dover. Certaine houses in Cozenehill, being first purchased by the citizens of London, were in the moneth of Februarie cried by a belman, and afterward sold to such persons as should take them downe, and carie them from thence: which was so done in the moneths of Aprill and Maie next following. And then the ground being made plaine at the charges also of the citie, possession thereof was by certaine aldermen in the name of the whole citizens, giuen to the right worshipfull sir Thomas Cresham knight, agent to the queenes highnesse, there to build a place for merchants to assemble in, at his owne proper charges: who on the seventh daie of June laid the first stone of the foundation (being bycke) and forthwith the workemen followed upon the same with such diligence, that by the moneth of Nouember, in An. 1567. the same was covered with slate. The commissioners before named, appointed for the matters of Flambers, keeping their diet at Wuges, agreed to refer the whole matter to the princes on both sides: and if they could not agree, then the merchants to haue fortie daies to repare home with their merchandize, and in the meane time all things to stand as they were then. Our commissioners departed from Wuges about the six and twentieth of June.

The one and thirtieth of August, the queenes maiestie in hir progresse came to the vniuersitie of Driford, and was of all the students, which had looked for hir comming thither two yeares, so honorable and soiallie receiued, as either their loialnesse towards the queenes maiestie, or the expectation of their friends did requite. Concerning orders in disputations and other academicall exercises, they agreed

much with those which the vniuersitie of Cambridge had vsed two yeares before. Comedies also and tragedies were played in Chistis church, where the queenes highnesse lodged. Among the which the comedie intitled Palemon and Arcit, made by maister Edwards of the queenes chappell, had such tragical successe, as was lamentable. For at that time by the fall of a wall and a paire of staires, and great presse of the multitude three men were slaine.

The fift of September after disputations, the queene at the humble sute of certaine hir nobilitie, and the B. of Spaines ambassador, made a briefe oration in Latine to the vniuersitie; but so wise and pithie, as England may reioice that it hath so learned a prince, and the vniuersitie may triumph that they haue so noble a patronesse. The first of September after dinner, hir grace comming from Chistis church ouer Carfor, and so to S. Maries, the scholars standing in order according to their degrees euen to the east gate, certaine doctors of the vniuersitie did ride before in their scarlet gownes and hoods, & maisters of art in blacke gownes and hoods. The maiors also with certaine of his brethren did ride before hir in scarlet to the end of Spagbalen bidge, where their liberties ended: but the doctors and maisters went forward still to Shotouer, a mile and more out of Driford, because their liberties extended so far: and there after orations made, hir highnesse with thanks to the whole vniuersitie had them farewell, and rode to Kicote.

The valiant capteine Edward Kandoll esquier, lieutenant of the ordinance, and cozonell of a thousand footmen, in September last past was with his band imbarcked at Bristow, and within few daies after landed at Knockfergus in the north parts of Ireland; and from thence by water to a place called Derrie, by which passeth the riuer Longfoile. There the said cozonell in short space fortified, to the great annoiance of Shyne Oneil, and by great foresight and experience garded himselfe and his charge, till the said Oneil (to hinder and disturbe his aboad there) the twelfe of Nouember arriued with a great armie of Berne Calouglasses and horsemen, with whome the said capteine Kandoll encountered, and him there so discomfited, as after that conflict he durst neuer appoach the queenes power. And to his perpetuall fame, the said capteine by reason of his bold and hardie onset, that daie lost his life. Charles James the first of that name, son to Henrie Stuart lord of Darnlie and Marie king & queene of Scots was bozne in Edenburgh castell, the nineteenth of June last past: and the eighteenth of December this yeare solemnlie christened at Sterling, whose godfathers at the christening were Charles B. of France, and Willbert duke of Saucie, and the queenes maiestie of England was the godmother, who gaue a font of gold curiously wrought and inameble, weighing three hundred & three and thirtie ounces, amounting in value to the summe of 1043 pounds, nine teen shillings.

The tenth of Februarie in the morning, Henrie Stuart lord of Darnlie before named B. of Scots, by Scots in Scotl. and was shamefullie murdered, the reuenge whereof remaineth in the mightie hand of God. The two and twentieth of Februarie, the ladie Margaret Douglas countesse of Lincolne, mother to the said king of Scots, was discharged out of the tower of London. Within the space of ten moneths last past died seven aldermen of London, the first Edward Bankes deceased the ninth of Iulie, An. 1566: Richard Chamberleine late thiriffe, sir Martin Bobbes, sir Richard Pallozie, sir William Helwet, and sir Thomas White late maiors, then Richard Lambert one of the thiriffes for that yeare, the fourth

Dispute
at Driford at
the placing of
a tragedie.

The queene
maketh an
oration to the
vniuersitie.

Sergeants
hall.

Shall in
Suffolke
burnt.

Souldiers
transported
into Ireland
to banquish
Shyne Oneil.

Young prince
of Scots
christened.

Anno Reg. 8.

B. of Scots
murdered.
1567

The countesse
of Lincolne
deliuered out of
the tower.
Seven alder-
men deceased
in London.

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The towne of
Suffolke
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Sergeants
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fourth of Aprill 1567. The like mortallitie to haue happened among them about a ten or eleuen yeares before, you shall read in the hystorie of queene Marie, in the fourth yeare of hir reigne.

The two and twentieth of Aprill by great misfortune of fire in the towne of Westrie in Wales, twelve miles from Shrewsburie, to the number of two hundred houses, to wit, seven score within the walls, and thre score without in the suburbs, besides cloth, cozne, cattell, &c. were consumed, which fire began at two of the clocke in the after none, and ended at foure, to the great maruell of manie, that so great a spoile in so short a time should happen. Two long streets with great riches in that towne was burnt in the yeare 1542: and likewise of worse in the yeare 1564. The foure and twentieth of Aprill the sergeants feast was kept at Greis inne nere vnto Holborne, and there were at that time made seven new sergeants of the law. The senententh of Maie in the towne of Milnall in Suffolke eight miles from Petermarket, thirtie seven houses besides barnes, stables, and such like were consumed with fire in the space of two houres.

Shane O'neil, who had most traitorouslie rebelled against the quenes maiestie in Ireland, and had done manie great outrages in the parts of Ulster, was this yeare with his great losse manfullie repelled from the siege of Dundalke by the garrison thereof: and afterward through the great ballancie and foresight of sir Henrie Sidneie knight of the order, and lord deputy of Ireland, he was so discomfited in sundrie conflicts, with the losse of thre thousand five hundred of his men, that now foreseeing his declination to be imminent, he determined to put a collar about his necke, and disguising himselfe, to repaire to the lord deputy, and penitentie to requite his pardon to haue his life. But seil Packeuer his secretarie, who had incited him to this rebellion, perswaded him first to trie & treat the friendship of certelne wild Scots, that then laie incamped in Clan Boie, vnder the conducting of Alexander Mge, and Mac Gilliam Buske, whose father and vncle Shane O'neil had latelie killed in an ouerthrow giuen to the Scots. Peruer the lesse he well liking this persuation, went to the said campe the second of Iune, where after a dissembled interteinement, & quaffing of wine, Gilliam Buske burning with desire of reuenge for his fathers and uncles death, and ministering quarrelling talke, issued out of the tent, and made a fraie vpon O'neils men, and then gathering together his Scots in a throng, suddenlie entred the tent againe, who there with their slaughter swords helued in pieces Shane O'neil, his secretarie, and all his companie, except a verie few which escaped by flight.

On saint Johns euen at night was the like standing watch in London, as had bene on saint Peters euen in the yeare last before mentioned. This yeare the emperor Maximilian the second of that name, being elected into the most honourable order of the garter, the right honourable Thomas earle of Suffex, &c. knight of the same most noble order, was appointed by the quenes maiestie to go vnto the said emperor, with the said order of the garter, according to his said election. Who being honozablie accompanied with the lord North, sir Thomas Wyldmaie knight, Henrie Cobham esquier, one of the pensioners, and others, departed from London the five and twentieth of Iune 1567, vnto Douer, and there imbarked, landed at Calis, and his traine at Dunkirke, and so passed through the low countries to Antwerpe in Brabant, where he was honourablie receiued by the English merchants and others, and being there went to visit madame de Parma, regent of the said countries, then resident within the

same towne.

From thence he passed vnto Colen, where as his lordship and traine mounted the riuier of Rhenne, & by sundrie continuall daies iourneies passed by the citie of Spents or Hagunce, vnto Oppenheim, & there taking his waie by land, passed through the countrie by the cities of Wormes and Spires till he came to Almes, standing on the riuier of Danow, where hee arrived the one and twentieth of Iulie: and the thre and twentieth his lordship rode in post to Auspurg, called in Latine *Augusta Vindelicorum*, nine Dutch miles from Almes. From thence he departed the five and twentieth of Iulie, and met with his traine at Donwert, being come thither vpon sloes downe by the said riuier of Danow. From thence he kept vpon his iourneie by Ingolstat, Keinspurg, in Latine *Ratisbona*, by Passaw and other townes, till hee came to Linz, where his lordship staid the first, second and third of August, by reason of the high waters.

And departing from thence on the fourth of August, he passed by Stoan & Cremz, by the said riuier of Danow, and so arrived at the citie of Wienna the sixt of August in this foresaid yeare 1567, where hee was receiued of the lord Smeckouttes, hauing twelve horses readie with their footclothes for his lordship, and the most respected of his traine, and so brought him to the presence of the emperor, at that present within his castell there in that citie, by whom he was right honourablie receiued, and afterwards conducted to his assigned lodging, where as all provision was prepared and made at the emperours charges. Here his lordship continued till the foureteenth of Ianuarie. In which meane time the emperor verie often (as time serued) had the said earle forth with him, vnto such pastimes of hunting the hart, boare, and such like, as the plentifulnesse of that countrie yieldeth. Moreover, during the time of his lordships abode there at Wienna, Charles archduke of Austria and Carinth arrived in that citie, whom my lord went to salute.

After this, vpon the quenes maiesties letters brought out of England by maister Henrie Brooke, alias Cobham, one of hir gentlemen pensioners, the said earle of Suffex vpon sundate the fourth of Ianuarie in the after none, presented and deliuered vnto the emperours maiestie in his chamber of presence, the habiliments and ornaments of the most noble order of the garter, sir Gilbert Dethike knight alias Carter, principall king of arms, and officer for the said order, and William Dethike then Hounge-crosse, also officer of armes, giuing their attendance in their cotes of armes. And the emperor at his inuesture of the said habiliments, gaue vnto the said Carter his short gowne and vnder garment, furred throughout with luzerns, and then proceeded thence into a great chamber, adornoed in forme of a chappell, where as all the other ceremonies belonging vnto the said noble order were obserued and accomplished. And the same night the said earle supped with the emperours maiestie, both being in their robes of the said order.

Now shortly after, his lordship with certelne of his companie taking leaue of the emperor, departed from Wienna the fourteenth of Ianuarie aforesaid vnto Peterstat, and so through the countrie of Stirie vnto Gratz the chiefe citie of Carinth, where he took also leaue of the said archduke Charles: and from thence returning, passed those parts of the Alpes vnto Salzburch, where he met with the other part of his traine, and so by continuing iourneies came againe into England to the quenes maiestie towards the latter end of March. After a drie summer folowed an extreme sharpe winter, namelie the latter

The iourneies of the earle of Suffex during his abode beyond the seas.

The emperor interteineth the earle of Suffex.

Charles duke of Austria & the earle of Suffex salute each other.

1568

The earle of Suffex departing from Wienna, &c.

John Stow. Anno Reg. 10. A sharpe winter following a drie summer.

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Shane O'neil
in
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Shane O'neil
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Reg. 9.

Shane O'neil
killed and
killed in pe-
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Standing
watch of mid-
summer main-
tained in
London.
The emperor
Maximilian
called into
the order of the
garter.

Scots
killed.
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The earle of
Suffex visit
madame de
Parma.

latter part thereof, with such great scarcity of fodder and haye, that in diuerse places the same was sold by weight, as in Yorkshire, and in the Realme of War-
bushire, where a stone of haye was sold for five pence.
There followed also a great death of cattell, namelie
of horsses and sheepe.

Rich. Grafton.
The queenes
ships sent
forth into the
narrow seas.

This yeare in the moneth of Januarie, the queens maiestie sent into the narrow seas thre of hir ships, and one barkie named the Antelop, the Swallow, the Aid, and the Phenix, the which were manned with fife hundred men. And hir highnesse appointed the charge of the said ships and men to hir trustie servant William Holfooke of London esquier, comptrolloz of hir highnesse ships, who had comandement to staie the subiects of king Philip. And according to his dutie he besed such diligence, as one having care vnto his charge, in garbing as well the French as the English coasts, did the eleuenth date of March next following meet with eleuen saile of Flemmish hoies open vpon Bullongne, which came from Rone, and had in them foure hundred and odd tunns of Calcoigne and French wines, which they intended to haue caried into flanders: but the said Holfooke said all the said eleuen hoies, and sent them to London, where they made their discharge, and the Flemmings disappointed of those wines.

Elegan faille
of Flemish
hoes laden
with wines
surprised by
admirall
Doltstocke.

Recover the eight and twentieth daie of the foze-
said moneth of March, the said William Holfocke
feruing in the Antelop (at that present admerall)
and in his companie being William Winter the
ponger (at that time his viceadmerall) feruing in the
Rio, and John Baling capteine of the Swallow, and
Thomas Couarlie capteine of the Henry met in the
narrow seas with fouretene saile of great hulkes,
which were come out of Portugall, and bound to
Flanders: their chiefe lading being Portugall salt;
and yet had good store of Spanishe roials of plate, and
also of good spices. The which fouretene hulkes did
maintaine their fight for the space of two houres.

Six Spanish
hulksladen
with di-
nerse things
taken by the
English.

And after that they did perceiue that they could not preuaile, hauing tasted of the ordinance of the queens ships to their great hurt, as well in slaughter of their men, as also in spoile of their ships, the said Holtscocke and his companie tooke eight of the said hulks, whereof six were sent into the riuer of Thames. And the admerall and viceadmerall in the said hulks being two great ships (which the said Holtscocke himselfe did take) were caried vnto Harwich, and there discharged.

John Stow.
Great Winds
Archbishop of
Yorke deceased

The eighteenth of March, through vehement rage
and tempest of winds, manie vessels on the Thames
with two tiltbores before Grauesend, were sunke
and drowned. The six and twentieth of June, deceased
Thomas Pong archbishop of Poike, at the manour
of Sheffield, and was honourable buried at Poike.
The eleuenth of October were taken in Suffolke at
Downam bridge, nere unto Ipswich seutene
monstrous fishes, some of them containing feuen
and twentie foot in length, the other foure and twen-
tie, or one and twentie foot at the leass. At the costs
and charges of the citizens of London, a new con-
duit was built at Walbrooke corner nere to Dow-
gate, which was finished in the moneth of October,
the water whereof is conueied out of the Thames.

Monstrous
fishes.

Now condui
at walbroke.

Anno Reg. II.
1569
A Frenchmā
& two Eng-
lishmen
executed.
Muster of
pensioners.

A lottery at
London.

yard at the west doore, was begun to be drawne the eleventh of Januarie, and continued daie and night till the first of Maie, wherein the said drawing was fullie ended. Sir Thomas the lord maior of London, caused to be inclosed with a wall of bricke, nigh one acre of ground, nere unto Weblem without Wilsheps gate, to be a place of buriall for the dead of such parishes in London as lacked convenient ground within their said parishes.

Buttall for
the dead pre-
pared by Sir
Thomas Be-
called & New
churchyard.

¶ On the southside whereof, ouer a folding gate
this inscription is grauen in stone in great letters:
*Thomas Re milles, cum prator esset Condinensis, hunc locum
Reipublice in vsum publicæ sepulcræ communem, suo sum-
ptu dedicauit: Anno Domini 1569.* Which writing
I haue here recorded, for that in viewing the same,
I saw some of the letters defaced and bitterlie made
a waie; which in time might likewise befall to the re-
sidue, and so the memorie of the gentleman there
fired to so good an end banish and die. The alfo of a
godlie motion builded a conuenient tombe in Pauls
churchyard, on the southside of the crosse, to receive
a certaine number of hearers at the sermon time
as may appeare by some remembrances of his
name there fired. Whobetwixt, this gentleman thus
well disposed, and like inough to haue proceeded in
more such goodlie actions, was called out of this life
the next yeare immediatlie following, forgoing all
the pompe of this life, with no lesse good will, than
he was for ward by death to passe to eternall rest.
His bodie was buried in Wychin church, in the
southside of the chancell, where (besides a monu-
ment of himselfe and his wife) this epitaph remain-
eth to be read in faire great letters, as followeth

An: 1570. Septemb. 2.

Sir Thomas Ro lieth buried heare,
Of London knight and aldenman,
Who late was maior and rule did beare,
To right the caufe of euerie man:
A merchant venturer was he,
Of merchant tailors companie:
A citizen by birth also,
And eke his wife dame Marie Ro.
In wedlocke one and thirtie yeare,
They did continue man and wife,
Eleuen children she did beare,
But fise of them haue left this life:
And fix aliue doo yet remaine,
Foure of them sons and daughters twain
His soule with God we hope is blest,
And dooth remaine in Abrams brest.]

The epitaph
of sir Thomas
Bo, wherein
his issue male
and female is
contained.

A standing watch on St. Johns euen at Spidum
mer, and sir John White alderman rode the circuit,
as the lord maior shoud haue done. The fenen and
tewentith of August, Andziew Gregozenich Sauin,
ambassadors from Spuscouie, landed at the towne
warfe, and was there receiued by the lord maior of
London, the aldermen and shiriffes in scarlet, with
the merchants aduenturers in cotes of blacke vel-
uet, all on horsebacke, who conuicted him riding
through the citie to the Spuscouie house in Seebing
lane, there to be lodged. The plague of pestilence
somewhat raging in the citie of London, Michael-
mas terme was first adourned into the third of
Pouember, and after to Hilarie terme next follow-
ing. The eleventh of October, Thomas Heward
duke of Norfolk was brought from Barnam be-
fore Windore by land to Westminster, and from
thence by water to the tower of London prisoner.
Sir Henrie Peuill being his keeper. This yeare the
lord maior of London went by water to Westmin-
ster, and there took his oth, as hath bene accus-
tomed, but kept no feast at the Guildhall, least through
comming together of so great a multitude, infection
of the pestilence might haue increased. At which tyme
from

Embassies
from Mexico
and land at
former Embassy

ce Tetthea
journed.

Duke of
Norfolk
sent to the
tower.

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An. Reg.

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The earle of
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Anno Reg. 12.
The number

rebels 2000 men
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Bernardus ca-
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the earliest
proclamation
of the
rights.

from the one and twentieth unto the eight and twentieth of October, there died in the citie and out partes of all diseases one hundred fiftie and two, of the which, one and fiftie were accounted to die of the plague.

On Thursday the ninth of November, Thomas Percie erle of Northumberland received the queens maiesties letters to repaire to the court. And the same night, other conspirators perceiving him to be wavering and unconstant of promise made to them, caused a servant of his, called Beckwith (after he was laid in his bed) to bustle in, and to knocke at his chamber dore, willing him in hast to arise, and shift for himselfe, for that his enemies (whome he termed to be sir Arnold Wilslop, and maister Haughan) were about the park, and had beset him with great numbers of men. Whereupon he arose, & conveyed himselfe awaie to his keepers house. In the same instant they caused the bells of the towne to be rung backward, and so raised as manie as they could to their purpose. The next night the earle departed thence to Wanspith, where he met with Charles earle of Westmerland, and the other confederats. Then by sundrie proclamations, they abusing manie of the queens subiects, commanded them in his highness name, to repaire to them in warlike manner, for the defence and suertie of his maiesties person; sometimes affirming their doings to be with the aduise and consent of the nobilitie of this realme, who in deed were wholie bent (as manifestlie appeared) to spend their liues in dutifull obedience, against them and all other traitors, sometimes pretending for conscience sake to seke to reforme religion: sometimes declaring that they were driven to take this matter in hand, least otherwise foreign princes might take it upon them, to the great perill of this realme.

Upon mondaie the thirteenth of November, they went to Durham with their banners displayed. And to get the more credit among the fauours of the old Romish religion, they had a crosse with a banner of the five wounds borne before them, sometime by old Roxtan, sometime by others. As soone as they entred Durham, they went to the minster, where they tate the bible, communion books, & other such as were there. The same night they went againe to Wanspith. The fourteenth daie of the same moneth, they went to Darlington, and there had masse, which the earles and the rest heard with such lewd deuotion as they had. Then they sent their hoisemen, to gather together such numbers of men as they could. The fiftenth daie the earles parted; he of Northumberland to Richmond, then to Northallerton, & so to Woburnidge; & he of Westmerland to Ripon, & after to Woburnidge, where they both met againe. On the eighteenth daie they went to Wetherbie, and there taried three or foure daies, and upon Clifford moze, nigh unto Wanspith moze, they mistrusted themselves, at which time they were about two thousand hoisemen, and five thousand footmen, which was the greatest number that euer they were. From which they intended to haue marched toward Poike, but their minds being sudderlie altered, they returned.

The thirte and twentieth of November, they besieged Bernards castell, which castell was valiantlie defended by sir George Bowes, and Robert Bowes his brother, the space of eleuen daies, and then deliuered with composition to depart with armes, munition, bag and baggage. In which time the queens maiestie caused the said earles of Northumberland & Westmerland to be proclaimed traitors, with all their adherents and fauourers, the foure and twentieth of November. The lord Scrope warden of

the west marches, calling vnto him the earle of Cumberland and other gentlemen of the countrie, kept the citie of Carlisle. The earle of Sussex the queens lieutenant generall in the north, published there the like proclamations (in effect) as had bene published by his maiestie against the said rebels, and also sent out to all such gentlemen as he knew to be his maiesties louing subiects under his rule, who came vnto him with such numbers of their friends, as he was able in five daies to make aboute five thousand hoisemen and footmen. And so being accompanied with the erle of Rutland his lieutenant, the lord Hunsdon generall of the hoisemen, sir Raife Sadler treasurer, the lord William Cuccs, that was after appointed to lead the rearward, and diuerse other, that with their tenants and seruants were come to him, remaining as then within the citie of Poike: he set forward from thence the first of December being sundae, and marched with his power which he had thus got together towards the enemies.

Sir George Bowes having surrendered Bernards castell (as before ye haue heard) met the earle of Sussex thus marching forward with his armie at Saisle, from whence they kept forward to Northallerton: and resting two nights there, they marched on to Crossbidge, then to Aile, and so to Durham, and after to Newcastell. And the twentieth of December they came to Heram, from whence the rebels were gone the night before to Raworth, where they counselled with Edward Dacres concerning their owne weaknesse, & also how they were not onlie pursued by the earle of Sussex & others with him, hauing a power with them of seven thousand men, being almost at their heeles; but also by the earle of Warwicke, and the lord Clinton, high admerall of England with a far greater armie of twelue thousand men, raised by the queens maiesties commissioners out of the south and middle parts of the realme. In which armie beside the earle of Warwicke, & the lord admerall, chiefe gouernors in the same, there was also Walter Deuereux vicount Hereford high marshall of the field, with the lord Willoughbie of Perham, maister Charles Howard, now lord Howard of Effingham, generall of the hoisemen vnder the earle of Warwicke, yong Henrie Knols eldest sonne to sir Francis Knols, his lieutenant, Edward Hopte capteine of the Ile of Wight, with five hundred barquebushers out of the same Ile, and capteine Leighton with other five hundred barquebushers Londoners, and manie other worthy gentlemen and ballant captains.

The coming forward of these forces caused the rebels so much to quake in courage, that they durst not abide to trie the matter with dint of sword. For whereas the earle of Warwicke, and the lord admerall, being advanced forward to Darlington, ment the next daie to haue sent Robert Clouet then Portculet, and now Somerset herald (who in his iourneie attended on the lord admerall, as Portculet king of armes did vpon the earle of Warwicke) vnto the rebels, vpon such message as for the time and state of things was thought conuenient: the same night aduertisements came from the earle of Sussex vnto the earle of Warwicke, and to the lord admerall, that the two earles of Northumberland and Westmerland were fled; as the truth was they were indeed, first from Durham, whither the said Clouet should haue bene sent vnto them: and now vpon the earle of Sussex his coming vnto Exham, they thanke quite awaie, and fled into Scotland, without bidding their companie farewell. The earle of Warwicke and his power marched on to Durham. But the earle of Sussex pursuing those other rebels that had

The earle of Sussex being against the rebels.

The earle of Rutland and the lord Hunsdon, with others against the rebels.

The rebels and Edward Dacres consulted about their weaknesse.

The earle of Warwicke and the lord admerall Clinton, sent against the rebels.

The rebels dare not stand to the trial of battail.

The earles of Northumberland and Westmerland fled into Scotland.

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red by sir
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he inscrip-
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archyard.

he death of
Thomas
on the night
of the may
London.

he epitaph
for Thomas
on, wherein
is fine male
in female is
intended.

Imbasador
from the
to land at
over the park.

Terme ad-
ourned.

Duke of
Northfolke
into the
over.

No maiesties
cast at Exham.

The earle of
Northumberland
and
Westmerland
fled.

The earle of
Rutland and
the lord Huns-
don, with o-
thers against
the rebels.

The earle of
Warwicke and
the lord admer-
all Clinton, sent
against the
rebels.

The rebels
dare not stand
to the trial of
battail.

The earles of
Northumberland
and Westmerland
fled into Scot-
land.

not meane to flie out of the realme, apprehended no small number of them at his pleasure, without finding any resistance among them at all.

1570
Rebels
executed at
Durham.

A prentise
hanged in
London for
killing his
maister.

Rich. Grafton.
Lord Leo-
nard Dacres
rebellety.

The lord
Dacres reas-
die with his
power to let
vpon the lord
of Hunsdon.

Stout wo-
men among
the rebels.

Leonard Da-
cres put to
fight takeh
his waite into
Scotland.

John Stow.
Rebels
executed at
yoke.

The fourth and fift of Januarie did suffer at Durham to the number of thre score and six, constables and others, amongst whom the alderman of the towne and a priest called parson Blomtre were the most notable. When sir George Wolves being made marshall, finding manie to be fautors in the foresaid rebellion, did see them executed in diuerse places of the countrie. The one and twentieth of Januarie a prentise of London was hanged on a gibet at the north end of Finch lane in London (to the example of others) for that he the thirtieth of December had stricken his maister with a knife whereof he died.

About the later end of Januarie, Leonard Dacres of Harlesfeie began to rebell, and procured the people of the north parts to assist him: so that he raised to the number of thre thousand men. Of whose attempts when the lord Hunsdon lord warden of the east marches, and gouernor of Berwike heard, he prepared to go against him: and hauing with him sir John Foster lord warden of the middle marches, they set forward towards the place where they thought they should find him. They had with them 300 chosen soldiers of the garrison of Berwike, and twelue hundred borderers, and other of the garrisons there about the borders: so that they were in all fiftene hundred footmen and horsemen. They marching therewith forth appoched nere to a towne and castell called Hallowth, which was in the keeping of the said Leonard Dacres. And vpon a more, through the middle whereof a little river called Chelt hath his course, the said Leonard Dacres the two and twentieth of Februarie was readie with his powder in order of battell, ranged & set in arrate after the forme of a triangle, compassed and inuironed about with horsemen. And now vpon the lord Hunsdon's approach, the said Dacres with great and stout courage gaue an hardie onset vpon the said lord Hunsdon and his companie, nere vnto the foresaid river.

The fight was sharpe and cruell, and the euent verie doubtfull for a while: the rebels were so stiffelie bent to doe their bittermost indeuor in defense of their wicked quarrell. There were amongst them manie desperat women that gaue the aduenture of their liues, and fought right frontlie. Manie therfore were slaine on both sides, to the number at the least of thre hundred persons. But such was the forward valiancie of the lord Hunsdon, that his people incouraged by his example (whome they might see so noblie acquit himselfe, in aduenturing so farre as any other of the whole troupe behaued themselves in such manfull wise, that the victorie in the end fell to him and his companie: and the said Leonard Dacres was forced to flie from his felie slaine and miserable people, taking his waite into Scotland, so fast as his horse might beare him. Captaine Keade and the other captains and soldiers of Berwike bare themselves right valiantlie, and shewed proofe of their skill and hardie manhood in this skirmish. After the which these holds and castles were taken and deliuered vnto the said lord Hunsdon: Hallowth which was committed vnto the keeping of maister Scrope, Kestwood, Greistocke and Kockleie, which were deliuered to the keeping of diuerse of the duke of Suffolks officers.

On god saturday the seauen and twentieth of March Simon Digbie of Aske, John Fulthorpe of Silbecke in the countie of Yorke esquires, Robert Penman of Stokesfeie, Thomas Bishop the younger of Bokinton in the same countie of Yorke, gentlemen, were dtawne from the castell of Yorke to the

place of execution called Haues mire, halfe a mile without the citie of Yorke, and there hanged, headed, and quartered; their foure heads were set on foure principall gates of the citie, with foure of their quarters; the other in diuerse places of the countrie. A clope Clesbe was with them dtawne to the gallows, and returned againe to the castell. William earle of Penbroke baron of Cardiffe, knight of the garter, one of the priue counsell, and lord steward of the queenes maiesties household, deceased the eighteenth of Aprill, and was buried in saint Pauls church at London. This noble man liued in great credit and estimation with king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, queene Marie, and queene Elisabeth, and was by euerie of the sayd princes imployed in matters of great importance: and for his god and faithfull seruice greatlie honored, as appereth in an epitaph fired vpon his toome in the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, which I thought good here to laie downe.

Perpetuae pietati sacrum.

Guilielmo Herberto Penbrochie comiti, equiti aurato prae nobilis ordinis Anglici: Hen. viij. R. A cubiculo: Edward. vi. R. equitum magistro: Wallia praefidi. Tumultus occidentali cum Rossello & Graia baronibus paribus auspicijs summa rerum praeposito: Maria R. contra perduelles, ac expeditione ad Augustan Peromanduorum his, totius exercitus duci: bis summo in agro Caletum, limitum praefecto: Elisab. R. officiarum seu Magna Regia magistro. Pariter & Domina Anna ex vetusta Parrorum gente oriunda, Sorori Catharina R. Henr. viij. R. vi. matrimonio coniunctae, ac Marchionis Northamptonj: Prudentijs, fœminae, pietatis, religionis, probitatis omnique auitae virtutis retinentis, fidei. Comitiss coningit: Henr. F. ac comes, Ep. charijs. sibi ac suis marent, P.

Obijt { etatis } Ann. { 63. }
{ saluti } { 1569. }
Liberis reliquis ex prima.
Henrico Pemb. Comite.
Edwardo equite Aurato.
Domina Anna Baroni Talbot nupta.

Secunda coniuge superstitie, Georgio Salopia comite gentia, insigni praefer antiquum probitatis decus, virtute fœmina.]

The earle of Suffe, in reuenge of the enill demeanour of the Scots inhabiting nere to the English marches, as well in receiuing and succouring diuerse of the English rebels, as other naughtie practices, assembled such forces as he thought expedient in the night that followed the seauen and twentieth of Aprill, and hauing with him the lord Hunsdon gouernour of Berwike and lord warden of the east marches, sir William Dourie marshall of the said armie and towne of Berwike, came to Warke, being twelue miles distant from the said towne of Berwike: & then the next daie being the eighteenth of the same moneth, they entered into Cuidall in Scotland, where marching in warlike order, they burned, ouerthrew, wasted and spoiled all the castles, townes and villages, as they passed, till they came to a towne called the Posse towne, standing in a marsh, and belonging to the lord of Buckelagh, which likewise was rased, ouerthrotone and burned: and so marching forward, wasted the whole countrie before them, until they came to a great towne called Crapling.

The same daie sir John Foster warden of the middle marches, with all the garrisons and forces of the same, entered likewise into Cuidall at Chelgate, distant fiftene miles from Warke, where in like order they burned and spoiled the countrie before them, till they came to a castell in the possession of

The earle of
Penbroke
deceased.

D. Powell
biff. Camb. reg.
399.

They come to
yeworth
and are inter-
rined.

The lord of
Hallowth with
the principalls
of his allies
submit them-
selves.

The call of
Furness
burned.

The Scots
with the as-
sault met.

The Scots
of Hallowth
their breach of
command.

The earle of
Suffe
with the
Scotts
land.

The Scots
tower.

The lord
of Cuidall
was saved
from the fire.

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of the lord of Fernherst, being parcell of his sons lands, which likewise was overthowne, rased, and burned, with all other castels, piles, townes, and villages, all alongst the said countrie, till they came to Crantling, joining there with the lord lieutenants power. This towne was likewise burned and spoiled. Thus they passed the river of Tuet, rasing, burning and spoiling the castels, piles, stone houses, townes, and villages alongst that river, untill they came to Jedworth, where they lodged for that night, and were of the magistrats of that towne courteously received, who had made indifferent good provision for the armie, both of vittells for men, and of baie and powder for horses. Whereupon proclamation was publickly made in the name of the lord lieutenant, that no Englishman (upon paine of death) should disturbe or wrongfullie take awaye any thing from any of the inhabitants of the same towne, without disbursing readie monie therefore. Which thing did so much content the Scots, that the next daie the lord of Selsford, warden of the middle marches of Scotland, with all the principals of his allies and kindred, came in to the lord lieutenant, submitting themselves to him, and were received into assurance: for that neither he nor any of them had at any time received the English rebels, neither aided nor assisted them, neither yet made any invasion into England. And whereas some of their men, and tenants, with out their knowledge had trespassed in such behalfe, they were contented to abide and stand unto the erle of Sussex his order, for their said men and tenants. And hereupon neither they nor any of theirs received any hurt: but by his lordships commandement were preserved from sustaining any damage either in bodie or goods: so glad he was of their submission, and no lesse glad to give them occasion to be careful in performance of obedience. Unto which compass on God (no doubt) had inclined the noble mans hart, according to the poet words in this sense verie true:

*mollia pectora reddis
Ad pietatis opus, flammis ut cera liquescens
In varias formas flectis ducitur arte.*

The nineteenth daie, the armie was divided into two severall parts, whereof one passing over the river of Tuet, burned the castell of Fernherst, utterlie spoiling the same, and all other castels & townes that belonged to the lords of Fernherst, Henthill, and Bedpoll, and so passed to Spinto, where both the armies meeting, joined together againe, being not past a foure miles from Hothke, whither they marched directlie, intending to lodge there that night, because the bailiffs of the towne had offered to receive the whole armie, and to make provision for the soldiers of all things necessarie, they paying readie monie for the same, and the inhabitants to be assured not to be hurt in bodie or goods, as was promised. But the Scots breaking the covenant before the coming thither of the armie, had uncovered their houses, carried the thatch into the streets, and there set it on fire: and this done they fled their waies with most part of their goods. So that when the armie approached, there was such a thicke smoke, that no man might scarce enter the towne: and so for that night the soldiers suffered great lacke of vittells, lodging, and provision, as well for themselves as their horses. But the fire which the Scots had of a malicious purpose and subtiltie thus begun, was by the diligent industrie of the Englishmen so increased: that both the thatch and timber of the whole towne was consumed to ashes, a stone house pertaining to the lord of Drumlanerike onlie excepted, wherein the lord lieutenant late that night. And because the said Drumlanerike was a friend assured, the said house was spared, with all the goods and coines therein, whereof

there was great plentie.

The twentieth of Aprill, the armie marched toward a faire proper house, belonging to the lord of Buelough, which was blowne up with powder and utterly ruined. Here the armie was againe divided as before by the said lord lieutenant his appointment, and marching by north the river of Tuet towards England, they burnt and spoiled all such castels, piles, townes and villages, as were belonging to the said lords of Fernherst and Buelough their kinsmen, allies, and adherents, & came that night againe to Jedworth, and there lodged. The one and twentieth of Aprill, the armie dividing it selfe againe, the one part under the leading of the marshall sir William Durie, passed to the river of Bowbent, and there Muidale and Riddesdale men meeting him, all on both sides that river was burnt and spoiled. The other part of the armie marching by the river of Galle, wasted and burnt in like manner there all that was found on both sides that river, belonging wholie to the lord of Buelough, his kinsmen, allies and adherents.

This done, they returned againe nere to Kelsie, where the lord lieutenant lodged for that night, meaning to have besieged Hume castell. For the accomplishment whereof, the same night the lord of Humesdon and his companie went to Marke, to bring from thence the daie next following the great artillerie. But because the carriage horses were returned to Barwik, this could not be brought to passe, & so the lord lieutenant with the whole armie returning into England the two & twentieth of Aprill, came that night to Barwik. In this journey there were rased, overthowne and spoiled, above fiftie castels and piles, and more than three hundred townes and villages: so that there were verie few in Muidale and those parties thereabouts, which had either received the English rebels, or by invasion indamaged the English borders, and good suburbs inhabiting upon the same, that had left to them either castell, pile or house, for themselves, their friends, or tenants, beside the great losse of goods which were wasted, taken awaye or consumed by this armie under the lord lieutenant.

Now in the meane while that he with his power thus afflicted the adversaries on that side, the lord Scrope warden of the west marches the eighteenth of Aprill entered Scotland on that side, with such forces as he had assembled. And the first night they incamped at Eglesham, and in the morning at the dislodging of the campe, that towne was burnt; and passing forward through the countrie, they burnt and spoiled diverse other townes, almost till they came to Dunferme, and had diverse conflicts with the enemies, gave them sundrie overthowes, took manie of them prisoners. And having accomplished his purpose, to his high praise and commendation, his lordship returned in safetie with his people into England; having burnt in that journey these places following: Hoddon, Craibetow, old Cockpole, Sherington, Blackethaw, Banke end, Kowell, Logher wood, Wyde kirke, and others. During these invasions thus made into Scotland in that season, the marches of England were so strongly garded in all places by the lord Evers, sir George Bolnes, and others; that the Scots durst not so much as once offer to make any invasion: so that in absence of the armies, there was not so much as an house burnt, or a cow driven out of the English borders.

The first and twentieth of Aprill, the earle of Sussex lord lieutenant, accompanied with the foresaid lord of Humesdon, master Durie, and divers other capitains and soldiers, to the number of three thousand or thereabouts, set from Barwik about five of the clocke

In house of the lord of Bueloughs blowne up with powder;

Nothing but wast & spoile by fire and sword.

The lord lieutenant purpose to besiege Hume castell.

what castels & piles were overthowne and spoiled in this voyage.

The lord Scrope with his power.

The marches of England garded against the enemy.

he earle of crathke sealed.

Dowell in 1. Camd pag. 7.

The lord of Selsford with his principals and allies submit themselves.

The castell of Fernherst burned.

The Scots at Hothke uncovered their houses.

The earle of Sussex with his company entered into Crantling.

The Hothke over.

Sir John Foster with his company entered into Crantling.

The marshall
sent before to
Hume castell.

The order ta-
ken by the
earle of Suff-
er for the
safetie of the
arquis.

Hume castell
besieged.

The earle of
Suffier view-
eth the castell
of Hume.

A Mount
raised at the
lord lieuten-
ants com-
mandement.

Batterie
made against
Hume castell.

clocke in the afternone towards Marke, where they arrived about nine of the clocke in the night: and continuing there till the next morning, in the meane time he put things in order necessarie for the assieging of Hume castell, the winning whereof his lordship seemed to have vowed. About the breake of the daie he sent forth master Dyrrie, with certeine horsemen and shot before, to inuiron that castell, and to chose there such a plot of ground, where he might in campe best in safetie fro the shot of the same. Which the said master Dyrrie accordingly performed, and there remained till the coming of the said lord lieutenant with the armie; who setting forward the footbands, cariage, and ordinance, made hast to follow. But yet per he could passe the river of Tweed, and set over all the men, ordinance and carriage, it was almost ten of the clocke. Where at this river, the lord lieutenant caused all the horsemen to staie and to take over the footmen.

This done, with good circumspection he appointed the demilances and other horsemen to remaine behind in the rereward, and put the footmen in the battell, for the more safegard of themselves, the ordinance and carriages. When his lordship himselfe with his owne standard, and the lord of Humesons guidon, marched forward towards Hume castell, commanding the rest of the armie with the ordinance to follow after, and so about one of the clocke in the afternone, he came before the castell: out of the which the enemies shot at his standard berie hotlie; but (God be praised) without doing hurt either to man or horse, and incamped under a rocke or crag (which the marshall had possessed) with his band of horsemen and certeine footmen, as in a place most apt from danger of shot out of the castell. Here with a companie of curriours and calliers were put forward, and appointed to take an other rocke neerer to the castell, which shot at them in the said castell; and the defendants within it answered them againe berie roundlie, although without anie great hurt on either part.

In the meane time the lord lieutenant himselfe, accompanied onlie with the marshall master Dyrrie, rode sundrie times round about the castell to view and surueie the same: at whome they within shot berie sore, both with their great artillerie and small shot; yet missing them, as God would, though berie narrowlie. About six of the clocke in the evening came the whole battell, ordinance and carriages, with ensignes spread, shewing themselves berie brauelle; at whome also the castell shot lastilie: but as God would haue it, without hurting either man or boie. They lodged under another rocke neere adjoining unto the lord lieutenant upon the west side, where there were appointed more small shot to go to the trench, which shadowed themselves under the old walls of the houses, which the Scots had burnt before the coming of the Englishmen, and occupied them so within the said castell, that one of them could not so longe look out at a lopp, but three or foure were readie to salute him: and keeping them in such sort, that they durst not well shew their heads; the capitaine of the pioners the same night by commandement of the lord lieutenant, raised a mount upon the northeast side of the castell; whereupon the peeces of artillerie might be planted in batterie.

This worke was so well applied, and with so great diligence aduanced, that by five of the clocke in the next morning it was finished. The eight and twentieth of Aprill, the marshall master Dyrrie berie carlie rode about the castell, to surueie and view euerie thing: which done, the great ordinance was brought to the appointed place, and bent against the castell, to wit, three canons, and two falcons. Where,

with also the lord lieutenant caused summons to be giuen unto them within to yeld. And about seauen of the clocke the same morning, the whole tire began to go off, and a great shot was made by the armie, to the great terrour of the defendants, and of all the countrie neere adjoining. The foresaid peeces continued shooting till two of the clocke in the afternone, discharging within that space a three score shots. During the time of this batterie, there was no great store of shot discharged by the great peeces within the castell, because their master gunner within, after he had first shot off a peere, and done no hurt therewith, as he was about to shoot againe, the master gunner of the two English falcons hauing espied him, took his leuell so right, that discharging therewith one of the falcons, he displaced the enemies peere, and stroke the gunners leg off, whereby their great ordinance within ceased, which was an hapie turne for the Englishmen.

About two of the clocke they within sent forth a trumpet unto the lord lieutenant, requiring a respite that they might talke with the marshall master Dyrrie, and to send a messenger to the lord Hume their master, to know his further pleasure: for that being put in trust by him with the keeping of that fortress, they could not giue it by without his consent. And then upon the returne of the messenger, they trusted to giue his lordship contented answer. The marshall master Dyrrie talked with them twice, and the lord lieutenant was contented to grant unto William Trotter, and Gilbert Greie the lord Humes twines brother (being principall captaine appointed to the keeping of the said castell) three houres respite: with condition, that they should not vse therein anie subtiltie, or for the delaing of time: swearing by his honour, that if they so did, he would not depart the field till he had wonne it by force: and further, that there should not one of them escape with life.

They being brought in doubt of their owne safeties hereby, sent one in post together with a seruant of master Dyrries the marshall, to the lord Hume. And presentlie hereupon they shewed themselves upon the walles and rampires of the said castell: but immediatlie the lord lieutenant sent to them a commandement, stricte inhibiting them, that not one of them should once on paine of death looke out the walls or rampires, to the end to view the breach of the batterie, for so much as in the time of parole it was against the law of armes so to do. But now the messenger that was thus sent to the lord Hume, coming to him, declared in that case his house and people stood, who being (as was supposed) not so farre off, but that he might heare how lastilie the English canons did canuasse and batter his humish castell walles, did now agree to meet the marshall master Dyrrie two miles distant from the said castell, and there to commune further with him in that matter.

Upon the coming backe of the messenger with this answer, the lord lieutenant thought good to send the said master Dyrrie unto the place appointed: who coming thither met with the said lord Hume. And after they had debated the matter together, at length the lord Hume was contented that the castell should be surrendered into the hands of the lord lieutenant; with condition, that his people therein might depart with life: which the lord lieutenant was contented to grant, so that there were no English men among them. Whereupon about eight of the clocke in the evening, the gates were opened, and the keyes deliuered to the marshall; who presented them to the lord lieutenant: and then the lord Humeson, the said marshall, and diuerse other gentlemen entered into the castell, and by a by took possession.

The master
gunner sent
in the castell
hurt.

The horse
sent for a re-
spite of war.

The captaine
William Trotter
sent to the
castell.

The lord
lieutenant
saw the
castell.

The lord
lieutenant
commanded
the sent on paine
of death.

The earle of
Suffier
sent to the
castell.

The castell
sent to the
marshall.

Two Eng-
lishmen
sent
into after ex-
posed.

Captaine
William Trotter
sent to the
castell.

The lord
lieutenant
saw the
castell.

John Stow,
Englishman
put into the
castell to
keep it.

The earle of
Suffier
sent to the
castell.

The castell
sent to the
marshall.

possession thereof in the quene of Englands name, pulled do wne their banner of defiance, and in place thereof set by the English banners, against all those in Scotland that would saie the contrarie.

The Scots that were within it, being in number an hundred thre score and eight persons, were put out in their common wearing apparell, without armour, weapon, or anie baggage. They coming to the lord lieutenant that was then at the place of the batterie on horsebacke, presented themselves to him: who according to his word and promise of honour, caused them to be safely conducted through the watch and scouts, to such place as they required. Amongst them there were two Englishmen, the one of them named Willard, the earle of Northumberland's man, the other was a vagrant person, or a roge (as we may call him) named William God saue his alms Lions, which both were caried to Barwicke, & there executed the thirtieth of Maie next ensuing. In all this siege there were but foure persons slaine on both parts, two Scots, & two Englishmen: but there were manie hurt as well on the one part as the other. The castell of Hume being thus wone, the lord lieutenant the morow after placed therein to keepe the house to the quenes maiesties use, capitaine Wood, and capitaine Whisman, with two hundred souldiours. This done, his lordship returned towards England and came to Barwicke. During this siege there were diuerse towne and villages, situate within thre or foure miles of the campe, set on fire by the Englishmen, and utterly spoiled. The lord lieutenant vpon his returne to Barwicke, staied there for a time verie euill at ease, hauing in traueled about the siege taken such cold, as therewith he was brought into an extreame ague.

The fourth of Maie, his lordship sent master William Durie the marshall of Barwicke, accompanied with diuerse gentlemen and capitaines, hauing with them about two thousand souldiours, to take Fast castell: the which vpon the first summons was deliuered into his hands, who receiuing the keys being presented to him, entered the hold, and took possession thereof, in the quenes maiesties name: and expelling the Scots, being about the number of halfe a score (who according to covenant were suffered to depart with their limes saved) he put ten, or (as some haue) foureteene Englishmen into that castell, which were thought able and number sufficient enough to keepe it against all the power of Scotland, the situation thereof is so strong.

In this meane time the troubles increasing among the Scots, by reason of the murder committed in the person of the earle of Shurreie the late gouernour, the duke of Chatellerault, and other his partakers gathered a power of thre thousand men, and coming to Lithquo, midwaie betwixt Sterling and Edinburgh, remained there for a time, and afterwards came to Edinburgh, in purpose to make warre against the lords of the kings part, who hauing sent to the earle of Lennox, then remaining in England, earnestlie requested him to repaire into Scotland. Wherevpon he by the quenes maiesties licence, took his tourneie thitherward, and came to Barwicke, where he was also visited with sicknesse, and so remained certeine daies in that towne. And vnderstanding that the said duke of Chatelleraults power was such, that the lords of the kings side were not able to come together, nor he to go to them without the quene of Englands aid, he humble sued vnto his maiestie by letters to haue some power by his appointment to conduct him into Scotland, and there to aid him and the other lords of that side against their aduersaries the duke and his complices. Wherevpon by his maiesties com-

mandement, the earle of Suffre, as yet not fullie recovered of his sicknesse, ordeined master William Durie the marshall of Barwicke, with such forces as were thought conuenient to go with the said earle of Lennox, for the execution of such exploits in seruice as seemed most expedient. And about the same time, to wit the first of Maie, the lord Scrope lord warden of the west marches, made a rode into Scotland, incamping the first night on the hither side of the water of Annan, and the next daie marched towards the waite of Milke, burning and spoiling all on that side of Annandale, namelie the lard Johnstons lands: finding small resistance, saing that the forre was a little troubled with a foztie or fiftie Scots horsemen; and so hauing done his pleasure, he quietlie returned, without receiving other impeachment: notwithstanding the lord Herries was in Dunblane, hauing gathered a great power, in purpose to hinder his enterprise.

But now to returne to the earle of Suffre, who hauing instituted sir William Durie generall of those bands that should passe with the earle of Lennox into Scotland: because each gentleman, souldior, and seuerall bands should dutifullie obey the said sir William their new ordeined generall in all points of warlike order, the said earle made oration in such pithie fozme and manner, as throughlie expressed the whole substance of the seruice, the vnsuertie of the season, the strange and malicious dealing of diuerse aduersaries: which points he cunninglie handled, as the excellencie of a perfect orator appeared fullie in his speech. At whose eloquence the hearers rather seemed astonished than vnfatisfied in anie point or parcell of those matters: for he opened the verie bowels of rebellion, the practices of enemies, and suborning of traitors: and therefore persuaded euerie honest mind to haue a dutifull consideration of his prince and countrie, in the defense and libertie whereof, both life, lands, and goods, are all wailes to be offered.

After which oration in respect of further abauancement as the custome is (for seruice past, and incongragement to proceed in the like worthe doings) he made these knights: Sir William Durie, sir Thomas Spanners, sir George Careie, and sir Robert Constable, and placing the said sir William Durie the appointed generall in full authoritie, he committed them to God, and the good conduct of their chiefeiteine. Now hauing heard the lord lieutenant thus speake, and seeing the means that he vied to encourage them against the enemy; how could they one with another but be in mind, euen with the hazzard of their hearts, to performe to their power no lesse than he in speech implied: How could they (saie) but venture life and lim, hauing so often scene the perillous enterprises which he himselfe vnder-toke against fozren hostilitie, as to his owne danger so to the high praise of his herocall prowesse: and not without desert, as one verie well noteth, saing:

— *Satrapas praclaris fortis & audax,
Elisabetha tui speciosi corporis acer
Et fidus custos, discrimen adire paratus
Quodlibet, immo & Mavortis pectore campo.*

The same daie being the eleventh of Maie, diuerse foot bands with shot and armed pikes were set forward into Scotland, with certeine peces of artillerie, powder, and munition in good quantitie. First capitaine Wickwell with his ensignes departed the towne, and then the companies of capitaine Read, capitaine Caruell, capitaine Gamie, capitaine Lambard, and capitaine Cringfort. These old bands of Barwicke contained five hundred souldiours.

After them followed the companie of sir Robert Constable, their sergeant maior of the hundred

Master William Durie
goeth with
the earle of
Lennox against
the earle of
Chatellerault, &c.

The lord lieutenant's oration
on imploring
obedience of
the souldiours
to their new
generall.

Knights
made by the
earle of Suffre.

Come Suffre
Camerasius.

Can Sag
Liam Hated
master spee
and.

Capitane
Wood and cap
Whisman

Chatter
Lament
Lament

How slow
Englishmen
primo the
reluct to
depart.

Chatter of
Chatterault
complices
complices
and the part.

all of
these

Ccccc, shot,

shot, and the companie of sir Thomas Spaners of two hundred shot. Lastlie marched forth capteine John Constable, and capteine Barwike with two hundred armed men. These twelue hundred footmen with five ensignes marched that night to Coldingham. Also for the better assurance of covenants and promises made on the behalfe of such lords of Scotland, as had made sute for this aid to be sent into their countrie for their assistance against them of the contrarie faction, there were certeine hostages sent into England by the same lords as it was thought expedient, for doubt of double dealing. The twelue of Maie, they marched forward, and the same daie sir William Durié, the earle of Lennox, and the other new made knights, with the horsemen, departed from Barwike, and at the place nere to Dunglas they overtook the footmen, and the same night all the horsemen and footmen came and incamped together at Dunbar, being in all not past fiftene hundred men. They had foure field peeces with them, & good store of powder. The next day being the thirtieth of Maie, and Whit-sun euen, they made such speed in their march, that they came vnto Edenburgh, where they found the earles of Arbotnot, Mar, Glencaigne, the lords Rithwen, Lindsay, Simple, Clames, Methuen, Ogilvie, and Catcart, with diuers other gentlemen.

Where also they vnderstood that the duke of Chatellerault and his partakers were departed from Lithquo, whither they were retired backe againe from Edenburgh, on knowledge had that the Englishmen were comming forwards towards them. The fourteenth and fiftenth day they laie still in Edenburgh, and the morrow after being the sixteenth of that moneth, they marched forwards to Lithquo, and lodged in that towne that night, where they received aduertisements that the said duke of Chatellerault had broken vp his campe, after he had vpon his departure from the said towne of Lithquo attempted the winning of the castell of Glasco, & misling his purpose there, was driven to retire with dishonour. The next morning being wednesdaie, the armie marched forwards, and the footmen laie that night at a place called Fankirke, a six miles from Lithquo: but the generall with the horsemen rode six miles further vnto Sterling, where they saw the young king. The next daie being the eighteenth of Maie, sir Robert Constable, Sargent Maier, with the rest of the captains of the twelue hundred English footmen, & two hundred Scots footmen, the which were most part shot, marched a long iournie, and came to lodge that night at Glasco, and the generall sir William Durié came to them with the horsemen, and the most part of the noble men of Scotland that were on the kings side, which entred the towne and lodged in the same, with manie horsemen and footmen.

The duke of Chatellerault (as ye haue heard) had bene there, and besieged the castell that belonged to the king, but hearing of the Englishmens comming two daies before their appoaching thither, he raised his siege, and departed thence, with the losse of nine and twentie of his men. The nineteenth of Maie, sir William Durié generall of the English power, being determined aforehand on a iournie towards Dunbretton, sent forth that morning before certeine vauentours on horsebacke, to scawe all such as they found vpon the waie. This done, he toke with him certeine gentlemen, and some shot, and rode forth towards Dunbretton, to view the straits and situation of that castell, within the which were at that present the lord Fleming, that toke vpon him as capteine thereof, the archbishop of saint Andrews, and other their adherents, friends to the duke of Chatellerault,

and enemies to the lords that were about the king.

After sir William Durié had viewed the castell, and taken the plot of the situation thereof, he sent his trumpet to know who were within it, and to whose vse they kept it. They within the castell required to know what he was that sent to know the same. It was answered that it was the queene of Englands generall of his forces there in Scotland that made the demand. Wherevnto answer was returned, that they knew well he was not so ignorant as he seemed (as in deed he was not) but that he did well know that this castell was, and of long time had bene kept by the lord Fleming: and that accordingly by him, his friends and seruants it was now maintained. Which answer being reported to the generall, he sent againe his trumpet, to know if the lord Fleming would come forth and parlee vpon assurance of honour to returne safelie. Wherevnto the lord Fleming consented, although not meaning so to do: but by a subtill practise (as was thought) intended to wind him within danger. For there were some harquebusers secretlie couched in couert, within whose reach when the generall was come himselfe alone on horsebacke, most dishonestlie (his trumpet not yet being returned) they shot at him with great despite, meaning to haue killed him, without anie regard to the law of armes, or feare of God. But through the goodnes of the Lord almightie, that wicked practise missed the pretended effect: for that worthy English knight received no bodilie hurt, but perceiving the treachings, with a bold courage he bestowed his pistols as freely at them as they did their harquebuse shot at him, and so returned to his companie backe againe in safetie, yielding to God due honour and thanks for his mercifull deliuerance from such a murderous practise of his deable foes.

Vpon a new occasion to vnderstand the certaintie of that, whereof he had some inkling, the one and twentieth of Maie, sir William Durié accompanied with the said gentlemen and horsemen, went againe towards Dunbretton, to parlee with the lord Fleming vpon his further promise, that he would meet him three miles from the said castell. Wherevpon the said sir William Durié sent an Englishman and a Scottishman to view the ground, which should be appointed forth for their meeting, which they found to be so nere to the castell, as was subiect to all their shot both great and small, and cleane contrarie to the promise: and so they declared to the capteine named John Fleming, that was sent forth of the castell to appoint the same, how it was neither indifferent nor meet for such a purpose. The capteine answered, that his maister was a man of honour, and stood vpon the same, and therefore would not hazard himselfe among horsemen wholie without the danger of the peece. Whereto the messengers replied, that the lord Fleming for his late euill dealing, was not to be credited in this case; neither comparable to the generall of the English armie, for he was there for the queene of England. And further they said, that for so much as they had of late dealt so vnjustlie contrarie to promise and the law of armes, and thereby so greatly cracked their credits, stained their honesties and honour: they could not but wish that their generall should be well aduised, yet he did hazard himselfe a nie more within their danger vpon their slippery promises, except they would appoint some other place of parlee, as might be thought indifferent, according to their former offers, which would not be granted, and so they departed. Immediatlie wherevpon, to shew some peece of their double dealings, and vnfaithfull practises towards the Englishmen: the Scots within the castell presentlie sent after the messengers

Hostages delivered by the Scottish lords on the kings side.

The horsemen and footmen incamped at Dunbar.

Scottish lords of the kings side.

The duke of Chatellerault broken vp his campe.

The young king at Sterling.

The generall goeth to view Dunbretton,

The generall sendeth to know who was within the castell.

The lord Fleming's double dealing.

Sir George Cairns suite.

T Church-yard.

The lord Fleming's requirment to parlee with the generall.

The dishonest dealing of the lord Fleming.

Sir William Durié goeth againe towards Dunbretton.

The sentry to view the ground where they should meet the lord Fleming.

This is the main fault in the Scots.

With pybe, earnest will meaning and vauentours.

The lord Fleming's double dealing.

meani simple had bet George that br earnest and offe sith it should i stoering ked sir stood his termos his com be other is so rei of arme therein mation waies to an Fleming.

A.

stained genera shootingouldier to your accoloreddie p commo state, to conf with a best vni why, reded pot is prese mine n case the teine i mine i wise I trump the hee In the Glasco

blislie trainet false a came b

leagers a culcuring shot for a farewell. Thus did they by practise iustifie the opinion that strangers to them haue long conceived of their dealing; and which he saw full well (perhaps also proued in some part) that said of the Scottish nations vntruffinesse, &c:

*grauis pectus abundat
Fraudibus ingentibus non eget arte magistra.*

Sir William Durie then perceiuing that the meaning of the lord Fleming was not to deale simple in this matter, touching a conference to be had betwixt them, returned to Glasco, where sir George Carcise being maruellouslie inflamed with that vnholiest dealing of the lord Fleming, made earnest sute to the generall that he might send to him and offer him the combat in triall of this quarrell, sith it was more requisite that a gentleman souldier should stand in those questions than a generall, considering his calling and office. The generall thanked sir George verie courteously, but yet said, that it stood him vpon to search out these matters to the vttermost (as he would haue done in deed) were not his commission and charge (as was well knowne) to be otherwise imployed: Yet (quoth he) sith your sute is so reasonable (and the whole companie and lawes of armes alloweth of it) I grant your request, and therein do as best shall seme to your birth and estimation. Herevpon sir George Carcise straightwaies deuised a letter of challenge, and deliuered it to an herald to beare from him vnto the said lord Fleming, the tenour whereof here insueth.

A copie of sir George Carcise
foresaid letter to the lord Fleming.

IN DED Fleming, if either your birth or bringing by had wrought in you a noble mind, or estimation of credit, hardlie would you haue so much forgotten and stained your honour, as in a parle of late with our generall you did. At whom vilelie and vnholiest dealing, you falsed that assurance of warre which souldiers submit themselves vnto: and trained him to your treason vnder trust, a thing heretofore not accustomed, nor presentlie to be allowed of. The assuriedlie pretending your owne and your friends good, commoditie to your countrie, and quietnesse to the state, twice abased and submitted himselfe, comming to confer with you thereof: but your pride ioined with a harmful meaning, to those that you possessed best vnto, and selfe wilfull vaine glorie, without cause why, refused that which reason and honour commanded you to haue done. Therefore, because his calling is presentlie with his charge better than yours, and mine not inferior: I summon you reasonable to excuse that fault supposed to be yours, or else to mainteine that traitorous act with your person against mine in fight, when, where, or how you dare. Otherwise I will bassull your god name, sound with the trumpet your dishonour, and paint your picture with the heels byward, and beare it in despite of your selfe. In the meane time I attend your answer. From Glasco, the 22 of Maie 1570.

Subscribed George Carcise.

The copie of the lord Flemings
answer.

GEORGE Carcise, I haue receiued your vainelelle letter, making mention of my false and treasonable dealing against your generall, in shooting vnder trust, so vilelie against my honour and trust, traitorouslie trained him vnder my trust: which is altogether false and vntrue. And howbeit your generall came by the house of Douglas by my appointment,

which I suffered, and I appointed one place of meeting, six men of either partie which he refused, and he departed, and certeine of his companie came bagging by the rivers side towards the house, besieging the same and the ground thereabouts, shooting your harquebusses against the same: I could do no lesse but present you with such as I had. Whereas you write of your generals calling to be presentlie better than mine, and yours not inferior; when your generall challengeth me therof, I shall giue answer. And as for you, I will not be inferior to a better than you, or anie souldier vnder your generals charge. Whereas you summon me (as you call it) reasonable to excuse that fault supposed to be mine owne, or else to mainteine that traitorous act with my person against yours: you shall wit, I haue gentlemen of honour, seruant souldiers to me, as ye are to your generall, which may be your fellows, shall defend the same against you and your false and vntrue inuented writing: and were not the charge I present, or how some I can be relieved of the same, I should lowlie my person to meet you six English miles, or anie other person. Howbeit ye be but one souldier, assure your selfe from this date forth, I will not receive no such inuented message, for I haue little to do with Englishmen, ye may rattle vpon my honorable name as ye please. You shall haue as honorable gentlemen as your selfe against you fighting. Take this for answer.

John lord Fleming.

Thereplie of sir George Carcise
vpon the lord Flemings answer.

IN DED Fleming, often the Flemings after none answer smelleth more of wine than wit. But as to that common crime, the custome of their countrie yeldeth them part of pardon; so your common acquaintance with the same condition, knowne to be verie great, shall to me somewhat excuse your witlesse writing, wherein first you disallow my right recitall of your traitorous dealing, by tearing it false and vntrue. For answer, know this, the truth my pen hath written, by the witness of a number; and my hand I to you shall mainteine the same before the world at all times. But you in denying it, haue both falslie and vniuallie lied in your throte, and dare neither defend nor disproue that in deeds, which in words you haue done. Whereas you write, that our generall passed Douglas, by your appointment which you suffered, therein you do manifestlie saie vnholiest and vntrue; for that you had no knowledge of our first comming, but saluted vs with your shot: and we likewise sketched with your men euen at their owne strength, vntill we besieged the ground about at our pleasure. And touching the appointment of six of either part, easilie that maie be knowne to be a plaine lie: seeing we had neither parle nor conference with you before, to appoint place or meeting. But whereas you saie, you could do no lesse but present vs with such as you had, therein you confesse and acknowledge the dishonour and treason that I charged you withall, taking vpon your selfe that fault, which I supposed to haue bin of your seruants, for our generall retired his companie farre from him. And his trumpet being with you, approached himselfe alone to haue parled, when vnder trust you discharged two harquebusses against him: an act rather semelie for a cowardlie traitor, than one that professeth to be a souldier.

Finallie, whereas you let me wit, that you haue gentlemen of honour, seruant souldiers vnto you, that maie be my fellows, which should defend the

Challenge:

sent against
the charge of
treacherie.

Lord Fleming
being beareth
him bold of
his gentrie.

Sir George
Carcise boweth
to mainteine
no lesse than he
hath written.

The lord Fleming
in excuse
king to excuse
accuseth him
selfe the more
manifestlie.

Sir George Careie his answer to the lord Fleming's brag of his gentrie.

Oh valiant heart!

A muster of Scottishmen to the number of 4000.

The armie goeth toward Hamilton.

Sir William Dzurie taketh with the captaine of Hamilton castil.

The English ordinance sheweth at the castil.

The duchesse of Chatelleraunt committed to the charge of an English knight.

Great ordinance sent for.

The earles of Lennor and Duxton.

challenge that toucheth so nere your selfe, as with honoz you should not haue refused it. First I thinke scoone to be anie waies inferiour to you, though but a souldier, to honourable a name for you, being better in birth, and vntuned with reproch as you haue bene. Secondlie, I haue more, and as good gentlemen vnder my conduct, as your selfe haue vnder your charge, which shall answer as many as you can bring, if with number ye meane to combat, and will put them to that which you dare not doe your selfe. But assure you, my quarell shall remaine euerslasting, except the proofe of your owne person against mine make end it: and when you shall dare come out of your crowes nest, I will be ready to ride an hundred Scottish miles, to meet with you in anie different place. And vntill that time, I shall account you denod of honestie & honoz, vntill you to march vpon ground, or keepe companie with men. From Hamilton, the 29 of Maie 1570.

Subscribed George Careie.

Though manie waies were sought by message and otherwise, to moue the lord Fleming to defend with battell the fault and follie committed: yet it would not be; for he shifted off the matter, so as it well appeared, it was but lost labor further to attempt him therein. The two and twentieth of Maie, the earle of Lennor, accompanied with the earle of Glencarne, the lord Simple, and other his friends, feodaries & allies, mustered on the moire befoze the towne of Glasco the number of foure thousand hoisemen and footmen, that were there assembled to serue him, in presence of sir William Dzurie, and other of the English captaine. The thre and twentieth of Maie, sir William Dzurie, the earle of Lennor, and other the Scottish lordes, and the whole armie marched towards the castil of Hamilton, and sending a trumpet, and one with him to parlee with the captaine named Andzew Hamilton, he agreed to come forth, and one other with him, to talke with sir William Dzurie, and one other gentleman, such as he should thinke good to bring with him to a place somewhat distant, as well from the castil as the campe.

Whereupon sir William Dzurie with his sword and target, and sir George Careie with a case of pistols went forth to the appointed place, whither the captaine of the castil also with an halbert, and one other with him, having likewise a case of pistols, came according to appointment. But after they had talked together, and that the captaine would not in anie wise consent to deliuer vp the castil, he with his associat returned to their hold againe, & the English generall, with sir George Careie, came backe to the campe, and thereupon the English ordinance was presentlie placed about the castil, and shot verie soze all that night: but did no great hurt, by reason they were but field peeces, and not fit for batterie. They in the castil likewise shot verie soze at the Englishmen, but did no great harme, sauing that there were thre of the footmen hurt. In the palace which was a pretie house the duchesse of Chatelleraunt was at that time resident, to whom sir William Dzurie did repaire, offering hir all the courtesie he might, with all that to hir appertained, willing hir not to feare anie thing: and for hir more assurance, he committed hir to the charge of sir Thomas Paners.

The foure and twentieth of Maie, the generall gaue summons vnto the castil. And because they within made stiffellie in dentall to make surrender thereof vnto him, he was driuen to send to Strueling for foure great peeces of ordinance meet to make batterie. In the meane time, the earles of Lennor and Duxton with the hoisemen, and some shot, marched into the countrie to a verie faire house of the abbat

of Biltwinings nere adioining, whose name was Dabwen Hamilton, which house they burnt and bitterlie defaced, spoiling it, and rasing it downe to the earth. They burnt and spoiled also seuentene houses more belonging to men of that surname, situate nere thereabouts, wherof one belonged vnto a lady that had married with the sister of James Hamilton of Bodweie haugh, which lue the regent. There were also burnt seuen other faire houses belonging to others that were not of that surname: but yet were of their friends and allies. Moreover, there were diuerse other of their kinred and allies that came in with humble submission, and assured themselves, sincerelie promising from themselves their obedience to the king.

The five and twentieth of Maie sir William Dzurie the generall retired his people vpon a policie from the castil, and left it without either watch or ward for that night. The next daie he sent sir George Careie to the castil with a trumpet, to know if they within would deliuer it vp, befoze the great ordinance should come, which the captaine bitterlie refused to doe. Whereupon the small shot clapt suddenly round about the house, and kept them within occupied, till that a whole culuering & a demie culuering came to them from Sterling, the which with foure of the English small field peeces were in the night following planted against the castil, and being shot off, a bullet of one of the great peeces passed through the walles into the castil.

The seuen and twentieth of Maie about foure of the clocke in the morning, the generall sent a trumpet to giue summons againe to the castil: vnto whome the captaine answered, that he cared not for them, & so bad them doe their worst, for he would not yeld the place to them at anie hand. Whereupon immediatlle the whole fire began to plaie in such sort, that within foure boles both sides of the house were battered through: at the sight whereof the captaine was so dismayed, that forthwith he cried for parlee, and so the shot was staied. Follo upon humble sute the captaine was admitted to speake with the generall, and so comming to talke with him, at length he agreed to yeld: whereupon, the prouost marshall was sent into the castil to take possession thereof. The generall permitted them verie courteously to depart with their furniture, and other such stufte as they could carie with them. There came out of the house nine and thirtie persons one and other, foure and thirtie men, thre boies, and thre women, and therewith was the castil blowne vp and rased, and the armie laie that night in the towne, and in places about it.

The next daie, being the eight and twentieth of Maie they departed from thence: the earles of Lennor, Mar, and Glencarne, with other of the nobilitie of Scotland of the kings part taking their leaues, with their companie returned to Glasco: and sir George Careie with the hoisemen came that night to Lithquo, where also the rest of the English forces met. A castil called Combernabod belonging to the lord Fleming was yelded to the generals hands, who vpon bond of assurance that the house should remaine at the deuotion of the queene of England, was contented to spare it from fire and spoile. But this was not the first nor last courtesie which the generall shewed in this iourne, vnto such as in anie respect were thought worthy of his fauour. Amongst other the ladie of Lidington being great with child, mistrusting hir selfe (or hir husbands double dealing towards our countrie) in great feare began to flie. But sir William Dzurie hearing thereof, sent hir word he came not to make warres with women, but rather to shew pittie to the weake and comfort-
less:

The abbat of Biltwinings burnt.

The castil summoned.

The castil of Hamilton battered.

The castil extremely summoned.

The captaine of the castil demeritly parlee.

less, & harme. Sh should the pro prepare ment a treason declar red and and lik league: land an ned to: A fter impote ning th herewi under t he purp the pro which th end tha Englis hemem Scotis noble n saued f But ned ere paried interce asfoze t whose n table a their re the tois diuerse to be in confert he) the e paire, h pen bit Gods: breach: was si that ca of mif heauie people pitfall king o of the sute, a of spo the gei people the pro sollo to were: themi cle of: earle: should condit regen they h that n licenc sh to passed for: the The: pet bu

Reg. 12.

less, and thereupon she staled, and had no further harme.

The nine and twentieth of Maie, when the armie should dislodge from Lithquo, the generall called for the prouost of the towne, and commanded him to prepare with all expedition, to receiue a iust punishment and correction thorough the whole towne for treason, and unpardonable offenses committed: and declaring that the inhabitants thereof had succoured and supported traitors to the realme of England, and likewise to their owne king, contrarie to the leagues and quietnesse of both the realmes of England and Scotland, for which cause he was fullie resolved to ouerthrow that towne & receptacle of traitors. If therefore there were anie women in childbed or impotent people within that towne, he gaue warning thus aforesaid and to conueie them out of it: and here with also commanding each capteine & souldier vnder his charge, to see due execution of that which he purposed in this behalfe to haue done, he willed the prouost to appoint a place conuenient, into the which the goods of the towne might be brought, to the end that the same should neither be spoiled by the English souldiers, neither yet consumed through vehemencie of fire, but to be preserved all whole to the Scottismens vse. Further, he granted, that euerie noble mans lodging and capiteins house should be saued from fire.

But now the time being come for this determined execution, the earle of Morton, that still accompanied the English generall, offered himselfe as an intercessor to intreat and sue for a pardon, bringing aforesaid the generall a multitude of wailing people, whose mournfull and most pitious cries were lamentable and verie importunat. The generall hearing their requests, made answer, that for manie causes the towne ought to be destroied, considering how diuerse enemies (whose insolent practises were not to be suffered) had alwaies there a common resort to conferre of their wicked deuises: and further (quoth he) the courtesie that is shewed to such places of repaire, hath emboldened the rest of Scotland to vse open violence and secret villanies, to the preiudice of Gods glorie, hinderance of the weale publicke, and breach of god lawes and policies: and therefore it was fit and most meet for a warning to thousands in that case of extremitie, to rase out such monuments of mischief. But at length, notwithstanding these heauie words vttered by sir William Dzurie, the people of all sorts so pressed about him, & made such pitifull cries and sorrowfull noise, with children sucking of their mothers breasts, that he taking ruth of their miserable estates, at this their lamentable sute, and speciallie at the great instance of the earle of Morton, who came bareheaded to speake for them, the generall was contented to saue the towne and people therein: taking god band and assurance of the prouost and chiefe of the towne, that they should follow the campe, and at all times appeare when they were called for at Wbertwike, and there to submit themselves, their towne and goods, to the clemencie of the queens highnesse; and to such order as the earle of Sussex his maiesties generall lieutenant should by consent thinke necessarie: to which band & conditions they of Lithquo agreed. And for that their regent was slaine, & none since instituted to whome they had giuen faith of allegiance; they confessed, that none might command them anie waie without licence of him, to whome they had made this band, and to him both their promise and obligation was passed. And in this sort they continued bound to him for their good behauiours.

The Duke of Chatelleraulles palace in Lithquo was yet burnt and rased, and marching to another house

belonging to the said duke, called Kente, distant from Lithquo about a mile or more, they likewise burned the same. Thus hauing done their pleasures at Lithquo, and in the countrie about that towne, they marched from thence to a proper house and castle, belonging to the lord Seton, called Aetherie, which the enemies had fortified. But yet when the ladie of that house came to the generall, and made humble petition on her knees for his fauor, offering to him the keyes of that place in most humble wise, she found such courtesie at his hands, that with condition that she & a baron with her should enter bands for assurance, that the castle should euer afterwards remaine at the queens of Englands pleasure, he took her the keyes againe, leauing her in possession of her house and goods, without doing her anie further displeasure.

This night the armie came to Edinburgh, where certeine of the companie that made hast to get thither somewhat before the rest, receiued some discourtesie: for they were spoiled in the streets of their furniture, & such other things as they had about them. But when the generall with the rest of the armie was come nere to the towne, and had knowledge of such foule disorder, he thought not good to enter the towne, without standing so sure on his gard, that he should not need to doubt any double dealing, or crooked measure. Which sure handling of the matter did not onelie shew the deuiler thereof to haue good conduct and experience: but in verie deed avoided no small inconuenience and mischief, that by the enemies was finelie contriued (through a fraie to be made in the suburbs) so that a great slaughter had burst out suddenlie, and no small bloodshed followed, if God and god guiding of the people had not staied and turned awaie that imminent danger. To be short, the generall sent sir Thomas Spaners with two bands of souldiers, vnder one ensigne, to seize vpon the gates at their first arrinall, and so the pretended conspiracie was happlie prevented: for the residue of the power was no longer entered the towne, but that keeping themselves in order to cleare the streets, and to command the inhabitants the better, they spent that night standing on their gard, as the case required. When the morning was come, sir William Dzurie smelling out the couert practise, and naughtie meaning of some, demanded iustice and strict punishment of such offenses and things as he would truelie laie to the charges of some in that towne: and told them flatlie, if remedie were not the soner prouided, and satisfaction made for the follies and outrage committed, he would be quicklie reuenged, to the displeasure and shame of all the contriuers of that same mad and mischeuous presumption.

Hereupon, not onelie such things as had bin taken from those few souldiers, which first entered the towne ouer night, were not onelie restored: but diuerse malefactors were also deliuered to the generall, to be executed and ordered by his discretion; who seeing their submission, mercifullie & franklie sent them awaie vnto their capteins: & so these bysses were pacified and things set in quiet. After they had rested in Edinburgh a two daies, the first of June they dislodged. The generall coming to Seton the chiefe castle & house of the lord Seton, the ladie was readie there also to present him the keyes, with like humble submission as before: and thereupon received the like fauor for this house, as was shewed to her for the other. That night they lodged at Waddington. It was determined that the pile of Wbertwike should haue bene ouerthrowne: but vpon sute and bands taken of diuerse gentlemen, the place was spared, and the offenders receiued to mercie.

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castles palaces burned.

Reithrie.

The ladie Seton.

Some of the English armie spoiled in Edinburgh.

T. Churchyard.

Sir Thomas Spaners with his two bands vnder one ensigne.

Restoration made of things taken awaie from the souldiers.

Seton castle spared at the sute of the ladie.

Wbertwike saued from ruine by occasion.

And

And so the next date, the generall with the horsemen came through to Berwikke, a iournie of two and thirtie long miles.

The happie
successe of the
foresaid biage
undertaken by
the English.

I. Stow.
A bull from
Rome hang-
ged on the bi-
shop of Lon-
dons gate.

A. F.
See the view
of a scottish
bull ripped by
by John Iewell
late bishop of
Salisbury
printed 1582.

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The forbandes lodged the same night at Coldingham with sir Robert Constable, who the next date the third of June came with them unto Berwikke. And so ended this iournie, to the great commendation of the generall and capitaine: and consequentlie to all the gentlemen and souldiours that had bene forth in the same, as well for the good successe which it pleased God the authoꝝ of all good and prosperous euents to grant to them, as also for their dutifull obedience to all warlike discipline, their painfull travels susteined, their manlie forwardnesse and skilfull practise in martiall polices still shewed, as occasion of seruice was anie where offered. But now to retorne to the doings at home. Whilist this iournie was made (as ye haue heard) into Scotland, the five & twentieth of Maie in the morning was found hanging on the bishop of London's palace gate in Pauls churchyard, a bull which latelie had bene sent from Rome, containing diuerse horrible treasons against the quēns maiestie: for the which one John Felton was thortie after apprehended, and committed to the tower of London. And because the said bull may appeare and shew it selfe in nature and kind, it is behoofull here to interlace some roings of the same, as I haue gathered them out of one that I am sure had a conscience to tell the truth: which I therefore am the willingest to insert, that the world may iudge the heinousnesse of Feltons fact, in firing so pestilent a libell vpon a prelates gate in a place of common conourse, and against the quēns excellent maiestie.

• Sententia declaratoria contra Elisabeth, &c.

Pius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, &c. Misit sacrificium, preces, seruitia, ciborum delectum, calicatum illa (regina Elisabetha) aboleuit. Eadem occupato regno supremi ecclesie capituli locum in omni Anglia, eiusque precipua autoritatem atque iurisdictionem monstrasse sibi usurpanti, regnum ipsum rursus in miserum exitum reuocauit. Regium conciliū ex Anglica nobilitate conflatum diremit. Homines obscuris compleuit. Homines hereticis compleuit. Ad quam uelut ad asylum omnium infestissimi persequum inuenerunt, &c. Declaramus predictam Elisabetham, eius adherentes in predictis anathematis sententia incurrisse. Quinetiam ipsam preterea regi predicti iure, necnon omni & quocunque domino, dignitate, privilegioque priuatum. Precipimus & interdiciamus vniuersis & singulis proceribus, subditis, & populis, & alijs predictis, ne illi eiusque monitis, mandatis & legibus audeant obedire: qui secus egerint, eos simili anathematis sententia innodamus. Omnes qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, a iuramento huiusmodi ac omni prorsus dominij fidelitatis & obsequij debito perpetuo absolutos declaramus, &c.

• A sentence denounced against Elisabeth, &c.

Jus b bishop, seruant of Gods seruants, &c. Shee (quēne Elisabeth) hath cleane put awaie the sacrifice of the masse, prayers, fastings, choise or difference of meats & single life. Shee inuaded the kingdome, & by usurping monstrouslie the place of the supreme head of the church in all England, and the cheefe authoritie & iurisdiction of the same, hath againe brought the said realme into miserable destruction. Shee hath remoued the noble men of England from the kings counsell. Shee hath made hir counsell of poore, darke, beggerlie fellows, and hath placed them ouer

the people. These counsellors are not onlie poore & beggerlie, but also heretikes. Unto hir all such as are the worst of the people resort, and are by hir receiued into safe protection, &c. We make it known, that Elisabeth aforesaid, & as manie as stand on hir side in the matters abouenamed, haue run into the danger of our curse. We make it also known, that we haue depriued hir from that right shee pretended to haue in the kingdome aforesaid, and also from all and euerie hir authoritie, dignitie, and priuilege. We charge and forbid all and euerie the nobles, and subiects, and people, and others aforesaid, that they be not so hardie as to obeye hir or hir will, or commandements, or lawes, vpon paine of the like accursse vpon them. We pronounce that all whosoever by anie occasion haue taken their oth vnto hir, are for euere discharged of such their oth, and also from all fealtie and seruice, which was due to hir by reason of hir government, &c.

Here hath euerie true subiect to see whether Felton was not a friend to Pius Quintus, in so easilie being induced and brawne to prefer his proceedings against the lords annointed; for whose sake if he had had a thousand liues, true loialtie would haue inuited him to the losse of them all, if occasion had so required; considering that hir maiestie hath alwaies deserved well of hir people, for whome shee ever had a tender care, as one reporteth that saith he heard with his owne ears hir maiestie commending hir subiects to the careful and wise government of hir counsell and iudges, when shee spake thus vnto them. Haue care ouer my people. You haue my place. Do you that which I ought to do. They are my people. Cuerie man oppresseth them, and spoileth them without mercie. They cannot reuenge their quarrell, nor help themselves. See vnto them, see vnto them, for they are my charge. I charge you euen as God hath charged me: I care not for my selfe, my life is not deare to me, my care is for my people. I praye God who soener succedd me be as careful as I am. They which might know what cares I beare, would not thinke I toke anie great toie in wearing the crowne.

Could a mother speake more tenderlie for hir infant, than this god quēne speaketh for hir people? And shall the people be so ingratiuous to a prince so gratiuous, as to attempt anie thing that should discontent hir highnesse? A mercifull hart shee hath alwaies had, before shee attained the crowne, a mercifull hart shee hath now possessing the scepter: manie times remitting and pardoning offenses intended and practised against hir owne person: which C. O. noteth in his Eirenarchia siue Elisabetha, speaking of hir maiestie in this point vertie traitie & uncontrollable:

Nobilis & prestans est insignis virtutis
Hac quamquam potius est, si vult, excellior & vni
Mentis inest, iram strictis compescit habenis.
Delictis multam grauius quandoque remittit.
Hoc priuata prius nondum diademate sumpto
Fecerat, hoc facit & princeps diademate sumpto.

Multiplex
Elisabetha
virtus.

60

The leauen and twentieth of Maie, Thomas Boxtton and Christopher Boxtton of Dorsetshire, being both condemned of high treason for the late rebellion in the north, were brawne from the tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, headed, and quartered. In this yeare also conspired certaine gentlemen with other in the countie of Dorsetshire, who went vpon an vppommer daie at Warlesborne kille, with sound of trumpet and drum to haue raised an army, and then to proclaime their duetie pretended against strangers and others. This matter was disclosed by Thomas Ket one of the conspircators vnto John Benfeise, who forthwith sent the same Ket with a constable to the next iustice, before whose

The Boxttons were executed.

Conspiracie in Dorsetshire, who went vpon it toise beginning.

The duke of
Ryghmond
felton ac-
cused with
other offen-
ces, and all
condemned.

Felton and
others execu-
ted by trea-
son.

The quēne
died.

I remember
into Scot-
land by the
name of
Gullen.

was by fire
and smoky in
Scotland.

Knights
made by the
name of
Gullen.

re-
ho-
rel
for
on
all
th
ut
elig
Pa-
gel
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he
mo
to
ere
fer-
in
lue
Ca
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An-
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hor
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ha
ha
whi
sac-
less
bel-
the
the
and
Pa-
teb
call
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foze
1
leat
two
leill
fani
mir

ther iustices he opened the whole matter. Whereupon maister Druie Durie immediatlie apprehended John Throckmorton, and after him manie gentlemen of the citie of Norwich, and the countie of Suffolke, who were all committed to prison, and at the next sessions of goale deliuerie at the castell of Norwich, the seauententh of Iulie befoze sir Robert Catlin knight lord chiefe iustice, Gilbert Gerard the quenes attornie generall, and other iustices, ten of them were indicted of high treason, and some others of contempt. Diuerse of them were condemned, and had iudgement the one and twentieth of August: and afterward thre of them were hanged, bowelled, and quartered, which were John Throckmorton of Norwich gentleman, who stood mute at his arraignment, but at the gallows confessed himselfe to be the chiefe conspirator, and that none had deserued to die but he, for that he had procured them. With him was executed Thomas Brooke of Kolfbie gentleman on the thirtieth of August; and George Dedman of Cringleford gentleman was likewise executed the second of September.

The fourth of August, the duke of Suffolke was removed from the tower of London to the Charterhouse nere vnto Smithfield. The same daie was arraigned at the Guildhall of London, John Felton, for hanging the foresaid bull of pope Pius Quintus on the gate of the bishop of London's palace: and also two yong men for coining & clipping of coine, who all were found guiltie of high treason; and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, & quartered. The eight of August John Felton was drawen from Fleetgate into Pauls churchyard, and there hanged on a gallows new set vp that morning befoze the bishops palace gate; and being cut downe alive, he was bowelled and quartered. After this, the same morning the thirtees returned to Fleetgate, and so to Whitehall with two yong men, which were there executed for coining and clipping, as is aforesaid.

The two and twentieth of August the earle of Sussex, lord lieutenant generall for the quenes maiestie in the north, and the lord Scrope warden of the west marches, with diuerse others, marched from Carlisle with the quens armie and force of the north as well of horsemen as footmen into Scotland, passing ouer the riuers of Esk, Tyne & Sarke, which riuers of Sarke parteth England and Scotland, and so to Dornocke wood belonging to Edward Wrore, the lord of Winton, and then to Annan a strong house of the lord Harris, which they rased and ouerthrew with others thereabouts: from thence to Hoddham, which they burnt and blew vp: from thence to Bennell, a towne belonging to the lord Cotwille, which they burnt: from thence to Donfrise, which they sacked and spoiled of such paltrie as the fugitiues had left, and also rased and ouerthrew a sumptuous house belonging to the quene of Scots, in the keeping of the lord Harris. Then passing the riuers of Longher, they burnt and spoiled Cotwilles, and Bototrake, and returned to Donfrise, and so to the towne of Bankend, which they burnt, with another house pertaining to William Marwell of the Isles, and so to the castell of Carlauarocke standing in a marsh, fast to an arme of the sea, which parteth Annerdale and Cabbowale; which castell they blew vp, and returned homeward, transporting their ordinance oter quicksands and bogs, where neuer the like was done before, and so came to Dornocke wood.

The eight of August they marched towards Carlisle, where (by the waie) they burnt and ouerthrew two houses, the one being Arthur Greaves alias Carlisle, the other rich George, two notable theues. The same daie at night after the lord lieutenants coming to Carlisle he made knights, sir Edward Pa-

tings, sir Francis Russell, sir Valentine Browne, sir William Hilton, sir Robert Stapleton, sir Henry Curwen, sir Simon Busgraue. This yere the first of October chanced a terrible tempest of wind and raine both by sea and land, by meanes whereof manie ships perished, & much hurt was done in diuerse parts of the realme, as by a little pamphlet set forth therof by Thomas Knell minister apocret, the effect whereof insueth. About midnight the water ouerflowed so much, that men were faine to forsake their beds, & one woman drowned, where also were lost a great number of sheepe, oxen, kine, hoxse, and other cattell. Among other there, one maister Cartwright gentleman, hauing his house inclosed round about, the water came in so much, that a cart being laden with thornes did swim about the ground. Hee lost by the same flood, sheepe, and other cattell, to the value of an hundred pounds. The same gentleman had a close gate by the high waies side, where the water ran ouer so extremelie, that at the fall thereof it made such an hole, that it was fortye foot deepe: so that no man could passe that waie without great danger. To the filling vp of the said hole or pit, was cast in by the men of the said towne five and twentie lodes of faggots, & twentie lodes of hoxse dong, which said faggots and hoxse dong filled not the hole. Also one maister Lee at the friers in Bedford, hauing a faire yard, wherein was great store of elme trees, whereof the scole were blowen downe, with the roots pulled cleane out of the ground. Also he had a close of conies that were cleane destroyed.

The sea brake in betwixt Walsby and Walsoken, and at the crosse heies draweing Alneie, and old Lin, saint Marie Teding, saint Marie Tid, saint Johns Waple, Walton & Walsoken, Ommeie, Farmans, and Stotwixdige, all being the space of ten miles. At the crosse heies the godman of the tunc had built an house with a strong foundation joining vnto an other house being old and not so strong, wherein were ceresine ghefts. And when the water came in so violentlie, the godman of the house being in the stronger house, called the men out of the old house, and they would haue gone downe the stairs, but the water was so high that they could not come downe, wherefore they went backe againe, and brake an hole into the other house, where they went thorough, and the last man was no sooner in, but the old house fell downe. The walles of the houses were broken downe, and the hoxses that were tied at the manger (which was made fast in the ground) did swim in the water, when the stable was cleane carried awaie, untill the waters were asswaged, and were saued alive, and the people were constrained to get vp to the highest parts of the house, and so to be carried awaie in botes.

At Harmouth a great part of the byldge was carried awaie. The house vpon the haven called the haven house, wherein was one Nicholas Jossellin the haven man & his son, with all their toles, were carried into the marshes six miles from the haven, where it stood by right, and where they abode long without meat or drinke. Also at Termaris Widgefret was verie much hurt done by the extreme floods that were there. Also one Thomas Smith of Harmouth lost a ship, with seauen men and a boie in it. Also at Felwarke by Harmouth were lost twelue saile. Also a great hulke, laden with oile and pitch, was lost at Woreie sand, and about twentie men lost therein, and thirtie saued by the hulke bote. These towne and villages were ouerflowed, that is to saie, Walsby, Conboite, Harson Droue, and Wobbsote. This Wobbsote being an almes house (and the water breaking downe the walls of it) the wind blew the cloths off from the bed of a poore man & his wife:

Tempest by sea and land which did much hurt.

Tho. Knell, what hurt this tempest did in 2500s forshire.

A wonder of an hole made in the ground by a watercourse.

what hurt this tempest did in the countie of Suffolke.

A piece of Harmouth byldge borne awaie with water.

what hurt this tempest did in the bishopricke of Ely.

See the view of the lebbious bull, pag. 73, 73.

The quene's seal, pag. 50, 50.

Amphib's of Elisabeth's arm.

The Harmond's execution.

Conspiracie in Suffolke and whereupon it took beginning.

The duke of Suffolke removed. Felton arraigned with other offenders, and all condemned.

Felton and two yong men executed for treason.

Armie into Scotland by the earle of Sussex.

Walsby and Walsoken.

Knights made by the earle of Sussex.

who being cold, awakend, and suddenlie slept out of his bed to reach up his clothes, and slipt up to the bel-
lie in water, and then he thinking himselfe to be in danger (as he was in deed) and knowing the best waie to escape the danger of the water, he took his wife on his necke, and carried hir awaie, and so were both saued.

At the same time in Wilsch was a garden, a terrise plate, & a bowling alle walled about with bzicke (which was worth twentie pounds by yeare to the owner) was quite destroyed by the water. Spumble chapell, the whole towne was lost, except thre houses. A ship was broken upon an house, the sailers thinking they had bene upon a rocke, committed themselves to God: and thre of the mariners lept out of the ship, and chanced to take hold on the house top, and so saued themselves: and the wife of the same keng in childbed, by climbing up into the top of the house, was also saued by the mariners, hir husband and child being both drowned. Likewise, the church was whole overthowne except the steeple. Betwene Boston and Pelcastell were threescore sea vessels, as small ships, cratres, and such like, lost upon the coasts of Boston, Humerston, Parth chapell, Letrie, Stepsie, Percots, Kelbie, & Grimsbie, where no ship can come in without a pilot, which were all lost, with goods, cozne, & cattell, with all the salt cotes, where the chiefe and finest salt was made, were utterly destroyed, to the utter vndoing of manie a man, and great lamentation both of old and yong.

Wentford bzidge, being verie strong, of eight arches in length, had thre of the arches broken, and cleane carried awaie. Master Smith at the swan there had his house (being thre stories high) overflooded unto the thirde storie, and the wals of the stable were broken downe, and the horses tied to the manger were all drowned. Manie men had great losse, as well of shepe, kine, oren, great mares, colts of the bzeed of the great horses, and other cattell innumerable, of which the names manie of them shall here follow. Master Welham lost eleven hundred shepe at Spumble chapell. In Summercote were lost five hundred shepe, that were of the inhabitants there. Also betwene Humerston & Grimsbie were lost eleven hundred shepe of one master Spensers, whose shepheard about middaie, coming to his wife, asked his dinner: and the being more bold than manerlie, said, he should have none of hir. Then he chanced to loke toward the marshes where the shepe were, and saw the water breake in so fiercelie, that the shepe would be lost, if they were not brought from thence, said, that he was not a good shepheard that would not venture his life for his shepe, & so went freight to dzye them from thence, but he & his shepe were both drowned, and after the water being gone, he was found dead, standing upright in a ditch.

Master Dimblebie lost two hundred and twentie shepe, master Dimocke lost foure hundred shepe, & master Parth five hundred, master Spadison lost a ship, master William Askugh of Belseie, sir Hugh Askugh, master Spertin, master Fitz Williams of Spapithope, lost by estimation twentie thousand cattell, one and other. Worne was overthowne unto the midwaie of the height of the church. Steeping was whole carried awaie, where was a waie lode of willow tops, the bodie of the waie with the willowes carried one waie, and the apiltrie and wheles an other waie. In the towne of Saint Odes, the water flowed into the towne in such abundance, that it ran thorough the towne and church, being in the middell thereof, hanging about the churchyard a bzicke wall of two yards high, was so overthowne, that

botes were rowed ouer it, without touching of the same. Also a little from Huntingdon, were thre men riding upon the causeie, being then overthowne (the water on the causeie being not deepe) and thinking no danger therein, chanced to come into a place where the water had galled awaie the earth, and the grauell, were carried awaie with the water: and willowes growing on both sides the waie, two of them caught hold on the willowes, and lest their horses, and saued themselves: and the thirde chanced to catch a verie little twig of willow betwene his fingers, hanging verie little hold, and forsaking his horse, which was carried a great waie from him, had much paine to keepe his hold on the twig, and hold his head above the water, and his horse returning with force against the streame, came againe unto him, and vnder him: by which meanes he set his feet upon him, and gat better hold of the willow, and so saued himselfe, and the horse was immediatlie carried awaie, that he neuer saw him after.

Also Holland, Leuerington, Pelton chapell in the sea, long Sutton & Holbich were overthowne. And in this countrie also was great losse of cattell. In the low parts in Pwozeland, in a little towne called Cliffield, there was a man, his wife, and a sucking child in hir armes overthelmed and slaine by the violence of the waters, and of the boisterous winds. The water called Auen, that passeth by the towne called Stratford upon Auen, did run with such violence, that meeting with the water called the Seruerne, dyoue it backe ten miles against the course, overflowing much ground, and drowning much cattell. In Pelport panell were two houses overthowne, and in one of them an old man and an old woman were overthelmed and slaine. And in the same towne, on the backe side of the Saracens head, the water sprang out of the hard grauellie ground, and flowed so fast, that certeine merchants (sitting there at dinner) were faine to rise and depart from thence to saue themselves. Sir Henrie Ale knight (dwelling at Quarrington) lost by the floods the number of thre thousand shepe, besides horses and other cattell, a great number.

In the Wilsch at Kie (a place so called) the water came in so suddenlie, and flowed so high about midnight, that it was eight or nine foot high in mens houses: insomuch that if one William White had not called them up, some of them had like to have bene drowned. And the same William White having a bote, set a great compaignie of them out of their windowes, and carried them to dzye land as fast as he could fetch them, which were in great danger and feare, and glad to escape with their lues. Pwozeouer, the water came in so vehementlie there, that it brake into the marshes, and made such waie, that where of late yeares, and now before this great flood came, a cockebote could not passe in at a low water, now a fisherman drawing fir sot water and moze maie come in at a low water, and at a full sea the greatest ship that the quenes maiestie hath may come in, and have good harborough there. The continuance of the same will not onelie be profitable to the most part of the inhabitants there, but also commodious unto all the quenes subiects travelling by sea.

And whereas one of the owners of a great part of the same marshes had certeine poles set up therein (and being verie met and in convenient place of the same marsh) for the dzyeng of their fishing nets, and received monie perrelie of those that dzyed their nets there sufficientlie inough: yet he caused his servant to pull up the poles, and laie them in an house standing in the same marsh: and also commanded his servant to giue them warning, that they should no

what hurt
this tempest
did in Lin-
colnshire.

Threescore
sea vessels lost
in this tem-
pest.

Great losse of
cattell both
great and
small.

Scripture
abused.

what hurt
this tempest
did in Hun-
tingtonshire.

A new house
and the ten-
ure to cont-
inue.

A man was
overthelmed
by the
floods.

Part in the
tempest and
dying in it
of the stream

what hurt
this tempest
did in Shire
of Yorkshire
and
Warwick-
shire.

Part in the
tempest
dying in it
of the stream

A hole dyed
new after
the flood.

Part in the

Part done
this tempest
dying in it
of the stream

A strange
went brought
by the in-
crease of the
water.

Ande Reg. 1
The quene
going to the
North after
it was fini-
shed.

She giueth
to name the
North
change.

more hang their nets there, except they would come and compound with him for it. And the same night (by Gods providence) it came so to passe, that according to his saying (though contrarie to his good will and mind) they are not like to hang their nets there any more, because of the depth of the water is so great, and like to continue. In hope of continuance of the same new opened haven, certaine men of the same towne have begun to build faire barks to travell the seas, the which in continuance of time will be a great furtherance to the maintenance of the queenes naute. At the blacke shore end, before the said floud, no bote could passe further than the shore end; and now a bote that draweth six foot water may come in at a low water. Without the barre, the water is deeper than it was by two foot and more in the chanel.

At Drum hill marsh, foure miles from Kite, the water came in so outrageouslie, that it brake downe the marsh wals, one master Wurtle being owner thereof, who lost by the same a thousand one hundred threescore and two of his shepe, and it is thought that the marsh is never like to be gotten againe. Also at Crith beach, a mariner riding by the marshes, seeing two maidens in the marshes, and perceiving the waters breaking in so fast, that the maidens were not like to escape, rode vnto them, and one of them gat by behind him, & the other took hold on the horses taile, and by that means were both saved from drowning. In the same marsh were drowned a great number of shepe. Also there in a marsh land that was lowne, were two boies keeping crows in the after none, & seeing the water breaking in so behementlie, gat them into a cart that was not farre from them, where they were faine to tarrye until the next tide, which came in so boisterouslie, that it had like to have overthrowne both the cart & boies. And the one of them being more stronger than the other, kept the other in his armes, where he with cold, wet, and feare, died: so that he was faine to let him fall from him into the water, when he perceived that he was past recoverie. A little from that place were also drowned a thousand shepe, and also manie other cattell.

From a towne called Rainant, vnto the towne named Sandon, all along by the water side were the marshes all overflown, wherein were a great number of cattell drowned. In Clate were two ships laden with Danke ware which came to shore, with no man in them, nor any man could tell of whence they were. In Clate the dwellers there lost a verie great parcell of salt and herrings barrellled, being housed in an house walled with bricke three foot thicke, and yet the wall was broken downe. Also, there was lost much sackron ground, with manie other things mo, to the great hinderance of manie a man. Also, in Walbertwicke, Dunwich, and Blawke, was great losse of board, plank, timber, and salt. A great part of the bridge by Magdalene college was borne awaye awaie, and manie trees were turned up by the root.

The thirde and twentieth of Januarie, the queenes maiestie, accompanied with her nobilitie, came from her house at the Strand, called Summer set place, and entered the cite of London by Temple bar, Fleetstreet, Chape, and so by the north side of the Burse, to sir Thomas Creshams in Bishops gate street, where she dined. After dinner, her grace returned through the Courtchill, entered the Whitehall on the south side, and after her highnesse had bestowed euerie part thereof about ground, especially the Palace, which was richlie furnished with all sorts of the best wares in the cite, she caused the same Whitehall by an herald and a trumpet, to be proclaimed the good

all exchange, so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise.

The seventeenth of Februarie at a place called Binnafton, nere Parleth hill in the countie of Hereford, was scene the ground to open, and certeine rockes with a peece of ground removed, and went forward the space of foure daies, making at the first a terrible noise as it went on the earth. It removed it selfe betwene six of the clocke in the evening, & seven the next morning fortie paces, carrying great trees and shepecotes, some shepecotes with three score shepe in them, some trees fell into the chinkes, other that grew on the same ground, grow now as firmelie on a hill; and some that stood east, stand west; and those that stood west, stand east. The depth of the hole where it first brake out is thirtie foot, the breadth of the breach is eight score yards, and in length aboute twentie score yards. At ourthetow Binnafton chapel. Also two high waies be removed nigh one hundred yards, with the trees of the hedgerowes. The ground in all is six and twentie acres: and where tillage ground was, there is pasture left in place; and where was pasture, there is tillage ground gone upon it. The ground as it removed by the earth befoze it, & at the lower part overthrowne the ground, so that it is growen to a great hill of twelue sadams high. It removed from saturday till monday at night following, and so stated.

Moreover this yeare about Candelmas, sir Thomas Sackville, baron of Buckhurst was sent in ambassage from the queenes maiestie to Charles the ninth french king, as well to congratulate for his marriage with the daughter of the emperour Maximilian, as for other weightie affaires. And as his ambassage was great, so was his charge no lesse in furnishing himselfe and traine accordinglie, being both in number and furniture such in euerie point, as did appertene; and his receiuing and interteinement in France by the king and others was agreeable thereto, for he was receiued vpon the coast by the gouernours of the fortified towne right honorabile by order from the king. Among other the baron of Bouchicoull was one, who being verie well mounted and appointed, left not his lordship before he came to the court, and from thence accompanied him backe until his imbarquement homeward.

In the maine countries he was accompanied with the gouernours and nobles of the places about. And in the good towne where he passed, he was presented by the chiefe magistrates, wherein their good wills were to be thankfullie accepted, though his lordships rewards far overvalued their presents. At his approach nere to Paris he was encountered on the waie for courtesie sake, by two marqueses of Orans and Saluces, this being of the house of Montmorency, and the other of the worthy familie of Foix. These wanted not such as accompanied them, and the same enten of the best sort. At the last ambassadors first audience, which was at the castell of St. Hill, otherwile called Bullogne nere Paris, where the king then late the queenes Almaine coaches were brackete furnished were sent to Paris for him, in one of the which his lordship with the marqueses of Orans rode towards the court, verie narrowly escaping from a theod turne and great mishap, by reason the same coach was overthrowne by the Dutch waggoners their negligence, who in a disorderly galloping the field made an other theod turne, where with the marqueses was overthrowne.

The lord ambassador at his arrival at the place was right honorabile receiued, he was accompanied by himselfe, and three verie sumptuouslie: which by him was not less intreated to the uttermost, and rather with the better. For his liberallitie vnto the french was

A strange kind of earth moving in the countie of Hereford.

Sir Thomas Sackville ambassador to the french king.

This intertainment becometh honorable.

The first part of the story was bidden by the king.

A new haven opened the same night to continue.

an house built by the water side.

At Drum hill marsh, foure miles from Kite, the water came in so outrageouslie, that it brake downe the marsh wals.

At Crith beach, a mariner riding by the marshes, seeing two maidens in the marshes, and perceiving the waters breaking in so fast, that the maidens were not like to escape, rode vnto them, and one of them gat by behind him, & the other took hold on the horses taile, and by that means were both saved from drowning.

At Sandon, a great number of cattell were drowned.

At Clate, two ships laden with Danke ware were drowned.

At Rainant, a great number of cattell were drowned.

At Sandon, a great number of cattell were drowned.

A strange kind of earth moving in the countie of Hereford.

Storie chie-
ved a commis-
ion to search
of English
waken.

Storie inter-
rich the
werthow of
England.

Sto platozme
aid to appe-
hend Storie.

Storie sear-
ched the Eng-
lish ships for
bookes, and is
apprehended
and brought
into England.

Storie a trah
for hangd,
drawne and
quartered.

A combat
appointed at
Tutill but
not tried.

Storie and
Storie com-
mants.

Storie and
Storie com-
mants.

Storie and
Storie com-
mants.

Storie and
Storie com-
mants.

Storie and
Storie com-
mants.

upon the said Thomas Paramore brought before
the iudges of the common ples at Westminster,
one George Thorne, a big, broad, strong set fellow, &
the plaintiffs Henrie Pailer, maister of defence,
and servant to the right honourable the earle of Leice-
ster, a proper slender man, & not so tall as the other.
Thorne cast downe a gantlet, which Pailer took vp,
upon the sundaie before the battell should be tried.
On the next morow, the matter was staied, & the par-
ties agreed, that Paramore being in possession shuld
have the land, & was bound in five hundred pounds
to consider the plaintiffs, as upon hearing the mat-
ter the iudges should award. The queenes maiestie
abhorring bloudshed, & (as the poet vertie well saith)
(*Tristia sanguinei deuitans prelia campi*)
was the taker vp of the matter, in this wise. It was
thought good, that for Paramores assurance, the or-
der should be kept touching the combat, and that the
plaintiffs Loto and Rime should make default of ap-
pearance; but that yet such as were suerties for Pailer
their champions appearance, should bring him
in; and likewise those that were suerties for Thorne,
should bring in the same Thorne in discharge of
their band: and that the court should sit in Tutill
fields, where was prepared one plot of ground, of one
and twentie yards square, double railed for the com-
bat. Without the west square a stage being set vp
for the iudges, representing the court of the common
ples.

All the compasse without the lists was set with
scaffolds one above another, for people to stand and
behold: Where were behind the square where the sub-
ges sat, two tents, the one for Pailer, the other for
Thorne. Thorne was there in the morning timelie,
Pailer about seauen of the clocke came through
London, apparelled in a dublet, and galle galkoine
briches all of crimson sattin, cut and rased, a hat of
blacke velvet, with a red feather and band, before him
drums and fises plating. The gantlet cast downe by
George Thorne was borne before the said Pailer
upon a sword's point, and his baston (a staffe of an
ell long made taper wise tipped with horne) with his
shield of hard leather was borne after him, by Al-
ham a yeoman of the queenes gard. He came into
the palace at Westminster, and staing not long be-
fore the hall doze, came backe into the Kings street,
and so along thorough the Sanduarie and Tutill
street into the field, where he staied till past nine of
the clocke, and then sir Jerome Bowes brought him
to his tent: Thorne being in the tent with sir Hen-
rie Cheinie long before.

About ten of the clocke, the court of common
ples removed, & came to the place prepared. When
the lord chiefe iustice, with two other his associats
were set, then Loto was called solemnlie to come in,
or else to lose his witt of right. Then after a certeine
time, the suerties of Henrie Pailer were called to
bring in the said Pailer, champion for Simon Loto.
And shortly thereupon, sir Jerome Bowes, leading
Pailer by the hand, entred with him the lists, bring-
ing him downe that square by which he entred, be-
ing on the left hand of the iudges, and so about till he
came to the next square, iust against the iudges, and
there making courtelie, first with one leg and then
with the other, passed forth till he came to the middle
of the place, and then made the like obeisance, and so
passing till they came to the barre, there he made the
like courtelie, and his shield was held vp aloft ouer
his head. Pailer put off his netherstocks, and so
barefoot and barelegged, saue his like scauilonnes to
the ankles, and his dublet sleeves tied vp above the el-
bow, and bareheaded, came in, as is aforesaid. Then
were the suerties of George Thorne called to bring
in the same Thorne: and immediatlie sir Henrie

Cheinie entering at the upper end on the right hand
of the iudges, used the like order in comming about
by his side, as Pailer had before on that other side:
and so comming to the barre with like obeisance,
held vp his shield. Proclamation was made that
none should touch the barres, nor presume to come
within the same, except such as were appointed.

After all this solemne order was finished, the lord
chiefe iustice rehearsing the maner of bringing the
witt of right by Simon Loto, of the answer made
thereunto by Paramore, of the proceeding therein,
and how Paramore had challenged to defend his
right to the land by battell, by his champion Tho-
mas Thorne, and of the accepting the triall that was
by Loto with his champion Henrie Pailer: & then
for default of appearance in Loto, he adiudged the
land to Paramore, & dismissed the champion, acqui-
ting the suerties of their bands. He also willed Hen-
rie Pailer to render againe to George Thorne his
gantlet. Whereunto the said Pailer answered, that his
lordship might command him anie thing, but wil-
linglie he wold not render the said gantlet to Thorne
except he could win it. And further he challenged the
said Thorne to play with him halfe a score blowes, to
shew some pastime to the lord chiefe iustice; & to the o-
ther there assembled. But Thorne answered, that he
came to fight, & would not plaie. Then the lord chiefe
iustice commending Pailer for his valiant courage,
commanded them both quietlie to depart the field, &c.

On the sixteenth of Julie, Rebecca Chamber, late
wife to Thomas Chamber of Beriettelham, was
found culpable of poisoning the said Thomas Cham-
ber hir husband, at the assises holden at Maidstone
in the countie of Kent. For the which fact the hanging
well deserued) was there burnt on the next morow.
The seventh of September, the duke of Norfolkke
was removed from the Charterhouse, to the tower
of London prisoner. The two and twentieth of Sep-
tember deceased John Zelwell bishop of Saltsbur-
rie, in his life a most eloquent and diligent preacher,
but a far more painefull and studious writer, as his
woorkes remaining do beare witnesse, whereby his
fame shall neuer die. The ninth of Nouember, a
sermon was preached in Paules church at London,
by maister William Foulkes of Cambridg, to giue
thanks to almightie God for the victorie, which of his
mercifull clemencie it had pleased him to grant to
the christians in the Levant seas, against the com-
mon enemies of our faith, the Turks, the seventh of
October last past. His theame was taken out of the
first psalme of Dauid's psalter, the fourth verse.

There were present at this sermon, the lord mai-
or of London sir William Allen, with the aldermen
and craftsmen in their liveryes. And in the evening
there were bonefiers made through the citie, with
banketting and great reioysing, as god cause there
was, for a victorie of so great importance vnto the
whole state of the christian common-wealth. In the
which were taken one hundred and thirtie vessels,
that is, one hundred and seuentene galleies, and thir-
tene galleots, beside other vessels that were bon-
ged, abandoned, and let go at large abroad in the
seas, as galleies, foists, and galleots, to the number
of fourescore, or thereabouts. And of their chiefe-
teins name in that bloudie battell, these we find by
name as principall: Valie Bassa high admerall of
the whole naue, Amar Beie capteine of the Janis-
saries, Assan Beie the sonne of Barbarossa, with
his sonne Spehemet Beie gouernor of Spistellene,
Gider Beie gouernour of Chio, Captan Beie go-
uernour of the Rhodes, Pernis Aga gouernour of
Africa otherwise Mahomeda, Mustafa Scelubie
high treasurer, Assis Clueaga capteine of Gal-
lipolie, Tramontana chiefe maister of the Tur-
kish

The lord
chiefe iustice
toucheth the
present case.

Pailer ch-
lengerth
Thorne at a
few blowes.

A woman
burnt at
Maidstone
for poisoning.

Duke of
Norfolkke
sent to the
tower.
Bishop of Salts-
burie de-
ceased.

A sermon in
Paules
church for
victoria-
gaint the
Turkes.

The assemble
at this sermo.

Contareno,

Principals
among the
Turkes
name.

The whole
number of
the slain.
Bizari.
Contareno.

Bizari.

Persons that
escaped from
this discom-
fiture.

Wooties that
fell into the
christians
hands.

The number
of the christian
gallies & the
Turkes.

Christian cap-
tives set at li-
bertye 14000.

Contareno.
The number
of christians
that died.
Bizari.

Contareno.

The space
how long the
battell conti-
nued.

high emperours stone gallie, Caracoja, and also ma-
nie others, whose names were too long to rehearse:
but the whole number that were slain of the Turkes
could not be perfectly knowne, by reason that ma-
nie were drowned in the sea, which came not to light.

Some yet affirme, that there were slain of them
in all, to the number of one and twentie thousand;
although other speake but of fiftene thousand. But
Contareno writeth, that there were slain and ta-
ken 29990. Of which number he reckoneth 3846 to
haue remained prisoners, and among them were
these persons of name, Mahemet Beie, Sainus
Beie, and Sirocho Beie. There escaped yet from
this discomfiture, Bartau, generall of all the men
of warre and souldiours by land, Ochalie, spurate
Mate with his sonne, and Hali Genouise, and with
them about fortye gallies, foists, and fregats. More-
ouer, there were found in the Turkish gallies that
came into the hands of the christians, one hundred
and sixtene double canons, two hundred sixtie and
five demie canons, and sixtene other great peeces
of yaffe. For it is to be remembred, that not on-
ly the Turkish gallies, but also the christians were
thoroughly armed, furnished, and appointed with
men, munition, and ordinance in euerye behalfe.

In Hali Basta his gallie there were aboue three
hundred harquebushers Janissaries, and an hun-
dred archers. In the gallie of Don Gloyan de Au-
stria chiefe admiral of the christians, were four
hundred harquebushers Spaniards, of the tierce of
Sardigna, beside a great number of lords and gen-
tlemen, and also beside the rowers: and in euerye o-
ther gallie were 200 fighting men at the least,
beside the rowers, & in some 300, & other some 400
according to the mould of the vessels. The number
of the christian gallies and galliots, were in all two
hundred and two, besides six great galleasses. The
Turkes had their gallies, galliots, and foists, to the
number of two hundred and fiftie, as appeareth by
the account aforesaid, of those that were taken,
abandoned, and escaped. There were deliuered and
set at libertye, about twelue thousand, some say four-
tene thousand christian captiues, whome the Turkes
kept for slaues, and had them chained there aboue
with them in their gallies. But this victorie was
not got without great losse of the christians, for be-
side Augustine Barbarigo, the principall prouidi-
toze of the Venetians, there died senentene other
gentlemen of Venice, being men of good estimati-
on, John Cardone, & Barnardine Cardone Spa-
niards, Virgilio and Rozatio Urbin Romans,
Troilo, Sabello, Marco Polino, besides diuerse
other nobles and gentlemen of name, as well Ita-
lians, as Spaniards, and Almans.

In all, there died of the christians to the number
of seauen thousand six hundred fiftie and six, beside
those that were hurt, being in like number to them
that were slain, among whom was don John de Au-
stria, generall of all the christian armie there, Seba-
stian Veniero the Venetians generall, & the counte
de Santa Floze with diuerse others. Moreover,
there were christian gallies bouged, three of the Ve-
netians, one of the popes, one belonging to the duke
of Sauoie, and another to the knights of Malta.
There was one also taken & led auaie by Ochalie,
and his compaignie. Such was the successe of this bat-
tell, which continued for the space of six houres, in the
end whereof the victorie remaining with the christi-
ans, caused no small reioicing through all parties of
christendome. For if this victorie had bene followed,
with his gracious helpe and assistance that was the
giver thereof, the proud and lustie hozne of the Ma-
maelike had bene so bused, as peraduenture his
courage would haue quailed to put forth the same so

speedlie as he did. But such is the malice of the time,
that the christians haue more pleasure to braise their
weapons one against another, than against that
common enemie of vs all, who regardeth neither pro-
testant nor catholike (they may be sure) those of the
Greekish church nor others, as if the mercifull prou-
idence of the Lord of hostis do not in time disappoint
his proceedings, it will be too soon perceived, though
happilie too late to stop the breach, when the flood hath
got head, and once wonne passage through the banke.

It were therfore to be wished of all those that ten-
der the suertie of the christian commonwealth, that
princes would permit their subjects to liue in libertie
of conscience, concerning matters of faith: and that
subjects againe would be readie in dutifull wise, to
obey their princes in matters of ciuill government,
so that compounding their controuersies among
themselves, with tollerable conditions, they might
emploie their forces against the common enemie, to
the benefit of the whole christian world, which (the
more is the pittie) they haue so long exercised one a-
gainst another, to each others destruction. And as for
matters in variance about religion, rather to decleare
the same with the word, than with the sword, an in-
strument full vnfit for that purpose, and not lightlie
used nor allowed of by the ancient fathers in time of
the primitive church. But fith this is rather to be
wished than hoped for, by any apparant likelihood,
considering the strange contrarie of humors now
reigning among men in sundrie parts of christen-
dome, let vs leaue the successe of our wish to the ple-
sure of God, the author of all good haps, who ruleth
the hart of princes (as the poet saith) verie trulie

*In manibus sunt regum animi; quocumq; volunt
Fert sua, vertit eos*

and frameth the peoples minds as seemeth best to
his diuine prouidence. And withall, let vs also hum-
bly offer to him our prayers, instantlie beseeching
him to spare vs in mercie, and not to rewarde vs af-
ter our iniquities: but rather by his omnipotent
powe to turne from vs the violence of our enemies,
in abiding their forces, as it may seme good to his
mercifull fauour and great clemencie.

The thirtieth of December Kethold Greie was by
the queenes maiestie restored earle of Kent. The
thirtieth of Januarie deceased sir William Peter
knight, who for his iudgement and pregnant wit had
bene secretarie and of the priue counsell to foure
kings and queenes of this realme, and seauen times
ambassador abroad in forren lands: he augmented
Exeter college in Dorset with lands, to the value of
an hundred pounds by yeare: and also builded ten
almes houses in the parish of Ingershore for twen-
tie poore people, ten within the house, and ten without
the house, hauing euery one two pence the daie, a
winter gowne, and two load of wood, and among
them feeding for six kine winter and summer, and a
chapleine to saie them seruitie daillie.

The sixteenth of Januarie the lord Thomas Ho-
ward duke of Norfolk was arreigned at White-
minster hall, before George lord Talbot, earle of
Shrewesburie, high steward of England for that
daie, and there by his peeres found guilty of high trea-
son, and had iudgement accordingly. The eleuenth
of Februarie Kencelm Barnete, and Edmund Pa-
ther were dauen from the tower of London, and
Henrie Wolfe from the Marshalsea in Southwiche,
all three to Tiburne and there hanged, bowelled, and
quartered for treason; Barnete and Pather for con-
spiracie, and Wolfe for counterfeiting of the queens
maiesties hand.

The queenes maiestie hearing credible by re-
port, that certayne lewd persons, under pretence of
executing

A common
fault among
christians.

God comfort
us if that faith be
the faith of
Christ & his
true church.

Conuictors
beis, lead,
other churi
gods, are
be punish-
the exampl
their too nu
followers.

Sir William
Boulter lord
treasuror
deceased.

His ancient
and honozal
kniue.

Three thou-
sand chosen
persons for
pillmen and
gunners out
of halles.

Training
of young fol-
dows in the
fild.

Imiter at
Greenwich
before the
queene.

Carles of Et
and Lin-
colne created

Anno Reg. 14.
Reinold Greie
earle of Kent
I Sir William
Peter knight
Sir William
Peter decea-
sed. His chari-
ble darts.

1573
Duke of Norfolk
of foule arrange-
ment

Mathew
Barnete, and
Edmund Pather
were dauen

Concealers of lands, and other church goods, are to be punished to the example of others.
 executing commissions for inquiries to be made for lands concealed, contrarie to his maiesties meaning, chalenging lands, stocks of monie, plate, &c. let- ting not also to make pretense to the bels, led, and o- ther such things belonging unto parish churches or chappels. His maiestie meaning speedilie to with- stand such manner of vnlawfull practises, comman- ded, that all commissions then extant and not deter- mined, for inquisition of anie manner of conceale- ments, should be by *superficies*, out of his exchequer re- uoked. And also appointed speedie remedie to be had against such extorsioners, as more at large appeareth by proclamation, concluding thus. Finally, his ma- iestie would his iustices of assise to haue some speci- all care, not onelie to the premises, but also to the re- forming of certeine couetous & inuoluntous attempts, of diuerse that of late time by other colour than for his maiesties vse, had taken auaite the led of churches and chappels; yea and bels also out of streeples, and other common goods belonging to parishes: an example not to be suffered unpunished, nor unrefo- med. And so his maiestie estones chargeth his ius- tices of his assise to prouide seuerer remedie, both for punishment and reformation thereof. Dated at Westmynster the thirtieth daie of Februarie, the fourteenth yeare of his reigne.]

The tenth of March deceased sir William Bul- let knight, lord saint John, earle of Wiltshire, mar- quesse of Winchester, knight of the honorable order of the garter, one of the quenes maiesties priue counsell, and lord high treasurer of England, at his manor of Basing. This worthy man was bozne in the yeare of our Lord 1483, the first yeare of king Richard the third, and liued about the age of foure score and seauen yeares, in six kings and quenes daies. He serued five kings and quenes, Henrie the seauenth, Henrie the eight, Edward the first, queene Marie, and queene Elisabeth. All these he serued faithfully, and of them was greatlie fauou- red. Himselfe did see the children of his childrens children, growing to the number of one hundred and thre. A rare blessing giuen by God to men of his calling.

On the five and twentieth and six and twentieth of March, by the commandement of the quenes ma- iestie his counsell, the citizens of London assem- bling at their seuerall halles; the massers collected and chose out the most likeli and actiue persons of e- uerie their companies, to the number of thre thou- sand, whome they appointed to be pikemen and shot. The pikemen were forthwith armed in faire corselets and other furniture according therunto; the gunners had euerie of them his caluer with the furniture, and murrions on their heads. To these were appoin- ted diuerse valiant captians, who to traine them by in warlike feats, mustered them thise euerie weeke, sometimes in the artillerie pard, teaching the gun- ners to handle their peeces, sometimes at the piles end, & in saint Georges field, teaching them to skir- mish. In the which skirnish on the piles end the tenth of Aprill, one of the gunners of the goldsmiths companie was shot in the side with a pece of a scou- ring picke left in one of the caluers, wherof he died, and was buried the twelue of Aprill in Pauls church- yard; all the gunners marching from the piles end in battell rait, shot off their caluers at his graue.

On Maie daie they mustered at Greenwich be- fore the quenes maiestie, where they shewed manie warlike feats, but were much hindered by the wea- ther, which was all daie showring, they returned that present night to London, and were discharged the next morrow. The fourth of Maie Walter De- uereux, lord Ferrers of Chartleie, and vicount of Hereford was created earle of Essex; and Edward

Finces lord Clinton and Sate high admiral of En- gland was created earle of Lincoln. The eight of Maie the parlement began at Westmynster, and that same daie in the parlement by the quenes ma- iesties writs, sir Henrie Compton knight, lord of Compton in the Hyle, sir Henrie Cheinie knight lord of Todington, sir William Paulet knight of Basing, & sir Henrie Pooris knight lord of Ricot, were called barons into the higher house. In this parlement, for so much as the whole realme of Eng- land was exceedinglie pestered with roges, vaga- bunds, and sturdie beggers, by meanes whereof da- lie happened diuerse horrible murders, thefts, and o- ther great outrages: it was enacted, that all persons aboue the age of fouretene yeres, being taken beg- ging, vagarant, & wandering disorderlie, should be apprehended, whipped, and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with a hot iron of one inch com- passe for the first time so taken.

The foure & twentieth of Maie, Martine Bullocke was hanged on a gibet by the well with two buckets in Bishops gate street of London, for robbing, and most shamefullie murdering of a merchant named Arthur Hall, in the parsonage of S. Martine by the said well. This Martine had procured the said Ar- thur Hall to come to the said parsonage, to buie of him certeine plate. But after the said Arthur had well viewed the same, he said; This is none of your plate, it hath doctor Gardeners marke, and I know it to be his: What is true said Martine Bullocke, but he hath appointed me to sell it, &c. After this talke, whilest the said Arthur was weicng the plate, the same Martine fetcht out of the kitchen a thicke washting beetle, and comming behind him stroke the said Arthur on the head, that he felled him with the first stroke; and then strake him againe, and after toke the said Arthurs dagger, and stiked him, and with his knife cut his throte: and after would haue trus- sed him in a Danske chest, but the same was too short. Whereupon he tumbled him downe a paire of stairs, and after thinking to haue buried him in the cellar, his legs being broken with the first fall, and stiffe, he could not draw him downe the cellar stairs being winding. Wherefore he cut off his legs with an hatchet, and in the end trussed him with straw in a drie vat: and saieing it was his apparell and bootes, caused the same to be carried to the water side, and so shipped to Rie. But as God would haue it, there was suspicion gathered against the murderer, wher- by he was examined before alderman Branch then one of the shiriffes of London, but so small likelihood appeared that he should be guiltie, that there was an honest man dwelling in saint Laurence Pontneis named Robert Cox a clothworker, who supposing the offender to be cleare in the matter, undertooke for his forthcomming. Whereupon Bullocke being suf- fered to go at libertie, slipt awaie, first to West- minster; and there taking bote, passed by the riuer: and comming on land beyond Kingston, passed forth till he came to Whingham, in the forrest of Wind- soze, an eight miles beyond the towne of Windsoze; and from thence (what moued him, I leaue to the se- cret iudgement of God) he came backe againe un- to London, lodging at the red lion in Holbozne.

In the meane time the foresaid Cox, upon know- ledge had that Bullocke was withdrawen out of the waie, was not onelie had in some suspicion, but also committed to ward: albeit so as he had libertie to take order to send abroad such as should make sute after Bullocke. And amongst other that went forth, one of his seruants was sent to Rie, whether the drie vat was conueied: and comming thither, the same drie vat was opened, wherein the mangled corps of Hall was found: whereby the truth of the matter

Barons made.

Rogers burnt through the eare.

Martin Bul- locke hanged at the well with two buckets.

Fellonie and murder com- bined.

The manner of the murder committed.

Wh merciflesse murder ree

The murder- er examined.

He hath liber- tie notwith- standing his offense.

The que bat
when the
murdered
man was put
to be tran-
spared, de-
cried.

Carle of Lin-
colne and o-
ther ambassa-
dors into
France.

The manner of
the ambassa-
dors inter-
tainment.

League with
France con-
firmed in
France.

The ambassa-
dors return-
ed out of
France.
The duke of
Norfolke be-
headed.

Schardius in reb.
gest. sub Maxi-
mil. imperat. se-
cundo pag. 2513.

came to light, and by the good providence of God, the reuealer of such enill facts, Wollocke was at the verie same time discovered at the place in Holborne afore mentioned, and there apprehended, did receiue (as ye haue heard) due punishment for his heinous and most wicked offense.

The six and twentieth of Maie, the right honorable earle of Lincolne, departed from London towards France ambassadoz, being accompanied with the lord Dacres, the lord Rich, the lord Talbot, the lord Sands, and the lord Clinton, sir Arthur Chamber-¹⁰ noine, sir Jerome Bowes, and sir Edward Hastings knights, with diuerse other gentlemen, who taking ship at Dover, cut ouer to Bullongne, where they were verie honorablie receiued, and conueied by iournies to Paris, where they were lodged in a house of the kings named le chasteau de Loure, being attended vpon of the kings officers. Five daies after they went to the king at a house called Spadixill, where the king with his two brethren, the admerall, & the most part of the nobles of France met them a distance from the place, & brought them to the house: where they dined, and abode till sundae following, from whence the king and his nobles with the nobles of England came to Paris. The king, his two bre-²⁰ thren, & our ambassadoz riding in one coach together, and the nobles of England and France being so placed also in coaches, came to the said castell of Loure, and there dined. After dinner the king, our ambassadoz, with the nobilitie of both realmes, went to a church named saint Germaine, where the French king, his brethren, and nobilitie heard euensong. The noblemen of England withdrawing them into a chappell till euensong was done, were then fetched thence by the nobles of France to the king and his brethren that awaited their comming, where was confirmed the league which had bene concluded at Blois the nineteenth of Aprill, deputies being there for the French partie, Francis Montmorencie, Mel-³⁰ nold Birago, Sebastian de Laubespine, and Paule de Foix: and for the queene of England, sir Thomas Smith, and maister Walsingham ambassa-
dors.

This being done, they departed without the wals of Paris, to a garden of pleasure, where they supped. After supper, the king departed to his place of Spadixill, and the nobles of England vnto the castell of Loure. On mondaie, the admerall feasted the nobles of England: vpon tuesday, the duke of Aniou the kings brother, and on wednesday the duke of Alanson his younger brother, and so passed in feasting and banquetting, with rich gifts on both parts. On fridaie, the nobles of England toke leaue of the king, and on sundaie came to saint Denis, and after to Bullongne, where they toke ship, and returned into England the fourth of Iulie. The second of June in the morning, betwaine the hours of seven and eight, Thomas Howard duke of Norfolke, was beheaded on a scaffold notolie set vp on tower hill. This execution in a short time was spread abroad, for same, which (as the poet saith in few words

volat leuibus sublata per aethera pennis

had founded the same farre and neere: insomuch that in tract of time, as men had leasure to late their collections together, among other things this is recozded: even of strangers. For the execution of an honorable personage must needs be so much the more notorious, as his misdeed is dishonorable. Touching the duke therefore this I find in Schardius (holwoer-⁶⁰ uer he came to the knowledge thereof) a moderne historien, and doctor of the laies in Basill. The duke of Norfolke, who (as we haue said) was condemned for treason the sixteenth daie of Januarie, was brought out of the tower of London, to a plaine hard

by, which they call the hill; in the middelt whereof a scaffold had bene builded manie yeares ago serving for execution: which being old was both rotten and ruinous. For queene Elisabeth hauing with mercie gouerned hir commonwealth, there was no punishment inflicted there vpon anie for the space of foure-¹⁰ tene yeares. Wherefore a new scaffold must needs be made. Which when the duke at seven of the clocke in the morning had mounted, hauing on a silken doublet, & a long gowne of like fine stufte, all blacke, earnestlie he beheld the people round about with his cap on his head. Now when he had stood still a prettie while, and cast his eyes vpon the scaffold, he asked whereabouts he might best stand to speake vnto the people: For the scaffold was foure square, and the people came flocking from all places. Now when he was directed to the east side thereof, and the people had muttered and whispered diuerslie among themselves, maister Alexander Howell deane of Pauls besought them that were present to be silent and still. Then began the duke to speake to the people as fol-²⁰ loweth.

The duke of Norfolkes vvords vttered on the scaffold at tower hill when he should be executed

IS no rare thing (good people) to see a man come hither to die, albeit since this queens most blessed reigne I be the first, I praise God I be the last. The people said Amen. It is a hard matter for a man of my calling to vse long speech in such an audience, either for that audacitie serues me not, or for that comming to such an end as I do, the feare of death troubleth me: and therefore I beseech you all heartlie to beare with me, I will not be long, I will make a short speech and di-³⁰ uide my talke into three parts. And first concerning my offense towards my prince, wherein some thing I haue to confesse against my selfe, and in some thing to clere my selfe. I come not to complaine against my peres, I do acquit them, I haue deferred to die, it is not unknowne. I haue dealt with the queene of Scots in verie great and high matters, without making my prince priuie thereunto, other-⁴⁰ wise than I ought to haue done.

There is one thing, which greatlie grudgeth my conscience, that is: when I was first deliuered out of this place, I made a submission, & promised the queene to deale further in that matter; and yet contrary to my promise I meant & did otherwise, I am sorrie for it. It was reported I made a vow and toke a solemne oth, and receiued the communion vpon it, that is not true: the other was too much. It was reported also I went about to destroye the citie of London: I take God to my witnesse I neuer meant to hurt this citie. I haue dealt with suspected persons, and such as haue shewed themselves enemies to the state; especially one I will name, to wit one Radulpho, whom I neuer talked withall but once, and then I liked not his dealing, he shewed me two letters which he said came from the pope.

Then said one of the thiriffes of London, God my lord be short: he said, I will be short, I haue not much to saie, good gentlemen beare witnesse, I come not to clere my selfe. I saw two letters, the one inclosed and the other disciphered. I was charged to confeder with the rebels, I take God to witnesse I did neuer. The secundarie interrupted him and said, I praise you my lord go not about to clere your selfe, you haue bene tried as honourablie, as anie noble man hath euer bene in this land: I praise you make short, for the houre is past, it is vpon the perill of their liues (meaning the thiriffes) they can not suffer you.

Forren nation
one heare and
sente of the
queens busi-
nesses go-
uernment.

The attie
behaviour, &
gesture of the
duke at his
execution.

Howell deane
of Pauls the
dukes ghostly
father.

He ment
confessio
his relig

He confel
himselfe
bound to
queens
maiestie.

He sheweth
howe the
duke dyed.

He putteth
people in
of Latine
words be-
fore him
Howard.

He praier
and manie
words sayth
him: the ei-
les of his yead

He sheweth
the words of
his prayer.

He sheweth
howe the
duke dyed.

Edward the
blacke prince,
duke of Corn-
wall.

Henrie Plana-
tagenet duke
of Lancaster.

John of
Gant duke
of Lancaster.

tion, which follow as they came in one line.

Edward (the eldest sonne of king Edward the third) being surnamed the blacke prince, was made duke of Cornewall the eleauenth of Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1337, when he was yet but yong. This yong prince was the first duke in England since the conquest, and Cornewall was by that creation the first place that was erected to a dukedome. Which duke, being the flower of chivalrie in his time, died about the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third; in the yeare of Christ 1376, and was buried at Canturburie.

Henrie Plantagenet *alias* Tort Colles (because his head leaned somewhat to one shoulder like the great Macedone king Alexander, whose valure in feats of armes this Henrie did also imitate) being sonne to Henrie of Monmouth earle of Lancaster, was in like sort earle of Lancaster by descent. After which he was created earle of Darbie, as some saie in the eleauenth yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1337, other saie in the fourteenth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our saluation 1340. He was created duke of Lancaster as some haue in the six & twentieth yeare of Edward the third, as other haue the seauen & twentieth, and as the third sort haue the eight & twentieth yeare of Edward the third. He was lord steward of England, & lieutenant of Guines. This man was wise, glorious in fortune, and full of honoz in feats of armes, whilst he was yong: he died the five and thirtieth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1361, being one of the first knights which were made at the first institution of the honozable order of the garter, and the second duke that was made in England. He had issue two daughters & heires, Patow married to William duke of Bauare, earle of Henalt, Zealand & Holand, which after became mad; & Blanch married to John of Gant, fourth sonne to Edward the third.

John Plantagenet, surnamed of Gant in Flanders, where he was borne, the fourth sonne to king Edward the third, was first by his father in the five and thirtieth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1361, made duke of Lancaster, so that he was duke of Lancaster, earle of Lincolne, Salisburie, Darbie and Leicester, king of Castile & Arne, and steward of England. He married three wiues, the first was Blanch the daughter and heire of Henrie duke of Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Lincolne, Sarisburie & Darbie, in whose right he obtained all those titles of honoz, whome he married in the thirtieth thre yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1359, and by hir had issue Henrie Plantagenet duke of Hereford: Philip married in the tenth yeare of Richard the second (in the yeare of Christ 1386, as some saie; or rather 1385, as others haue) to the king of Portingale: and Elisabeth married to John Holland erle of Huntingdon. His second wife was Constance eldest daughter to Peter king of Castile, whom he married in the six & fortieth yeare of Edward the third, being in the yeare of Christ 1372, by whome he had issue Margaret married to the king of Castile, which Constance died in the yeare of Christ 1394, as saith Ypodigma. His third wife was Katharine the widow of Edmo Swinford, and daughter to sir Walein Auet *alias* Guien king at armes, whom he married in the nineteenth yeare of king Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ 1395, or as some saie 1396, by this woman he had before marriage Thomas Beaufort, John Beaufort, Henrie Beaufort cardinal of Winchester, & Jane married to Kase Penill earle of Westmerland, all which children were in the twentieth of Richard the second, being in the yeare 1396, legitimated by parlement: at which time the said John of Gant gaue them the surname of Beau-

fort. This John of Gant was also earle of Richmond and constable of France in the time of Richard the second, who made him also duke of Aquitaine in the fourteenth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare 1390. This John of Gant died in the two & twentieth yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare 1398, or as saith Ypodigma 1399, & was buried in the quere of Saint Pauls church of London, on the north side.

Henrie Plantagenet *alias* Henrie of Bolinbroke so surnamed of the place of his birth, the eldest son of the said John, was by inheritance duke of Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Salisburie, Darbie, and Lincolne, he was created duke of Hereford by Richard the second, who made him earle of Darbie, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1386, and after made him duke of Hereford in the 21 yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1397. Which Henrie of Bolinbroke married in the 2 yeare of the reigne of Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1386, Marie the second daughter, & one of the heires of Humphrie Bohune earle of Hereford & Leicester and constable of England, which woman died in the yeare of Christ 1394, about the eightieth yeare of Richard the second. This Henrie was after king of England by the name of Henrie the fourth.

Lionell Plantagenet surnamed Lionell of Antwerp in Brabant, because he was there borne, being the third son of king Edward the third, was erle of Ulster in Ireland by his wife and created duke of Clarence in the 36 yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1462; but other saie he was made duke in the 33 yeare of Edward the third. He had two wiues, the first Elisabeth, some saie Eleanor (but rightlie as I doe suppose) the daughter of William Burgh earle of Ulster, by whom he had issue Philip married to Edmund earle of March: the second wife was Felant or Etelant daughter to Calcas duke of Millane, to whom he was married, as saith the English chronicle, in the two and fortieth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1368: which yeare the Italians count 1367, by whom he had no issue. This Lionell was sometime regent of France, & died 1368.

Edmund of Langley, sixth son to Edward the third made earle of Cambridge about the six and thirtieth yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ 1361, was made duke of Yorke in the eight, or (as some haue) the ninth yeare of the said king Richard the second. He in the six and fortieth yeare of king Edward the third, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1372, married Isabell one of the daughters of Peter king of Castile, and sister by the mother to Constance second wife to John of Gant duke of Lancaster, brother to this Edmund, who was about the twentieth yeare of Richard the second protector of England, while the king was in Ireland, which Isabell died in the yeare of Christ 1394, being about the eightieth yeare of Richard the second, & by the kings commandement was buried in the friers of Langley. This Edmund had issue by his wife Isabell Edward earle of Rutland, and duke Albermerle, Richard earle of Cambridge, and one daughter called Constance married to Thomas lord Spencer: he died the second (as some haue) or rather the third (as others haue) of Henrie the 4, in the yeare of Christ, as hath Ypodigma 1402, and was buried at Langley.

Edward Plantagenet son and heire of Edmund of Langley duke of Yorke, was in the fourteenth of Richard the second created erle of Rutland in his fathers life, in the yeare of Christ 1390, and in the twentieth yeare of Richard the second, or rather the 21 of the same king, being the yeare of Christ 1397, he was made duke of Albermerle or Aumerle, and after his fathers death he was duke of Yorke: he was slaine at the battell of Agincourt, in the third yeare

Henrie Plana-
tagenet duke
of Lancaster
and Hereford,
king of Eng-
land.

Lionell Plana-
tagenet duke
of Clarence.

Edmund
Plantagenet
duke of York.

Thomas
Plantagenet
surnamed of
Woodstocke
duke of Glo-
cester.

Thomas
Holland duke
of Burrie.

yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1415, he married Margaret, or rather more trulie Philip the ladie Fitzwater, and widow to sir John Collafer knight, bassard sonne to sir John Collafer of Ceredone or Saredone knight in Dorsetshire. And here because I haue mentioned the name of Collafer, although it be digressing from my first purposes, onlie to treat of the dukes of England, I thinke it not amisse to saie somewhat of these two knights, of the Collafers, sir John the father, and sir John the sonne. This sir John Collafer the father being the sonne of John Collafer esquier (whose ancestors as farre as I can learne had their first originall from Roger Collafer of Ceredone in the time of king John, and was buried in *Domo capitulari de Brucra in com. oxon.*) married Anne the daughter and heire of sir Thomas Langleie lord of Langleie in Dorsetshire (now at this date in the yeare 1585, by grant of queene Elisabeth, in the possession of Robert Sutton or Dobleie earle of Leicester) which Anne died shortly after without anie issue by him. After whose death this sir John Collafer married Ihabell the ladie of Millenden (dwelling at Millenden) and of Queintone in Buckinghamshire, the being daughter to sir Barnard Bocas. But this sir John Collafer hauing no issue by the said Elisabeth, and desirous by some meanes or other to continue his name (which yet he could not make perpetuall nor of anie long continuance) made choise in the life of his wife Ihabell of another woman, whome he used for procreations cause, and by hir had issue two bassards, one called Kennet Pulham after prioresse of Burnham by Windsoze, and an other bassard called after the father John Collafer, who in following time became a knight. Afterward this sir John the father died at Queintone in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, seauentie and nine, falling partie in the second and thirde yeare of Henrie the fourth, and was buried at the Graie friers in Dorset, whose wife Ihabell was after buried in Millenden priorie.

After the death of this sir John the father, sir John Collafer knight his base sonne being lord of Langleie, married Phillip ladie Fitzwater, after married to this duke of Bozke (as before is said) which sir John Collafer died at Wallingfoze, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, ninetie and six, being the twentieth yeare of Richard the second, and was buried at Westminster, nere vnto the towe of Richard the second. Which ladie Phillip died in the time of Henrie the first, and was buried at Westminster, nere vnto hir husband, whose flatelie towe is yet extant, on the south side almost directly oueragainst the towe of Richard the second. Thus this much for the name of Collafer; and so againe to the dukes of England.

Thomas Plantagenet, otherwile called Thomas of Woodstocke, first sonne to king Edward the third, was created earle of Buckingham, the first yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, seauentie and leauen, the daie of his coronation before dinner. This man was high constable of England, and created duke of Gloucester, in the eight yeare of Richard the second, of whom is more especial mention made in the treatise of the constables of England, pag. 867.

Thomas Holland, brother by the mothers side to king Richard the second, and sonne to the lord Thomas Holland (earle of Kent, in the right of Jane, daughter and heire to Edmund Plantagenet, surnamed of Woodstocke earle of Kent) was advanced to the title of duke of Surrete in the two and twentieth yeare of king Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ one thousand, three hundred, ninetie

and leauen, he married Alice the daughter of Richard Fitzallen earle of Arundell. He had issue six daughters & heires; Margaret married to John Beaumont earle of Summerfet, and marquesse Dorset; Alice married to Thomas Montacute earle of Salisbury; Elisabeth, married to John lord Peuill sonne to Rafe Peuill the first earle of Westmerland, and after his death to Edward Chareleton lord Poizis; Joane married to Edmund of Langleie duke of Bozke; and Blodget a nun at Barking. This man with others, at a parlement held the first yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, ninetie and nine, was deprived of his name of duke, & of all honours, together with the dignities belonging to a duke, & was after in the same yeare (rebellling against king Henrie the fourth) taken by the men of Cirester, and beheaded in the same towne, after that he had caused the towne to be set on fire.

John Holland full brother to Thomas Holland, and halfe brother to Richard the second, was created earle of Huntington in the fourteenth yeare of king Richard the second, and made duke of Excester at a parlement holden in the one & twentieth yeare of the same king, though some attribute that to the twentieth yeare of king Richard. This man at a parlement held in the first of Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of Christ 1399, was disgraced from his title of duke, and was after taken at Wyetwell in Essex in a mill, and beheaded at Wallie in the said shire, in the said first yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth, he married Elisabeth the daughter of John of Cant duke of Lancaster, and had issue John Holland earle of Huntington.

John Holland earle of Huntington was (as it seemeth) made by Henrie the fourth (after the death of the duke of Excester his father) & admitted to be duke of Excester, he married Anne the daughter of Edmund earle of Stafford, he had issue Henrie Holland duke of Excester, and Anne married to sir John Peuill knight, brother of Rafe the third of that name earle of Westmerland, he died the six and twentieth of king Henrie the first on the first of August, being the yeare of Christ 1448, and was buried at St. Bartharins nigh the tower of London. After which his first wife he married Anne the daughter of John Montacute earle of Salisbury, by whome he had no issue.

Henrie Holland sonne of John Holland was (after the death of his father) duke of Excester, he was disinherited in the first of Edward the fourth at a parlement held then in the yeare 1461, he married Anne daughter to Richard duke of Bozke, and sister to king Edward the fourth, which Anne at hir owne sute on the twelue of Nouember in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1471, was divorced from the said duke of Excester. Shortly after which, in the yeare of Christ 1413, being in the thirteenth of Edward the fourth, this duke was found dead in the sea betwene Dover & Calis, but how he came there none could certenlie declare. He died without issue, leauing his sister Anne his heire, married (as before) to John Peuill brother to Rafe earle of Westmerland.

Robert Were earle of Orford and marquesse of Dubline was in the yeare of Christ 1386, in the tenth of Richard the second created duke of Ireland, he died without issue at Louaine in great penurie and vcratton of mind, as hath Ypodigma, in the yeare of Christ 1392, being about the sixteenth of king Richard the second, he married the daughter of Ingerrame de Coufie earle of Beosford, and after divorced from hir he married Lancelona one of meane parentage.

John Holland duke of Excester.

John Holland duke of Excester.

Henrie Holland duke of Excester.

Robert Were duke of Ireland.

Margaret
Segraue
duchess of
Norfolk.

Margaret ladic Segraue the daughter and heire of Thomas Brotherton earle of Norfolk and marshall of England, was created duchesse of Norfolk in the one and twentieth yeare of king Richard the second, she had two husbands, whereof the first was John lord Segraue; by whom she had issue Elisabeth married to John Howbzeie the third of that name. Her second husband was sir Walter Manny knight of the order, by whom she had a daughter married to John lord Hastings erle of Penbroke. This duchesse Margaret died in the yeare of Christ 1399, being about the thre and twentieth of Richard the second, and was buried in the frier Spinoz of London.

Thomas lord
Howbzeie
duke of Norf-
folke.

Thomas lord Howbzeie second sonne of Elisabeth Segraue and John lord Howbzeie his husband was advanced to the dukedome of Norfolk, in the one and twentieth yeare of the reigne of Richard the second. Shortly after which he was appeled by Henrie earle of Bullingbroke of treason, and caried to the castell of Windsoze, where he was strongly and safely garded, hauing a time of combat granted to determine the cause betwene the two dukes the firste day of September, in the two and twentieth of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1398. But in the end the matter was so ordered, that this duke of Norfolk was banished for ever: whereupon taking his iourneie to Jerusalem, he died at Venice in his returne fro the said cite of Jerusalem in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, about the yeare of our redemption 1399. He married Elisabeth one of the daughters and heires of Richard erle of Arundell Warren and Surreie, by whom he had issue John duke of Norfolk, and thre daughters, Elisabeth married to Michaell de la Pole the younger earle of Suffolke, Margaret married unto sir Robert Howard knight, and Isabell married to sir James Barkleie.

John How-
bzeie duke of
Norfolk.

John Howbzeie earle of Pottingham marshall of England and duke of Norfolk, baron Segraue and Wober, was buried in the Charterhouse within the ile of Erholme, he married Katharine the daughter of Rafe the first earle of Westmerland, by whom he had issue John duke of Norfolk.

John How-
bzeie duke of
Norfolk.

John lord Howbzeie the first baron of the name of Howbzeie, sonne to John duke of Norfolk, was after his father duke of Norfolk. This John was buried in Westford priore, who marieng Clenoz the daughter of William lord Burchier earle of Ewe, had issue John duke of Norfolk.

John How-
bzeie duke of
Norfolk.

John the last duke of Norfolk of the surname of Howbzeie, the sonne of John the last before mentioned, was in his fathers life time created earle of Warren and Surreie by king Henrie the first, and after the death of his father was duke of Norfolk. This John the last duke died in his castell of Fremmingham, in the yeare 1461, being the second yeare of king Edward the fourth. He married Elisabeth daughter to John lord Talbot earle of Shrewsburie, by whom he had issue one onelie daughter and heire, married to Richard duke of York second son to Edward the fourth.

Th: Planta-
genet duke of
Clarence.

Thomas Plantagenet second sonne to Henrie the fourth, was created duke of Clarence in the eleuenth yeare of his father, being about the yeare of our redemption 1409, and was afterward in the 13 of the same king created earle of Armerle, and high steward of England: he was slaine the two and twentieth of March, in the ninth yeare of the reigne of the victorious king Henrie the fifth, in the yeare of our redemption 1420, beginning the yeare of our Lord on the five and twentieth date of March. He married Margaret the daughter of Thomas Holland earle of Kent, and died without issue legitimat, hauing a base sonne called John the bastard of Cla-

rence.

John Plantagenet third son to Henrie the fourth, was by his father created duke of Bedford, at the parlement of Leicester, in the yeare of Christ 1414, in the second of king Henrie the fifth. Of this man is more large mention made in my discourse of the protectors of England.

John Plan-
tagenet duke
of Bedford.

Humfreie Plantagenet fourth sonne of Henrie the fourth, was by his father created duke of Gloucester, who for the nobilitie of his mind and vertuous life, was made protector of England. Of whom is more spoken in my former discourse of the protectors of England.

Humfreie
Plantagenet
duke of Glou-
cester.

John Be-
aufort duke of
Somerset.

John Beaufort (which name of Beaufort was given by John of Cant to his children which he had by Katharine Swineford, when they were made legitimate by parlement, about the one and twentieth yeare of king Richard the second as is before touched) was created marquesse Dorset by Henrie the fourth, and after advanced to the honour of duke of Somerset, in the first yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1412. He married Margaret the daughter of sir John Beanchampe lord of Powicke, he had issue Margaret married to Edmund Haddam earle of Richmond father to king Henrie the seventh: after the death of which Edmund he was married to Thomas lord Stonleir, afterward by Henrie the seventh created earle of Darbie, and after unto Henrie sonne to Humfreie duke of Buckingham. This duke of Somerset died the two and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, and was buried at Winbozne, in the yeare of Christ 1444. And his daughter the ladic Margaret died at Westminster on the nine and twentieth of June, in the first yeare of king Henrie the eighth, in the yeare of Christ a thousand five hundred and nine, about thre score and five yeares after the death of his father.

John Beaufort
duke of Somerset.

In the year
of Christ
1460.

Thomas Beaufort sonne to John of Cant duke of Lancaster and Katharine Swineford was created duke of Excester, in the first yeare of king Henrie the fifth, of whom is mention made in my protectors.

Thomas
Beaufort
duke of Ex-
cester.

Edmund Beaufort sonne of John Beaufort duke of Somerset, was created earle Dorset in the seventh yeare of king Henrie the fifth. He was created marquesse Dorset and duke of Somerset by king Henrie the first, he was made regent of Normandie, and lost the whole countrie to the French: for which after his coming out of Normandie in the nine and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, he was on the first of December the same yeare, being the yeare of our Lord 1450, apprehended and put under arrest, and his goods by the commons solie despoiled and caried awaie from the Blacke friers. He was slaine at the battell of S. Albons in Wales, the thre and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of our Lord 1455, and was with Henrie Berlie earle of Northumberland, and Thomas lord Clifford buried at S. Albons. He married two wiues, the first was Clenoz the daughter of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwick, a widow to Thomas lord Rolle, by whom he had issue Henrie duke of Somerset, Edmund duke of Somerset, John marques Dorset, Margaret married to Humfreie duke of Buckingham, Elisabeth married to sir Henrie Lewes knight, Clenoz married to James Butler earle of Wiltshire, and after to sir Robert Spenser, Anne married to sir William Pastone knight, and Jone married to the lord Moth of Ireland. His second wife was Jone, who was after married to Henrie Bonemfield knight, of the which Edmund duke of Somerset, and the other lords poet John Gower

Edmund
Beaufort
duke of Somerset.

The battell
fought
thirtieth of
March in the
year 1455, a
rounding to
the account of
the year at
January.
There 2000
laine, where
most knight
& gentlemen.

Gower with these same verses hereafter following:

*Quos mors quos Martis fors saeva, suaq; sororis
Bella prostravit, vixit medioque necarunt,
Mors sic occisos tumulaverat hic simul ipsos,
Postq; necem requie causavit habere perennem
Et medium sine quo vult hic requiescere nemo,
Hic his, hic pugna mors est qui terminat arma,
Mors fors & Maiores qui straverunt dominos hos.*

Henrie Beaufort eldest sonne to Edmund duke of Summerfet was after the death of his father erle of Dorset, marquisse Dorset, and duke of Summerfet, he was capitaine of Calis; who with other nobles in the nine and thirtieth of Henrie the first the duke of Poike at the battell of Wakefield, in the yeare of our redemption 1460; according to the accompt of England. Shortly after which, is Henrie the first, whom this duke supported all that he could, was depose, & Edward the fourth crowned. Touching which deposing of the one, & crowning of the other, although it be impertinent to the treatise of the dukes of England, having here so good place therfore, I will set downe such verses as I have found in I. Whethamsted, adding further such other verses also as I find in him, concerning a battell fiercely fought at Fferthbig in Poikehire, in this sort:

*X. numero seni lapsi sunt circiter anni,
Postquam successit lex iuris, iurēne rexit,
Anglorum regnum vis non ius rexerat ipsum
Iam noua progenies, quia caelo venit ab alto
Saturni soboles, qua nomine dicitur alio
Edwardus quartus, Richardo sanguine iunctus
Creditur a multis, redeunt Saturnia nostris
Temporibus secula, his visq; nephas simul una
Deperiant, iura lex & pax sunt reditura.
Fraus etiamque dolus cessabunt, ac violentus
Raptus auaritia, subeunt verumque fidesque:
Hac spes plebis erat, clerici chorus hacq; putabat.
Det ceusperatur regnum Deus ut statuatur,
Et plebs tranquillē vivat clerus atq; quietē.*

Then of the time of that former recited warre, in which the northerne men were overcome, there were these verses made, upon the excess and cruell which they outrageously committed in the south parts of England, without regard of God, obedience to their naturall prince, reverence to the church, love to their native countrey, or benefite to themselves:

*M. semel X. sena centum quater I. simul uno
In Martis mense terdena denique luce,
In patria Borea Ferrebrig prope ingena villa,
Pugna fuit plebis acris nimis & satis atrox.
Vicerat Arcthos in bello Martius heros,
Junior Edwardus Hector novus alter Achilles
Prostravit multos Austro tunc cesserat Arcthos,
Et doluit casum supra X. bis millia, quorum
Quamplures domini plures & erant generosi
Illius patria flos ut fors tunc cecidere.
Et merito, quonia spoliarunt nequiter Austrum.
Laus agitur Domino, sit honor sit gloria Christo
Cessat nunc status grandis Borea q; boatus,
Ing. Austrum recedit, Acalus ventum variavit,
Est Borea mordens, & valde ventus adurens,
Est Ausser iustus, vult morsu rodere morsus,
Est male mordentes bene vires tollere eidem,
Est Zephyrus placidus, est suavis frater & eius,
Hinc Borea q; Aquilo pro nunc clauduntur in antro.*

Further more, touching the title of the same king Edward the fourth to the government of the kingdom of England, and of his right and truth therunto were these following verses composed, to declare the deposition of king Henrie the first, as be

foresaid in the coronation of Edward the fourth, and how the same kingdom of England, with all the members thereof, did belong to Edward the fourth, as unto the rightfull lineall heire to the same with his pedigree, pointing the same also in this sort:

*In sibi coniunctis^a Edwardi semine natis
Ortus erat primo^b Leonellus^c Iohnque secundo,
Cedat lex regni vult inior ut seniori.
Attamen^d Henricus heres genitissque Iohannis
Per vim sceptrigerum regimen tuleratque coronam,
Et tenuit multum sed non sine viribus annis.
Illi successit rex^e qui si non caruisset
Iustitiā titulo, non Hector dignior ipso:
Non iudex Eacus, non ore politus^f Vlysses.
Ipso defuncto successit^g filius in quo
Stirps ea cessavit. Heres rectus remeavit
Scilicet^h Edwardus Leonelli proximus heres,
Hic petijt regimen,ⁱ rex obstat datque negamen.
Res agitur belli, vicit sanguis Leonelli,
Et palmam tulerat^j Henricus rex fugiebat
Bello finito, multo quoque sanguine fuso
Quem victor secum palmam ferretque triumphum,
Fendicat hoc iterum, plebs applaudebat eidem
Clamabatque fili^k Pius ut felicitior omni
Rege vel Augusto, melior regat Octaviano.
Hac vox cunctorum, clamor fuit ac populorum.
Rex igitur factus, rex in solioque levatus
Quod fractum fuerat iterum bene consolidabat,
Iurēque quo potuit, vim presert, ius renouavit.
Sic vetus id dictum fuerat bene verificatum,
De male quassis vix gaudet tertius heres.
Stare diu nequit mala quamquam vis stabilivit
Im, nescitque mori, valeat licet ense feriri.
Ex bene patris bene crescit honos quoque virtus.
O rota versatilis nimis oh, rotabilis axis!
Sorte novercante fatōq; modum variante,
Corruit^l Henricus isto sub nomine sextus,
Et casum tulerat, titulus sibi deficiebat
Defectusq; bonus, heus pro moderamine sensus
Proq; bono campi cor defuit Hercules illi,
Matris non patris fuit ortus filius exorti,
Martem non coluit nimis a^m patre degeneravit
Quo melior miles non Tencer erat vel Atrides,
Sive timor Phrygijs Aiax robustus in armis.
Hic fuit in verbis rex mitis, rex pietatis,
Attamen in factis nimis vir simplicitatis.
Hinc postquam triginta novem rex presert annis,
Ceca manu fortuna rotam quasi fortis in armis
Voluerat, & regimen capiebat regis, eundem
Compulsa ac subito sic dicere, Sum sine regno.
Oh fors prosperior, oh gratia sortēq; maior!
Qui diuturna nimis fuit expectatio plebis,
Sed mittendus erat, iam dante Deo veniebat
Hic Martin soboles, & nomine^o Martius heros.
Marte triumphante ius sceptri usq; corona,
Vt decuit sumpsi, ut debuit ac sibi iunxit,
Tunc bona spes fuerat fors prospera quod reueneret,
Letaque pro voto colere plebs secula sub ipso
Det Deus, ac faciat bona ne spes irrita fiat.*

Thus after this long digression from the matter of the duke of Summerfet, because I would set downe all the verses of Whethamsted, I must yet also ad other verses found in his register, mentioning some part of the doings of the northerne men before spoken of: which verses although they should have gone before, yet I thinke better here than not at all to write them in this sort. Shortly after the foresaid battell of Wakefield wherin the duke of Poike was slaine, and before the deposing of king Henrie the first, he had a battell at S. Albons, called the second battell of S. Albons with the northerne men (following the queene & this duke of Summerfets faction) & now were come as far as S. Albons, on Shrove-tuesday the seuenteenth daie of February in the

^a King Edward the third.
^b Leonell duke of Clarence third sonne to Edward the third.
^c John of Gaunt fourth sonne to Edward the 3.
^d Henrie the fourth.
^e Henrie the first.
^f Henrie the first.
^g Edward the fourth.
^h Henrie the first.
ⁱ Henrie the first.
^j Edward the fourth.
^k Edward the fourth.

King Henrie the first his disposition described.

^m Henrie the first.

ⁿ Henrie the first.

^o Edward erle of March, after king Edward the fourth.

in Plans
met tube
sefolo.

ntreie
ntage net
of Glo
r.

pag. 1069

n Beau-
duke of
umerfet.

gion Rem-
tutube of
summerfet.

his peate
d Chyld
1460

mas
uport
of Ex
r.

und
uport
of
umerfet.

Et battell of
Summerfet
the
duke of
March in the
year 1461, ac-
cording to the
accompt of the
duke of
March.
June 10000
men, who were
slain by the
duke of
March.

The 17 of
February
1461 after the
account of
such as begin
the yeare at
Januarye.
Southerne
men.

said yeare of Christ 1460, where the king was put to
flight, and fled to the queene. Touching which battell
also, thus writeth that learned abbat of saint Al-
bous John Whethamsted in his ancient register :

*M. simul x. feno centum quater 1. simul vno,
Quum lux septena fuerat mensi quog, dens,
Nominis illius venerantur quod morientes,
Inter * solares pugnantur & Boreales,
Magna cohors cecidit, duo millia plebs numeravit,
Sors apud Albani villam protomartiris almi,
Et pugna campum, casis dedit & tumulatum,
Quod dolet ac doluit annis multisq, dolebit,
Villicus ac monachus prope eos habitator & omnis,
Principio pugna potiores Marte fuere.
Australes, tandem vicit Boreasque triumphum
Abstulerat secum, stat sors mox versa retrorsum,
Martis ut euentum fore scires sic dubiosum.
Præueniunt cynophes, culices, brisique locustæ,
Præuastant segetes: alia muscæ quoque multa,
Sic aduenerunt similes illis Boreales,
Austri totius. Huius index sit Radamantus,
Et Minos Creta, coniunctus eis Eacusque,
Atque modum pœna pensent seu demerere,
Prix infernalis pro pœna sufficit ipsi,
Aut focus aut furia licent essent agmine mille,
Gens est Cerberæ, gens Sphingia, gens Briareæ,
Latratu, raptu, spolij prædaque voratu,
Laud hæc laus Boreæ, laus est hæc laus sine laude.*

Thus to returne to the duke of Summerfet, we
saie that afterward in the first yeare of king Ed-
ward the fourth, the said duke of Summerfet fled to
Pozke to king Henrie the first, and the queene, who al-
together fled from thence to Werwike, and so to E-
denburgh. Whereupon by parliament in the first
yeare of Edward the fourth 1461, this duke was
attainted, and his goods and lands seised for the king.
But after that time king Edward the fourth besie-
ging the castles of Wamburgh, Dunstunburgh,
and Alnewike, this duke of Summerfet and others
perished those forts to the king on Christmas euen, in
the third yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our
redemption 1463. For which cause this duke was
taken againe into the kings favour, who gaue him a
thousand marks by yeare, whereof he was neuer
paid. Notwithstanding all which, in the yeare follo-
wing, being the fourth yeare of Edward the fourth,
in Maye, in the yeare of Christ 1464, this duke with
others raised an armie against the king, in which bat-
tell he was taken (with Robert erle of Hungerford)
by John Beuill earle of Northumberland, and be-
headed. He died without lawfull issue, leaving be-
hind him a base sonne called Charles Summerfet,
by king Henrie the eight created earle of Worcester.
er.

Edmund
Beaufort
duke of Sum-
merfet.

Edmund Beaufort sonne of the foresaid Ed-
mund, and brother and heire to this last Henrie duke
of Summerfet, was also duke of Summerfet. This
man in the eleuenth yeare of Edward the fourth, be-
ing the yeare of Christ 1471, fleeing into the church
of Teukelburie at the battell of Teukelburie (which
queene Margaret the wife of Henrie the first and his
sonne prince Edward had against king Edward the
fourth) lost then the field. After which this duke was
taken out of the church, and was there beheaded in
the said eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth,
and died without issue.

Richard Pla-
tagenet duke
of York.

Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Ri-
chard earle of Cambridge, was created duke of
York by king Henrie the first: he was also earle of
Cambridge, Ulster and March, lord of Wiltmore
and Clare, lieutenant of the realme of France and
duchie of Normandie. Of this man see more in the
protectors of England.

George Plana-

George Plantagenet the second sonne to Richard

duke of York, was made duke of Clarence by his
elder brother king Edward the fourth when he came
to the crowne, in the yeare of Christ 1461, being the
first yeare of his reigne. Of this George I haue som-
what intreated in my discourse of the constables of
England, pag. 869, and in my discourse of the protec-
tors of England.

Richard Plantagenet, the third sonne of Richard
duke of York, and brother to George duke of Cla-
rence, was made duke of Gloucester by king Ed-
ward the fourth, in the first yeare of his reigne, being
the yeare in which God took on him the forme of a
seruant 1461, of whome I haue discoursed in my
constables of England, pag. 869, and in my collecti-
on of the protectors of England.

Henrie Beauchampe, the sonne of Richard Beau-
champe earle of Warwike by Isabell ladie Spen-
ser his second wife, succeeded his father in all his in-
heritances the twentieth of Maye, in the seventeenth
yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our
redemption 1439. For then the said Richard Beau-
champe died at Rone in Normandie. This Henrie
after that his inheritance had bene kept two years
in the kings hands, was dismissed of his wardship,
and restored to his livings with great glorie. For he
was crowned king of the Ile of Wight (as saith
John Stow) by the kings owne hand, and nominated
chiefe earle of England, in the twentieth yeare of the
said king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of
Christ 1442. Shortly after, in the two and twentieth
yeare of the said king Henrie the first, in the yeare of
our redemption 1444, he was created duke of
Warwike, unto whome the king gaue the castell of
Wigbirtstow or Birkstow, with all the appurtenances
which king John kept in his hands, to which duke al-
so the king gaue the Isles of Carnseie and Jerseie.
About two yeares after which, on the four and twen-
tith of the same king Henrie the first, being the yeare
of our redemption 1446, died this duke of War-
wike, whose title was duke of Warwike chiefe earle
of England, lord Spenser and Aburgauennie, king
of the Ile of Wight, Carnseie and Jerseie, and lord
of the castell of Birkstow. He died without issue, and
was buried at Teukelburie, whereby his inheri-
tance came to his four sisters, which were by Eliza-
beth one of the daughters and heires of Thomas
lord Barkeleie, Lile and Teles, first wife unto his
father. Margaret his eldest sister, married to John
Talbot first earle of Shrewsburie of that name: E-
lenor the second sister, first married to Thomas lord
Kosse, and after to Edmund duke of Summerfet, ac-
cording to the third sister, married to George Beuill
lord Latimer: whose other fourth sister (by Isabell
the second wife unto Richard earle Beauchampe,
daughter to Thomas lord Spenser, and mother also
to the above named Henrie duke of Warwike, who
died without issue) was Anne, married to Richard
Beuill earle of Salisburie.

Humphrey Stafford earle Stafford, created duke
of Buckingham in the two and twentieth yeare of
king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redem-
tion 1444, was slaine at the battell of Bosworth-
ton. Of this man see more in my discourse of the co-
nestables of England, pag. 868.

Henrie sonne to the said Humphrey duke of Buc-
kingham was beheaded in the first yeare of Richard
the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1483. Of
this man is more set downe in my discourse of the
constables of England, pag. 869.

Edward Stafford, sonne to the said Henrie, was
duke of Buckingham, being beheaded in the thir-
teenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight,
which was the yeare of our redemption 1521, of whome
also I haue intreated in the said discourse of the con-
stables

Richard Pla-
tagenet duke
of Clarence.

Henrie Bea-
champe duke
of Warwike.

William de I
Bole duke of
Sussex.

John de la
Bole duke
of Suffolk.

Richard
Plantagenet
duke of York.

George Pla-
tagenet duke
of Bedford.

John Ho-
ward duke
of Norfolk.

Henrie Staf-
ford duke of
Buckingham.

Edward
Stafford
duke of Buck-
ingham.

William de la Pole earle of Suffolke created
marques of Suffolke in the two & twentieth of king
Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption
1444, was shortly after also created duke of Suffolke,
& in the eight & twentieth of the said king Henrie
the first, falling in the yeare 1450, was banished
the realme for five yeares, to pacifie the hard opinion
which the commons had conceived against him. He
toke ship to performe his banishment the third of
Maie, and sailed towards France, but was on the
sea encountered by a ship of the tower named the
Nicholas, by which he was taken and beheaded, and
his bodie cast up at Dover sands, and buried in the
charterhouse at Hull. He married Alice the daughter
and heire of Thomas Chaucer, son to that famous
poet Geffrey Chaucer, by which wife the manner of
Cweline, commonlie called Bevelme in Driford
shire came to the Poles. This duke & his wife did
there build a new parish church of Cweline standing
on a hill, and founded a pretie hospitall called Gods
house, at the west end of Cweline parish church, to
which house he gave the manours of Hamrige in
Hamphshire, Conocke in Wiltschire, and Perth
in Buckinghamshire. He also founded an hospitall
at Donnington castell. This Alice wife of duke
William, surviving her husband, was after buried
in the parish church of Cweline, on the southside of
the high altar, in a rich tombe of alabaster, with an
image in the habit of a dutchesse crowned, lying on
the same tombe, and having this epitaph: *Orate pro ani-
ma serenissima principisse Alisie Suffolchie huius ecclesie
patrona, qua obiit 20 die mensis Maij, anno Domini 1475,
littera dominicali A.*

John de la Pole son to the said William de la
Pole duke of Suffolke, was also duke of Suffolke
after the death of his father. This man on the eight
teenth of Aprill in the fiftenth yeare of king Edward
the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1475,
was knighted by the king. He married Elisabeth
daughter to Richard duke of Yorke, and sister to Ed-
ward the fourth, by whom he had issue Edmund erle
of Suffolke; John that by Edward the fourth was
created earle of Lincoln; and Anne, who by pro-
curement of king Richard the third was married to
the duke of Glocestre, eldest son to the king of Scots.

Richard Plantagenet second sonne to king Ed-
ward the fourth, was by his father created duke of
Yorke, in the 15 yeare of his reigne, being the yeare
of our Lord 1474, at a parlement in the said fift-
teenth yeare of Edward the fourth. This duke on
the fiftenth of Januarie in the seauententh yeare of
king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our re-
demption 1477, was married to ladie Anne daugh-
ter and heire to John Mortimere duke of Suffolke,
and was in the first yeare of the reigne of the tyrant
king Richard the third his uncle most unnaturallie
murdered in the tower, in the yeare of Christ 1483.

George Plantagenet third sonne to king Ed-
ward the fourth was created duke of Bedford by his
father, in the yeare of our redemption 1470, and died
without issue being verie young.

John Howard lord Howard (the son of sir Ro-
bert Howard knight, and of Margaret his wife, one
of the daughters and heires of Thomas lord How-
ards duke of Suffolke, earle of Nottingham, and
marshall of England) was created duke of Suffolke,
folke, and marshall of England, in the first yeare of
the usurping king Richard the third, being the yeare
of our redemption 1483. This man following the
part of the said king Richard, was at the battell of
Bosworth in Lecestershire (fought in the third yeare
of the said king Richard, in the yeare of Christ 1485)
slaine with the said king Richard. He had two wives,

Katharine the daughter of William lord Howland,
by whom he had issue Thomas earle of Surreie, af-
ter made duke of Suffolke by king Henrie the
eight; Anne married to sir Edmund Gorge knight;
Isabell married to sir Roger Mortimer of Essex;
Jane married to sir John Timberleie; and Marg-
aret married to sir John Windham: his second wife
was Margaret the daughter of sir John Chedworth
knight, by whom he had Katharine married to sir
John Bourchier lord Warrs.

Thomas Howard earle of Surreie sonne of the
said John was created duke of Suffolke, in the first
yeare of king Henrie the eight, being about the
yeare of Christ 1514. Of him is more mention in
my discourse of the lord treasurers of England.

Thomas Howard created earle of Surreie in
the first yeare of king Henrie the eight, being high
admirall and lord treasurer of England, was duke
of Suffolke, after the death of his father, which fell
in the firstenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being
the yeare of our redemption 1524. Of this man is
also more intreated in my discourse of the lord trea-
surers.

Thomas Howard the third duke of the name of
Thomas, and the fourth of the name of Howard,
was son to Henrie Howard earle of Surreie sonne
to the last before recited Thomas Howard duke of
Suffolke: This man, being the last duke that lived
in England, & occasioned me to make this discourse
of the dukes, was beheaded on tower hill the sea-
uententh of September, in the thirtenth yeare of
the now reigning prince Elisabeth, being the yeare
of Christ 1571, and buried in the chappell of the to-
wer. He married three wives; his first wife was Ma-
rie one of the daughters and heires of Henrie Fitz-
allen earle of Arundell, by whom he had issue Philip
earle of Arundell; his second wife was Margaret
daughter & onlie heire to Thomas Audleie knight,
chancellor of England, and lord Audleie of Saffron
Walden, the widow of the lord Henrie Audleie
youngest son to John Sutton of Audleie duke of Nor-
thumberland, by which second wife this duke had is-
sue Thomas, William, Elisabeth, & Margaret; his
third wife was Elisabeth the daughter of sir James
Leiboine knight, and widow of the lord Daeres of
Gleland, by whom he had no issue.

Henrie the second son of king Henrie the seventh
was by his father created duke of Yorke at West-
minster, in the eleuenth yeare of his reigne, be-
ing the yeare of our redemption 1495, or thereabouts.
This man was after king of England by the name
of king Henrie the eight.

Jasper of Hatfield the sonne of Owen Tencher
esquier, by Katharine daughter to the French king,
and widow to king Henrie the first, was by king
Henrie the first his brother on the mothers side crea-
ted earle of Penbroke, in the yeare of Christ 1452;
after which in the five and thirtieth yeare of the said
king he was made earle of Cambridge: and lastlie,
in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the
seauenth he was created duke of Bedford on Sol-
mon and Iudas 2nd, in the yeare of our redemption
1485, but died without issue the eightenth daie of
December, in the twelfth yeare of the reigne of king
Henrie the seauenth, in the yeare of Christ 1496, and
was buried at Kenilham.

Charles Brandon the son of sir William Bran-
don knight, slaine on the part of king Henrie the se-
uenth at Bosworth field, was created viscount Lisle,
and after on Candlemasse daie in the yeare of Christ
1413, being the first yeare of king Henrie the eight
he was created duke of Suffolke. He married three
wives; the first was Anne daughter of sir Anthony
Botwone knight; the second Marie, second daughter
of

of king Henrie the seatienth, & to do to the king of France, by whom he had issue Henrie earle of Lincolne, and Francis married to Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke; his third wife was Katharine the daughter & onlie heire of William lord Willoughbie of Ersete, by whome he had issue Henrie and Charles both dukes of Suffolke one after another, who both died within one houre of the sweat at Cambridge. This Charles the father died in the yere of Christ 1545, and was buried at Windsor: & of the two dukes the sons thus writeth John Parkhurst sometime placed in the bishops see of Norwich:

Frater Amyclai Pollux cum Castore

Potueris sic cum morte depascier,

Vt cum alter illorum esset mortuus, tamen

Alter superesset, & reuerfus sortibus

Vicissim utriusque utriusque morte videret.

Cur Parca nunc crudelior est, quam olim fuit?

Frater duos nuper ea, quales habuimus

Nec vidit unquam, nec videbit Anglia

Lumina duo, duosque propugnacula

Fortissima virtutis, reique publica,

Crudelis ab uno peremissu funere.

Virtus nequaquam illam, nec egregia indoles

Mouit, nec Edwardi regis, nec optima

Matris, neque totius gemitus Britannia.

O dura duramors! o saeva numina!

Henrie Fitz
Roie duke of
Richmont.

Henrie Fitz Roie the base son to king Henrie the eight, begotten vpon Elisabeth Blunt the ladye Talboile, was by his father first created earle of Summerset and Northampton, and after duke of Richmont. This duke was verte forward in the knowledge of tonges, and also in knightlie actiuitie, as may appere by due consideration of the historie in place where he is mentioned. He loued John Leland the reuerend antiquarie, who presented vnto the said duke a booke of copies, whereby he might learne to write Romane letters great & small, as appereth by this herastichon, which I find among the said John Lelands writtten epigrams in this maner set downe:

Quo Romana modomaisculalittera pingi,

Pingi quo possit littera parua modo,

Et licet liber ecce tibi signis monstrabit apertis

Princeps, Aonyfies & alumne gregis:

Qui tibi si placeat (quod certe spero futurum)

Maxima pro paruo munere dona dabis.]

Ad illustriss-
mum Henricum
ducent Rich-
mondianum.

He died without issue the two and twentieth of Iulie, in the eight and twentieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yere of our redemption 1536, and was buried at Westford in Suffolke, hauing married Marie the daughter of Thomas Howard duke of Suffolke.

Edward
Seimor duke
of Sum-
merfet.

Edward Seimor knight (the son of sir John Seimor knight) was created vicount Beauchampe in Fraie, the eight and twentieth yere of king Henrie the eight, being the yere of our redemption 1536, & was after in the nine & twentieth yere of the same king on the eighteenth daie of October, in the yere of Christ 1537 created earle of Hertford. When king Henrie being dead, he in the first yere of king Edward the first, which was the yere of our redemption 1546, was made protecto of England, and immediately thereupon created duke of Summerfet, being vnckle by the mothers side vnto the said king Edward the first. This man had manie honours and offices, as may appere by his stile, which he preferred before a misliue persuasioe sent to the Scots for the marriage of their yong quene Marie to our yong king Edward the first in this sort: Edward by the grace of God duke of Summerfet, earle of Hertford, vicount Beauchampe lord Seimor, vnckle to the kings highnesse of England, gouernor of his most roiall person, and protector of all his realmes, dominions, and subiects, lieutenant generall of his maiesties ar-

mies both by sea and land, treasurer and earle marshal of England, gouernor of the isles of Corneleie and Ierleie, and knight of the most honorable order of the garter, &c. This stile he had, which I haue bene the more willing to set downe, because I do not remember that anie subiect did with like thew publicly anie such stile before his time. Which honours he did not long inioie: for were it for malice of some of the nobilitie, disdainning such honours; or for cause in him offending the laws, or for his ouer carelesse god disposition, that suspected no such euill from his enemies: he was the second time on the first of October in the first yere of king Edward the first, being the yere of Christ 1551 committed prisoner to the tower, and the two and twentieth daie of Ianuarie following he was beheaded at tower hill, and buried in the tower chappell. He had two wiues, wherof the first was Katharine the daughter of sir William Filstoll of Woodland knight, by whome he had a son called Edward: his second wife was Anne the daughter of sir Edward Stanhope, by whom he had issue Edward earle of Hertford, Henrie now liuing, and Edward, with Anne (married the third of June, in the fourth yere of the reigne of king Edward the first, in the yere one thousand five hundred and fiftie to John lord Dupleie, eldest sonne to John earle of Marwike and duke of Northumberland) zone, Marie, Katharine, and Elisabeth.

Henrie Greie marquesse Dorset, lord Feters of Grobie, Harrington, Boneuile and Asteie, was at Hampton court created duke of Suffolke, on the eleuenth of October, in the first yere of the reigne of king Edward the first, being the yere of our redemption one thousand five hundred fiftie and one: who in the first yere of quene Marie, being the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and thre, supposing that the quene would marrie a stranger, did flie into Leicester and Marwikes shires with a small companie, making proclamation against the quenes marriage with the prince of Spaine: but the people inclined not vnto him. Whereupon a companie being sent out after him, vnder the leading of the earle of Huntington, the first daie of Februarie proclamation was made at London, that the duke was discomfited and fled with his two brethren. After which the tenth of Februarie, the duke with his brother sir John Greie was brought from Couentrie (where he remained thre daies after his taking, in the house and custodie of Christopher Warren alderman of that towne) by the earle of Huntington, & attended with thre hundred men to the tower. Where remaining a certeine space, he was on the thre and twentieth of Februarie beheaded at tower hill; and buried in the chappell of the tower (as I haue heard). He married Francis one of the daughters to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, by whom he had issue Jane, married to Gilsford the sonne of John duke of Northumberland, and died without issue; Katharine and Marie.

John Sutton of Dupleie created by king Henrie the eight vicount Lisle, being admerall, lord great chamberleine, lord great maister and earle of Marwike, was after on the eleuenth daie of October, the first yere of king Edward the first, being the yere of our redemption one thousand five hundred fiftie and one, created duke of Northumberland. He, after the death of king Edward, toke armes, and proclaimed quene Jane, daughter to Henrie duke of Suffolke; meaning to exclude quene Marie. But shortly after perceiuing quene Marie to be proclaimed at London, this duke did also proclame hit at Cambridge. Notwithstanding all which he was arrested in the kings college there by one maister Shleg sergeant at armes, and after anio arrested by the earle

French ambassador
Charles the
ninth came into
England.

Henrie Greie
duke of Suff-
folke.

League betwixt
France continued
at Westminster

A Georges
killed at
Windsor.

Sir William
Cecil
lord treasurer,
lord privy
seale, lord
chamberleine
with other
advisers.

John Sutton
son of Dupleie
duke of North-
umberland.

Collected by
Francis Thir
in this yere
of Christ
1551.

carle of Arundell. Henrie Fitzallen (sent thither for that cause) who brought him to London, where this duke was the five and twentieth of Julie, in the said first yeare of queene Marie committed to the tower. Shortly after which, he was the eighteenth of August following arraigned at Westminister, there condemned, and beheaded on tower hill the two and twentieth of the same moneth: whose bodie with the head was buried in the tower, he being the last duke that was created in England. He married Jane the daughter of sir Edward Gilsford knight, the sister and heire to sir Henrie Gilsford knight, of whose children I will not speake, because they are yet fresh in memorie. And thus farre Francis Thin, touching the creation and the succession in lineall descents of all the dukes of England since the conquest.

About the ninth of June, Francis duke of Montmorencie, chiefe marshall of France, gouvernour and lieutenant of the Ile of France, generall to Charles the ninth king of France, and Paule de Foix of the private counsell of the said king, and Bertrand de Saligners, lord de la Mothe-fencelon, knights of the order of S. Michaele, ambassadors for the same king, arrived at Dover. The fourteenth daie they shot London bridge toward Summerfet house at the Strand, where they were lodged. The fifteenth daie being Sunday, the said ambassadors repaired to the White hall, where they were honourable received of the queenes maiestie, with hir nobilitie: and there in hir graces chappell, about one of the clocke in the after none, the articles of treatie, league or confederacie and sure friendship (concluded at Blois the nineteenth of Aprill as is aforesaid) betwixt the queenes maiestie, and the French king being read, the same was by hir maiestie and his ambassadors confirmed to be obserued and kept, without innovation or violation, &c. The rest of that daie, with great part of the night following, was spent in great triumph, with sumptuous bankets.

The eighteenth of June, the feast of saint George was holden at Windsor, where the French ambassadors were roiallie feasted, & Francis duke of Montmorencie was created knight of the most honourable order of the garter. The eight and twentieth daie of June, the forenamed ambassadors departed from London toward France. The fourteenth of June, Thomas lord Wharton deceased in his house of Chanon rolo at Westminister. The thirtieth daie of Julie, the queenes maiestie at Whitehall made sir William Cecil lord of Burghleie, lord high treasurer of England: lord William Howard, late lord chamberleine, lord priute seale: the earle of Suffor, lord chamberleine: sir Thomas Smith principall secretarie: and Christopher Hatton, esquier capteine of the gard.

A treatise of the treasurers of England

set downe out of ancient histories and records, as they succeeded in order of time and in the reignes of the kings.

His adorning of sir William Cecil knight, lord Burghleie with the honour of lord treasurer of England, hath rowled my enured pen thorough the malicious barking of some (who suppose nothing well but that they do themselves, whereby gaine maie rise unto their posteritie) in this liberall sort to set downe the names and times of such treasurers as have lived in England, as hereafter I will do the chancelloz, and that with as good authoritie as these secret backbiters can challenge anie cunning to themselves, who suppose euerie blast of their mouth to come forth of Trophonius den, and that they spake from the tri-

uet. As I will not arrogate anie thing to my selfe, for in truth I saie with Socrates, *Hoc tantum scio quod nihil scio*, or derogate from them that which their woz, thinesse maie merit: so shall I be glad (with nothing is at the first so perfect, but that somewhat maie be either augmented or amended to and in it) that this maie whet those envious persons to deliuer anie thing to the world, that maie in controlling my labours benefit their countrie, which if they will not do, let them cease their euill speeches: for *Qui pergit dicere qua libet, quae non vult audire*. And truelie for mine owne part, I will *Canere palinodiam*, and yield them an honourable victorie, if anie better shall be produced: and be heartilie glad, that truth (which is all that I seeke) maie be brought to perfection. Now how well I haue done it, my selfe must not be iudge, desiring pardon of such as either with wise modestie can or ought to iudge, or with rare antiquities can or will correct what I haue done: if thorough ignorance we haue committed anie escapes or imperfections: further promising, that if hereafter we eapic any of our owne error: or if anie other either friend for good will, or aduersarie for desire of reprehension shall open the same vnto me: I will not for defence of mine estimation, or of pride, or of contention by wranglings or quarrelling upon authorities, histories and records, willfullie persist in those faults: but be glad to heare of them, and in the whole and large discourse of the liues of the lord treasurers (almost perfected) corrected them. For (as I said) it is truth of antiquities that I seeke for, which being had (either by good intention of my welwillling friends, or by occasion and reprehension of my envious emulators) I greatly esteeme not. And so to the matter.

Saint Dunstane (for I vse that name more for Saint Dunstane. antiquities than deuoutnesse cause) was treasurer to Cadred or Eldred king of England, who began his reigne in the yeare that the word became flesh, nine hundred fortye and six: of whome thus writeth Matthew Parker in his booke of the archbishops of Canturburie, in the life of *Ado Sennerus* the two and twentieth bishop of that see: *Edmundo* (the king of England) *defuncto*, *Eadredus* corona regia ab *Odone* redimitus, & *rem publicam administrans*, *Dunstani* (in eius vita plenius patebit) *tam singulari amore prosequutus est, ut omnes regni thesauros illius custodire commendaret*.

Hugoline was treasurer and chamberleine to Edward the confessor, he gaue Deane and South: high to Westminister, which Edward the confessor did afterwards confirme to that house.

Ado halfe brother to William the Conqueror erle of Kent bishop of Baieur and chiefe iustice of England, was treasurer in the time of the conqueror, who had at his death (as saith Anonymus M.S.) sixtie thousand pounds, *Excepto auro, & gemmis, & vasis, & palijis*. Gessreie lord Clinton treasurer and chamberleine to Henrie the first, he about the thirtieth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand, one hundred and twelue, did found the priorie of Kenelworth, and was after accused of treason in the one and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie the first: but (as it seemed) restored (in short time after) to the kings fauour.

Kanulph bishop of Durham, was treasurer to the king, whome Florentius Wigornienis calleth *Pracipuum regis placitorem & regni exactorem*, whose last word *Exactor* some men do English treasurers. Of this man is more said in the chancelloz of England.

Roger bishop of Sarisburie treasurer & chancelloz of England, as appeareth by Leland, writing in this sort: Roger bishop of Sarum treasurer & chancelloz to Henrie the first, made the castell of Wiles such a coslie and so strong a fort, as was neuer before nor since

Saint Dunstane.

Hugoline.

Ado bishop of Baieur.

Gessreie lord Clinton.

Kanulph bishop of Durham.

Roger bishop of Sarisburie.

French ambassador
came to
England.

arise Grece
of Spaine.

League with
France con-
cluded at
Westminister.

S. Georges
feast at
Windsor.

Sir William
Cecil
treasurer
lord priute
seale, lord
chamberleine,
and other
secretaries.

in Henrie
the first
duke of
Burgundie.

Called by
Francis Thin
in this yeare
of Henrie
the first.

since set up by anie bishop of England. The keepe or
dungeon of it set upon a hill cast by hand, is a peere
of worke of incredible cost. There appeare in the gate
of it six or seauen places for portulices, and much
goodlie building was in it. It is now in ruine, and
part of the front of the towers of the gate of the
keepe, and the chappell in it, were carried full vnprofi-
table to the building of master Beintons house at
Bromham, scant thre miles off. There remaine
diuerse goodlie towers, yet in the vtter wall of the
castell: but all going to ruine. The principall gate
that leadeth into the towne is yet of great strength,
and hath places of seauen or eight portulices. Thus
much Leland in his commentaries of England,
which I haue here set downe, partlie to proue Roger
bishop of Salisburie to be tresuroꝝ, and partlie to
commit to the world all such collections and notes as
I can get of his. Besides which, to proue the same
Roger tresuroꝝ at the latter end of the reigne of
Henrie the first, togither with William de Pont-
learch at the entering of king Stephan into Eng-
land, thus writeth one Anonymall chronicle M.S.
*Stephanus cum intravit Angliam, Rogerus Saresburiensem &
Willielmum de Pontlearchum custodes thesaurorum ad se tradu-
xit: quibus William de Pontlearch was a witnesse
with William Stigill to a certeine charter which
Ranulph bishop of Durham made to the monkes of
Durham, commonlie called S. Cuthberts monkes,
wherin he confirmed to them Blakestone, Standzop
and Sandzopthire, with the wood of Henwoꝝth on the
east part of Harneburne, as farre as it goeth to the
sea. This Roger bishop of Salisburie died in the
yeare of our redemption one thousand, one hundred,
thirtie and nine, being about the fourth yeare of king
Stephan, of whome mention is made in the chan-
cellors of England.*

William de
Pontlearch.

Rigellus bis-
hop of Elie.

Rigellus the second, bishop of Elie, nephew to
Roger bishop of Sarum, and tresuroꝝ to Henrie
the first, was aduanced vnto that bishopricke of Elie,
in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand,
one hundred, thirtie and thre, the fift calends of
June, being the thre and thirtieth yeare of the reigne
of Henrie the first, at whose going downe to be in-
stalled in the said bishopricke, he was receiued, with
such soie, that all the whole street of Elie thorough
which he should passe, was hanged with curtains and
carpets, with seats set on ech side; and the monkes, ca-
nons, and clerks, meeting him with procession with
diuers other priests standing round about them. Af-
ter his installation he returned to the dispatch of the
affaires of the kingdome, committing the charge of
his bishopricke to one Rafe sometime a monke of
Glaffenburie, and now become an apostata. Great
contention was betwene this man and king Ste-
phan. He bought the tresuroꝝship for the summe of
foure hundred marks of Henrie the second for his
sonne Richard *Filius Rigelli*, or Fitz Bele, otherwise
called Richard of Elie. He gouerned the bishopricke
six and thirtie yeares, as most saie, and builded saint
Johns college in Cambridge.

But touching the time of his death, and the yeares
of his bishopricke, I cannot as yet set downe anie
thing perfeatlie; but onelie this contradiction found
in the written booke of Elie, which I suppose to haue
risen by the negligence of the transcriber: which is,
that he gouerned the six of Elie six and thirtie yeares,
and died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one
hundred firtie and six, the thirde calends of June, the
first houre of the first ferie or fridaie. Which by no ac-
count can fall to be true, accounting from the time
of the first obtaining of the bishopricke in the thre and
thirtieth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our
Lord one thousand one hundred thirtie and thre. For
if you adde the six and thirtie yeares of his gouerne-

ment to the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hun-
dred thirtie and thre, then must he die in the yeare of
grace one thousand one hundred firtie and nine. And
if you will haue him to die in the yeare one thousand
one hundred firtie and six, then can he gouerne but
thre and thirtie yeares: which thre and thirtie added
to the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred thir-
tie and thre, in which he began his gouernement, as
all authoꝝs agree, make the value of one thousand
one hundred firtie and six yeares of our Lord. So that
considering the discordancie of the time of his death
found in the written booke of his life, we cannot (I
saie) as yet set downe anie certainte of his death.
Though I suppose that to be the truest which I find in
Triuet, who affirmeth that he died in the yeare of
Christ one thousand one hundred firtie and nine, and
the fiftieth of king Henrie the second, after that he
had gouerned six and thirtie yeares. He was hono-
rable buried in the church of saint Ethelred of Elie
before the altar dedicated to the holie crosse.

Richard de Elie or Fitzneale, sonne of the said Richard
Rigellus bishop of Elie, was made tresuroꝝ to R. Elie,
Henrie the second, by the purchase of his father R. Ri-
gellus, when the king went to the wars of Tolous.
Of whom the historie of Elie writeth, that after the
buriall of Rigellus his father, this Richard being al-
so an enemie to the church of Elie, as his father had
bene before, made hast to passe ouer the seas to king
Henrie the second, fearing that some euill would be
prepared against him, if the church should haue sent
anie other thither before him. At whose coming to
the king, he accused the monkes of manie things, and
did therewith so edge the king against them, that
the king sending into England, charged by Willel-
merus one of his chaplens, that the prior of Elie
should be depofed, & the monkes with all their goods
to be pꝛofcribed and banished. This man being trea-
suroꝝ to king Henrie the second, the treasure of the
said Henrie the second at his death came vnto one
hundred thousand marks; notwithstanding the ex-
cellente charges of the king manie waies. Which Ri-
chard being bishop of London, by the name of Ri-
chard the third, and the kings tresuroꝝ, was chosen
to that see in the yeare of our redemption one thou-
sand one hundred eightie and nine, being the first
yeare of king Richard the first, and was consecrated
bishop at Lambeth, by Baldwine archbishop of
Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 1190: he died
the fourth ides of September, in the yeare of grace
1198, being the ninth yeare of king Richard the first.

William of Elie being of kin to the last Richard
bishop of London, was tresuroꝝ to king Richard
the first, and to king John. To which William then
tresuroꝝ, Richard his kinsman the bishop of Lon-
don An. Dom. 1196 being the seventh yeare of the
reigne of Richard the first, and the same number of
yeares of the gouernment of the said Richard in the
bishopricke of London, did giue all his houses in
Westminster, which the said William did long after
giue to the abbat and monkes of Westminster, as by
the charter therof appears by me in this last abridgement.

*Præsentis Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsentis scriptum perue-
nerit, Gulielmus de Elie quondam regum Angliæ thesaurarius
salutem. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra me dedisse, &c: Deo
& monachis Westminster, &c: pro animabus Richardi &
Iohannis regum Angliæ, & pro anima Richardi London
episcopi, &c: domos meas, & curiam cum pertinentiis in
villa Westminster, &c: quas habui ex dono Richardi episcopi
London, & quæ sunt de feodo Westminster, &c: testis Eustachius
Fauconbridge domini regis thesaurarius, &c: He died
in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred
twentie two, being the first yeare of the long reigne
of king Henrie the third, as noteth Matthew Pa-
ris and Westminster, who write that then obiit Guliel-*

Beane of
Pauls trea-
suroꝝ.

Walter Gisle
bishop of wor-
cestre.

Giffrie arch-
deacon of
Boswich.

Richard
Elie.

William of
Elie.

John Ruthall

Eustace de
Fauconbridge
bishop of Lon-
don.

John de Font
was of Roms.

mus Eliensis Anglie thesaurarius.

A deane of Paules was treasurer to the king, as appeareth by Mat. Parker, in the life of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, writing after this maner: *Eodem tempore* (which was a time betwene the creating of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie in the yeare of Christ 1194, being the first yeare of Richard the first, and the death of the said Richard the first, which fell in the yeare of Christ 1199) *ecclesia Pauline decanus ararj regj custos fuit, siue (ut vocant) thesaurarius*: and so goeth on with a discourse of his miserable death.

Walter Gese bishop of Worcester, whom some call treasurer, in the eleventh of king John, whereunto I do not yet agree, leaving it to the judgement of others, and to the finall receiving or refecting of him, in the large booke of the whole lynes of the lord treasurers of England.

Geffrey archdeacon of Norwich, treasurer to king John, who forsooke his maister the king excommunicat by the pope: as writeth Matthew Parker in the life of Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie, in these following words: *Inter quos* (meaning the bishops, which durst not openlie publish the excommunication of the king, but secretlie cast libels about the high wates, which gaue notice therof) *quem ad fscum regium Gaufridus Noruicensis archidiaconus negotj regj intendens sedisset, cepit assidentibus exponere excommunicationis sententiam, in regem iam latam, affirmavitque non esse tutum capellani & ecclesiasticis dignitatibus beneficiisque affectis seruire regi amplius. Ideoque aulam deserens, ad ecclesiastica beneficia (qua regis seruitio acquisierat) secessit. Rex hunc tam proditorie a se deficientem per Willielm. Talbot militem prebendi & ad se reduci fecit, eumque in publicis todia seruatum (donec sue pena sue conscientia tadio pertalus vita fuit, & exspirauit) detinuit: whose maner of death is in this fozt set downe by Mat. Paris pag. 305, that he was committed to prison, *ubi post dies paucos, rege prefato* (which was king John) *inbente, capta indutus plumbea, tam victualium penuria quam ipsius capere ponderositate copressus migravit ad dominum.* Much about which time (as I suppose) which was the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and nine, being about the eleventh yeare of R. John, the checker was by the king removed from London to Portsmouth (in hatred of the Londoners) untill Christmas.*

John Ruthall *Custos officij thesaurarij*, as is proued out of the records of the exchequer, had that office in the third yeare of Henrie the third, in the yeare 1219.

Eustachius de Fauconbridge, a iustice to receiue fines, chancellor of the exchequer & treasurer to Henrie the third, was by the bishop of Rochester consecrated bishop of London, in the pere of our redemption one thousand two hundred twentie & one, being the first yeare of king Henrie the third. Which Eustachius in the yeare 1222, with the deane & chapter of London, had great sutes against William abbat of Westminster: he was treasurer in the third yeare of king Henrie the third, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and ninetene: he died the daie before the kalends of Nouember in the yeare of Christ 1228, being the thirtenth of king Henrie the third, and is buried on the south side of the quere of Paules (besides Henrie Wengham) vnder a faire monument of marble, ouer whom on the wall is this inscription: *Hic iacet Eustachius de Fauconbridge quondam episcopus huius ecclesie, qui multa bona contulit ministris ecclesie sancti Pauli.*

Ioannes de Fontibus, or John de Fontnes was bishop of Ely and treasurer in the ninth and eleventh yeare of king Henrie the third, and before, as I take it. This man being abbat of Fontnes, and (as authozs saie) *vir simplex & iustus, ac recedens a malo*, was at Westminster made bishop of Ely, in the yeare of Christ 1220: he died after that he had bin bishop sine

peres & od moneths, in the yeare of Christ 1225, being the ninth yeare of Henrie the third, & was buried in the church of Ely, toward the altar of S. Andrew.

Walter Spalcerke or Skillese clerke, treasurer of England, was made bishop of Carlisle, in the pere of our Lord 1223, being about the seuenth yeare of Henrie the third, who in the yeare of Christ 1223, being the seuententh of the said king, was by the counsell of Peter de Laroche bishop of Winchester not onlie removed from his office of treasurer ship, but also put to the fine of 100 marks, which he paid, with the losse of certeine holdes, giuen him by charter, during his life. After which he would haue fled beyond the seas, but entering the ship at Dover, he & all his were staied and euillie intreated by the kings seruants. This man, in the yeare of Christ 1246, being the thirtith yeare of Henrie the third, did on the daie of Peter and Paule at Drenford enter into the habit of the frier preachers. After which, in the yeare of Christ 1248, being about the two & thirtith of Henrie the third, he surrendered his soule to God.

Ranulph Winton by some is made treasurer of England, but vntrelike as I suppose: for in truth he was but treasurer of the chamber, for anie thing I can learne, and removed from that place in the firstenth yeare of king Henrie the third, in the yeare of Grace 1232, in whose place came Peter de Riual. Of this Ranulph is mention had in the chancelloz. Besides which, about this time I read, that Hubert of Worwote was treasurer: for thus writeth Iohannes Londoniensis. *Rex* (about the yeare of our Lord 1232) *fecit ipsam* (which was Hubert of Worwote) *sum iusticiarium principalem totius Anglie, & postea thesaurarium.*

Peter de Riual, in Latine called *Petrus de Riualis*, Peter de Riual was treasurer of the chamber, and treasurer of the king, chamberleine of England and Ireland, gardian of all the forrests of England, of all the escheats, of all the ports of the sea, and of all the pilles of England and Ireland; being so deere to the king (as hath Matthew Westminster) that *Expulsis castrorum custodibus per totam fere Angliam, rex omnia sub ipsius Petri custodia commendarat.* This man was made treasurer after Walter Spalcerke, in the pere of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and thre, being about the seuententh yeare of king Henrie the third, and in the eightenth yeare of king Henrie the third, who (as I gather) was together with Peter bishop of Winchester, Stephan de Segraue, & Robert Passlew, called to accounts, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie & foure, for the kings treasure and scale cuillie imployed & kept. Whereupon Peter de Riualis hid himselfe in the cathedrall church of Winchester. Which Peter bishop of Winchester & Peter de Riualis the king removed by the perswasion of Edmund of Abindon bishop of Canturburie, as they before had removed Walter Spalcerke. After which it seemeth that growing into fauor againe, this *Petrus de Riualis* was in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie & seuen, being the one & fortith yeare of king Henrie the third, made treasurer of the chamber. For thus writeth Matthew Paris: *Circa festum sancti Michaelis* (which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and seuen) *mortuo Hurtaldo domini regis conciliario & clerico speciali ac thesaurario de cameraregi, subrogatur Petrus de Riualis.* Under this Peter de Riualis did Robert Passlew keepe the kings treasure. Touching which Robert Passlew, whom some will haue onlie treasurer of the chamber, some to be treasurer of England, & some to be vnder treasurer vnder Peter de Riualis, I will set downe out of severall authozs what I haue read therof, leaving to the reader to thinke thereof what he list at this time, sith I determine

Walter Spalcerke bishop of Carlisle.

Ranulph Winton.

Peter de Riual.

Robert Passlew whether treasurer of England or no.

termine fullie hereafter (not hauing now leisure therefore) to define the same in my large volume of the lines of the lord treasurers. Thus therefore touching him witnesseth Matthew Parker. *Quo etiam tempore* (which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred forty and four, being about the eighteenth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third) *Robertus de Passelew*, qui in thesauris regis custodiendis et augendis totus versatus est, eoque nomine regi charus, ab ecclesia cathedralis Cicerstrensis canonicis, qui regi placere studuerant, Cicerstrensis episcopus electus est. Quod Bonifacius Cantuariensis archiepiscopus indignè tulit, et episcopus provincie sue conuocatus, in difficultatibus quibusdam et nodosis questionibus per Lincolniensem episcopum compositis serio examinatus, deinde electione rescissa hunc Robertum repulit, et Richardum quendam de Wiltz loco suo (inconsulto rege) substituit. Pert witnesseth Matthew Westminster, that in the yeare of Christ 1233, being the seventeenth of Henrie the third, the nobilitie accused manie of the kings counsellors, amongst whom they placed Robertum Passelew thesaurarium. Againe a little after he saith: Et sic abscondit se iterum Robertus Passelew, qui post Walterum Carleolensem officium thesaurarii administrauerat. Of whose death Matthew Paris witnesseth thus: Eodem quoque anno (which was 1252, being the five and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the third) octavo idus Iunij, obiit apud Waltham Robertus Passelew archidiaconus Lewis, &c: whom I will here leaue, although not in that place in which he should come, if I had once resolved with my selfe that he had bene treasurer of England. But because I had to speake of him with Peter de Kiuallis, I thought here in one place to set downe what I had read of them both; and so to ioine them after their death, which were so fast ioined in offices during their liues.

Hugh Pateshull.

Hugh Pateshull, treasurer of the exchequer, which was treasurer of the grenewar, or of the seale, was also treasurer to the king in the eighteenth and nineteenth yeare of his reigne, and after made iustice of all England: as Matthew Paris hath set downe in these words, *Rex ante factus consilio saniori* (in the yeare of Christ 1234, being the 18 yeare of Henrie the third) *Hugonem de Pateshull clericum filium videlicet Simonis de Pateshull*, qui quandoque habenas moderabatur totius regni iusticiarij, virum fidelem et honestum, loco predictorum (which were Stephan Segraue chiefe iustice of England and Peter de Kiuallis treasurer) subrogauit. Administruerat enim idem Hugo officium scaccarii antea laudabiliter, secundum quod appellatur secretum sigillum custodiendo, et definitam pecuniam a vicecomitibus recipiendo: quare plenior fides est ei adhibita, paterna fidelitate testimonio fidei perhibente. He was confirmed bishop of Couentrie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and forty, being the 24 yeare of Henrie the third, who (hauing bin the kings treasurer before) did now with great soleimnitie take his leaue of the barons of the exchequer with teares, and they all rose vp and kissed him. Of whose election (in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred thirtieth and nine) to that bishoplike, thus further witnesseth the said Matth. touching the monks of Couentrie. *Eligerunt secundum predictam formam dominum Hugonem de Pateshull*, &c: canonicum sancti Pauli London: et domini regis cancellarium, in episcopum et custodem animarum suarum. Concerning whom I collected this note out of the register of Westminster, that Philip Coleuille knight, the sonne of William Coleuille, the sonne of Agnes Foliot, gaue to Richard abbat of Westminster all his part of the inheritance which was Robert Foliot, brother to the said Agnes, in Langden. Dorton, and Chalnet; witnesses Rafe bishop of Chichester chancellor, and Hugh Pateshull treasurer in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third, which Pateshull Matthew Westminster, in the yeare of Grace 1234, calleth summum thesaurarium.

Galfridus Templarius, whom some will haue treasurer, but by what reason I cannot conceine as yet, and therefore will not obstinatie reiect him, nor haillie receiue him into this place of the treasurer: of this man is moze spoken amongst the chancellors.

William Hauerhull, a canon of Paules church in London, was made treasurer to king Henrie the third, the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred and forty, being the four and twentieth yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie, in which place he continued in the eight and twentieth yeare of the said Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1244. He died at London in the yeare one thousand two hundred fiftie two, being the six and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, as saith the addition to Matthew Paris fol. 128, after which the said author fol. 126, laied his death, in the yeare of Christ 1256, being the 39 yeare of king Henrie the third, such error is crept into his stories by the negligence of the transcriber: but I suppose the first note of his death to be the truer, because the same is confirmed by Matth. West. speaking in the said yeare 1252 of the death of this man, for whose epitaph these following verses were made:

*Hic iacet Hauerhulle iaces protobesaurarie regis,
Hinc Hauerhulle gemis non paritura talem:
Fercula culta dabas, empyrea vinapluebas,
Amodo sit Christus cibus et esca tibi.*

* Paris:

* Paris,

I haue also read a note of one William Hauerhull (which might be this man) which saith that William Hauerhull the sonne of Walthmarus de Hauerhull, gaue houses in Cheapside to the abbeie of Westminster, and that one Thomas de Hauerhull was the sonne and heire of William Hauerhull.

Richard de Barking abbat of Westminster, as witnesseth the liues of the abbats, was one especiall counsellor to Henrie the third, chiefe baron of the exchequer, and treasurer of England, who I suppose did follow William Hauerhull. For his death, which happened on the thre and twentieth daie of Nouember, in the thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the third, in the yeare of Christ 1246, after that he had bene abbat four and twentie yeeres, must needs proue him to be treasurer before Philip Louell: yea and peraduenture (as is most likelie) before Hugh Pateshull. Yet Matthew Paris, speaking of the death of Hauerhull, will needs haue Philip Louell to succeed William Hauerhull, as after shall appere. This Richard de Barking was buried in Westminster church, before the middle of the altar in our ladie chapel in a tome of marble, which after in the time of William Colchester abbat of that place, was pulled downe by frier Combe, a sacrificer of that house of Westminster, who laied a faire plaine marble stone ouer him, with this present epitaph thus inscribed:

*Richardus Barking prior et post indyem abbas,
Henrici regis prudens fuit iste minister:
Huius erat prima laus, insula rebus opima,
Altera laus eque Thorp, census, Ocham, decimaque,
Tertia Mortone castrum simili ratione,
Et regis quarta de multis commoda charta,
Clementis festo mundo migravit ab isto,
M. Domini C. lxxi. sextoque sub anno,
Cui detur venia parte pia virgo Maria.*

Philip Louell or Louell, was in this order aduanced to the office of treasurer, as appereth by these words of Matthew Paris vpon the death of William Hauerhull. *Et cum crederetur quod dominus rex Iohannem Franciscum officio Wilhelmi* (which was Hauerhull) *subrogaret, fabricatis rumoribus quod idem Iohannes in partibus remotis Anglia borealibus* (viz contra quosdam religiofos plantauerat) *obisset, constituit dominus rex Philippum Louell clericum, virum prudentem, facundum et generosum, in loco memorati Wilhelmi summum thesaurarium,*

Philip Louell.

John Chisill

Philip de

aurarii, quod factum est apud sanctu Albanu, procurante ut dicitur Iohanne Mansell amico Philippi speciali. This man was tresuroz in the 35 and 40 untill the 42 yeare of Henrie the third, & was in the same yeare depozed by the barons, he died at Hameleste, in the yeare of Christ 1259, whose executors were Philip Louell & Robert de Percenton. But his goods after his death the king commanded to be confiscat. And here before I go any further, I thinke it not amisse to note that some haue mistaken themselves in the account of the kings tresuroz much about this time, making these persons Walter Bzundell & Peter Catchpoyke or Chacepoyke to be the kings tresuroz, which by no account of yeares can be true, for they were the quenes and not the kings tresuroz, as may appere both by Mat. Paris and Mat. Westmin. whereof the first writeth thus: *Obijt & Walterus de Brundell eiusdem regina thesaurarius, which he placeth in the yere of Christ 1255, being the thirtieth ninth yeare of king Henrie the third.* Of the second person Chacepoyke thus writeth Mat. West. in the yeare of Christ 1254: *Veniens autem rex ad mare nec ventum habes prosperum, apud Boloniam moratus est inuitus, ubi obijt Petrus Chacepore natione Picauensis, regina thesaurarius & regis clericus & conciliaris specialis.* And thus this much by the waie of the two tresuroz of the quens, supposed by some (but not rightlie) to haue bene the kings.

John Crakehall archdeacon of Bedford was tresuroz in 42, 43, 44 yeare of Henrie the third, to whom the king in the forty fourth of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1260, gaue a prebendarie, wherein being inuested, he was from thence remoued by a former collation therof made to one John le Gras. The said Crakehall after died the same yere at London.

John abbat of Peterborough was by the barons in the 44 yeare of Henrie the third made tresuroz, as the other officers of the king also were, Nicholas of Cle was then made chancelloz, & Hugh de Spenser chafe iustice, which office of tresurozship this John continued, in the 46 yeare of Henrie the first, 1262.

Nicholas de Cle so called because he was archdeacon of Cle, was tresuroz to the king in the seven and fourth of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1263, whereof I haue seene this note of record. *Memorandum quod in crastino Pasche, Anno 47 H.3. In presentia Rogeri le Bigot comite Norfolke & magistralli Anglie, Hugo le Bigot, Arnolde de Berkeley baron, de sacario magistri, Iohannis de Chisall cancellarij regis, &c. Recepit magister Nicholam archidiaconus Eliensis thesaurarius subscripta in thesauraria domus regis, &c.* This man as before appereth had bin chancelloz, of whom is mention made in my following tretise of the chancelloz.

Thomas Wilmundham. This man being chiefe chanter of Lichfield, was by the barons in the yeare of Christ 1258, in the one and fourth yeare of king Henrie the third, made tresuroz (at the exchequer) of the seale or place where the writs be sealed with greene wax, after which he was tresuroz to the king in the 50, 51, & 52 yeares of king Henrie the third.

John Chisall sometime chancelloz was tresuroz in the foure & fifti yeare of Henrie the third, being about the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred thre score and nine. He was deane of Paules, chosen bishop of London in the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred seuentie and thre, and consecrat to that place in the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, in which place he continued about five yeares, and died in the yeare of our redemption 1279, being in the seuenth yeare of the reigne of the victorious prince king Edward the first of that name. See more of this Chisall in my following discourse of the chancelloz.

Philip de Cle was tresuroz (as appereth by the records of the exchequer) in the 56 yeare of king Hen-

rie the third, and in the first yeare of king Edward the first, partlie falling in the yeare of our redemption 1272, and 1273.

Joseph de Chancie, whom one anonymall author calleth John de Chancie, but not rightlie as I suppose, was tresuroz in the second yere of the scourger of the Scots king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1274.

William Gifford bishop of Bath and Wells was tresuroz to Edward the first, he was remoued to Poike in the yeare of Christ 1265, this man is by manie chronicles, and that perhaps most trulie called Walter Gifford. He died in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1279 as hath Nicholas Trivet. Of this man see more in the chancelloz of England.

Robert Burnell bishop of Bath and Wells chancelloz of England, and tresuroz to king Edward the first, is by the Welsh historie pag. 328, called chiefe iustice of England. Leland reporteth that an abbat told him how that a bishop Burnell built the castell of Aton Burnell. Of this man shall be more spoken hereafter in the chancelloz of England.

Joseph de Chancie the second time tresuroz to king Edward the first, in the first yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1278, was also prioz of S. Johns Jerusalem in Anglia, as I take it; and by an other name called the lord of S. Johns of the knights of the Rhodes in England.

Thomas Becke archdeacon of Dorchester, was tresuroz in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1278 as some haue, but 1279 as other haue (by the witnesse of Leland, out of a monke of Glaffenburie) in his booke De assertione Arthuri, reciting the words of the said monke in this sort.

Anno Domini 1267: Eaduardus rex Henrici tertij filius, venit cum regina sua Glasconiam. Die vero Martis proxima sequenti, fuit rex & tota curia accepta sumptibus monasterij. Quo die in crepusculo, fecit apperi sepulchrum incliti Arthuri, ubi in duabus cistis imaginibus & armis eoru depictis, ossa dicti regis mira & consuetudinis separata inuenit. Imago quidem regine coronata, imaginis regie corona fuit prostrata, cum absisione sinistra auriculae, & vestigij plagae unde moriebatur: inuenta est scriptura super his singulis manifesta. In crastino, videlicet die Mercurij rex ossa regis, regina ossa regine, pallijs pretiosis reuoluta, in suis cistis recludentes, & sigilla sua apponentes, praeceperunt idem sepulchrum ante maius altare celeriter collocari, retentis externis capitibus propter populi deuotionem; apposita huiusmodi scriptura: Hac sunt ossa nobilissimi regis Arthuri, quae anno dominice incarnationis 1278, decimo tertio calendis Maij, per dominum Eaduardum regem Anglia illustrum hic fuerunt sic collocata, praesentibus Leonora serenissima eiusdem regis consorte, & filia domini Ferandi regis Hispania, magistro William de Middleton nunc Norwicensi electo, magistro Thoma de Becke archidiacono Dorsetensi & praedicti regis thesaurario, domino Henrico de Lescia comite Lincolniae, domino Amideo comite Sabaudiae, & multis magnatibus Anglia. Thus farre the monke of Glaffenburie.

Richard Warren or de Ware abbat of Welleminster, was made abbat about the yeare of Christ 1260, being about the foure and fifti yeare of king Henrie the third, who was made tresuroz, as hath John de Euerden, in the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred & foure score, being the eight yeare of king Edward the first: which yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred and foure score, some do falslie make to fall in the tenth, some in the eleuenth yeare of the said Edward the first, which contrarie tis hath onelie risen by the default of the transcriber. But most certaine it is that he was tresuroz in the ninth, eleuenth, and part of the twelue of the said king Edward the first. This man going to Rome for

Joseph de Chancie.
William bis
hop of Bath.

Robert
Burnell.

Joseph de
Chancie.

Thomas
Becke.

Richard de
ware.

his consecration, brought from thence certeine
ins:kenen and rich purpurie stones, whereof and by
whom he made that rare pavement (containing a dis-
course of the whole world) which is at this date most
beautifull, and to be seene at Westminster before the
communion table: a thing of that singulartie, curi-
ousnesse, and rarenesse, that England hath not the
like againe, in which pavement are circularie writ-
ten in letters of brasse these ten verses following:

*si lector posita prudenter cuncta revolvat,
Hic finem primi mobilis inveniet.
Sepes trina canes, & equos, homines superaddas,
Cervos, & cornos, aquilas, immania cete,
Mundum quodq; sequens praevenit triplicat annos,
Sphericus archetypus, globum hic monstrat microcosmum.
Christi millennio, bis centeno, duodeno,
Cum sexageno, subductis quatuor anno,
Tertium Henricus, rex, urbs, Odoricus & abbas
Hos compegere purpureos lapides.*

Anno Domini
1268 Henricus
tertius urbs Ro-
ma Odoricus ce-
mentator & ab-
bas Richardus de
Ware fecerunt
id pavementum.

The full explanation of which verses shall be at
large set downe in the whole discourse of this ab-
bats life, in my large booke of the lives of the lord
treasurers. Which abbat with those two kermen and
those stones did also frame the shryne of Edward the
confessor with these verses, carved out of stone and
also gilded set about the same shryne or monument:

*Anno millennio Domini, cum septuagena,
Et bis centeno, cum completo quasi deno,
Hoc opus est factum, quod Petrus duxit in actum,
Romanus civis. Homo, causam noscere si vis,
Rex fuit Henricus sancti praesentis amicus.*

This abbat died the second daie of December, in
the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred
four score and thre, being the twelfth yeare of king
Edward the first; after that he had governed the
monasterie thre and twentie yeares and more, and
was buried there at Westminster, in the foresaid
plaine pavement of purpurie oir the north side nere
unto the towe (as is yet well to be seene) of Adomer
or Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, on which
grauie is ingrauen this byrse epitaph here insuing:

*Abbas Richardus de Wara qui requiescit
Hic portat lapides, quos hic portavit ab urbe.*

Walter Wen-
locke.

Walter Wenloche abbat of Westminster, whom
Matthew Westminster calleth William de Wen-
loke, was made abbat of Westminster after the
death of Richard de Mare, & was treasurer to king
Edward the first, as hath the register of the lives of
the abbats of Westminster, and other records that I
have seene. Which office it seemeth that he had, meane
betwene the twelfth and the fourteenth yeare of the
said king Edward the first, as I suppose. This man
after that he had bene abbat six and twentie yeares
lacking six daies, died the five and twentieth of De-
cember on the Christmas daie at night, in his ma-
nour of Wireford in Glocestershire, in the first yeare
of Edward the sonne of Edward (which was Ed-
ward the second) being the yeare of our redemption
one thousand thre hundred and seven, and was bu-
ried in the church of Westminster, besides the high
altar then standing without the south doore of saint
Edwards shryne before the presbiterie there, under a
plaine pavement and a marble stone decentlie ado-
rned with this epitaph to his high commendation:

*Abbas Walterus iacet hic sub marmore testis,
Non fuit austerus, sed mitis, famine relictus.*

Bishop of
Coventrie.

A bishop of Coventrie (and Lichfield) was trea-
surer of England in the fourteenth yeare of king Ed-
ward the first, being the yeare of our redemption
1286, in whose place in the same yeare came John
Kirkebie.

John Kirkebie
bishop of Ely.

John Kirkebie deane of Winburne and archdea-
con of Coventrie, & treasurer to king Edward the
first, was on the seventh calends of August in the

yeare of our Lord 1286, being the fourteenth yeare
of the said Edward (then at Paris) made bishop of
Ely, whom Leland (the refiner of all names) doth
in his comment upon his song of the swan in the word
Windelsaga thus terme; *Johannes Cherchebius episcopus
Angularinus regi a thesauris*. This man was treasurer
in the first, tenth, and part of the eighteenth of
Edward the first, in which yeare (as it seemeth) being
part of the yeare of Christ 1290 this bishop died, the
seventh calends of Aprill, after that he had bene bi-
shop thre yeares some moneths and some daies, and
was buried by Malepole bishop of Norwich in the
church of Ely, on the north part of the quere before
the altar of saint John Baptist.

William de Marchia or Guillelmus Partius was
treasurer in Easter terme, in the eighteenth yeare of
the reign of king Edward the first, in which office he
continued about five yeares, & was removed from
that place on the 23 yeare of the said king Edward
the first, and Peter of Leicester baron of the exche-
quer, with the two chamberleins executed all func-
tions of that office untill a new treasurer was made.
This William de Marchia was made bishop of Bath
and Wells, in the yeare of Christ 1293, being the
22 yeare of king Edward the third, in which he
remained almost ten yeares, and died in the yeare of
our Lord 1302, being about the 32 yeare of the said
king Edward the first, and was buried in the church
of Wells in the wall, betwene the doore of the clo-
ster and the altar of saint Martine, at whose towe
in time past (as the nature of that credulous age did
hastilie beleue) were manie miracles done, as some
have left in memoire to the following posteritie.

Walter Langhstone bishop of Lichfield and Co-
ventrie was made treasurer after William de
Marchia, in the 23 yeare of king Edward the first, in
which office he continued (as I gather) during the life
of king Edward the first, which fell in the 35 yeare of
his reign, being the yeare of our redemption 1307,
and was then removed and imprisoned in the tower
with two men onelie by Edward the second then
comming to the crowne, because the said Walter
Langhstone had caused king Edward the first to
imprison, and as some have to banish this new king
Edward the second for breaking downe the parkes
of the said bishop Walter Langhstone. During the
time that this Peter de Willebie was under treasu-
ry or lieutenant of the treasurer, for the words be
Locum tenens thesaurarii, in the thirtieth, one and thirtieth,
two and thirtieth of Edward the first, this Walter
was made bishop of Coventrie and Lichfield, in the
yeare of our redemption 1295, being the thre and
twentieth yeare of king Edward the first, and the
same yeare that he was made treasurer. He died a-
bout the yeare of our redemption 1321, being about
the fourteenth yeare of king Edward the second, to
which bishop the lord Cobham now living his heire,
as being descended from Margaret the sister and
heire of John Peuerell the cosine and heire to this
Walter Langhstone, which Margaret was married
to sir William de la Pole of Albie knight, fro whom
the lord Cobham is issued. And here sith I have be-
fore made mention of the death of Edward the first,
although it be somewhat impertinent to the treasu-
ry; yet for that I do not remember that the same
verses are set down in any of our late English chro-
nicles, & for that I would have a perpetuall memoire
of them, I will here deliver such epistaphicall verses
as I have found touching king Edward the first:

*Dum vixit (rex) & valuit tua magna potestas,
Fram latuit, pax magna fuit, regnavit honestus,
Scotos Eadwardus, dum vixit, suppeditavit,
Temuit, afflixit, deprefit, dilaniavit.*

Walter Reinolds scholemaster to Edw. 2. bishop

William de
Marchia.

John de
Sandall

John de
Sandall

Walter Langh-
stone bishop of
Lichfield.

Walter J.
twich.

John de
bell.

Walter de
Ripwich

John de
Ripwich.

of Worcester, and after of Canturburie, and chancellor of England, was advanced to the place of the lord treasurer of England, in the 1. Edw. 2. being the yeare of Christ 1307, after which in the yeare of our Lord 1308, he was made bishop of Worcester, he continued in the office of treasurer untill some part of the fourth yeare of the said Edward the second, at what time came in his place John Sandall, who was lieutenant unto the said Walter in place of the treasurer, as appeareth by manie writs directed unto him by the name of John Sandall *Locum tenenti W. episcopi Wigornie*. Of him is more spoken in the chancellors of England. But here I cannot passe over some both skillfull in antiquitie, & persons of no small name by reason of their office, whereof the one in print, and the other in a booke of the nobilitie of England since the conquest unpainted, doe make Hugh Spenser the elder treasurer of England, which as yet I cannot find to be true, for that I doubt that king Edw. 2. louing him so entierlie would neuer after remoue him, & for that the full succession of treasurers before set downe, being true and taken out of ancient and most certaine records, will not afford him any place among them. But leaning that matter to others who can better defend the same, I will descend to the other treasurers.

John de Sandall being clerke, Scutifer regis, chancellor of the exchequer, and chancellor of England, having bene before under treasurer or depute for the high treasurer, came now in the fourth yeare of Edward the second to be made chiefe treasurer, & entered into that office in Easter terme about the beginning of the said fourth yeare of Edward the second. But in the yeare following, which was the fifth of Edward the second, he gaue place to another. He was chosen bishop of Winchester in the ninth yeare of Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1316. Of whom thus writeth Anonymus M. S. *Oberunt episcopus Winton & Eli viri sacra professione insigniti, quorum primo successit Iohannes de Sandall cancellarius Anglie vir cunctis affabilis & necessarius communicati. Secundo successit Iohannes de Hothum scaccar. regis, vir squidem scientia penitus ignarus, qui statim episcopatus ascensu culmine, ad honorum pariter & officij thesaurarij rex ipsum in sui fauorem sublimauit. De which John Sandall, and also of John Hothum, shall be more said hereafter.*

Walter Porwich, knight, treasurer in the fifth yeare of Edward the second, and afterward in Easter terme in the eighth yeare of king Edward the second, did on the third daie of October in the said eighth yeare of king Edward the second receive the office of the treasurer, and on the same daie tooke a corporall oath before the barons and chamberlains of the exchequer, to behaue himselfe well and faithfully in the same office, which he had receiued of king Edward the second, by his letters dated at Porke the six and twentieth daie of September, in the eighth yeare of the said king Edward the second, which he kept not long at that time.

John Sandall was the second time lord treasurer, in the six and twentieth yeare of king Edward the second. This man being bishop of Winchester, was treasurer. Of him see more in the chancellors of England.

Walter de Porwich being treasurer as before in the eighth yeare of king Edward the second, did not long insoy the same, but as I suppose gaue place to John Drokensford.

John de Drokensford, the fourteenth bishop of Bath & Wells, had (as I haue read) the great seale deliuered unto him, and was also treasurer of England. But because I find not as yet in what yeare, although it were in the time of king Edward the second, I cannot set downe the certaintie. Of whom

thus writeth the register of the bishops of Bath. *Iohannes Drokensford thesaurarius 14, Bathon episcopus post Walterum Haselshawes, successit in episcopatum Bathon, annis 19, iste episcopatum pluribus edificijs insigniuit, franchises per reges episcopatus concessus non solum literatorie renouauit sed etiam amplauit. Et quo ad ditionem & exaltationem parentela sua fere fuit equalis predecessori suo Roberto Bornell. Et Wellie sepelitur ante altare sancti Iohannis Baptiste.*

John Hothum Bishop of Ely (as is before noted) John Hothum obtained the place and honour of treasurer, in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the second, which he did not long insoy. For in the Michaelmas tearme in the twelfth yeare of king Edward the second, came William Malwaine. Of this John Hothum is mention made in the discourse of the chancellors hereafter.

William Malwaine treasurer of England in the twelfth yeare of king Edward the second, being about the yeare of our redemption 1318, was (as it should seme) for his negligence and untowardnes of the place most worthilie remoued at the parlement at Porke, in such sort that he possessed not that place (as I coniecture) aboue halfe a yeare. For in the same twelfth yeare came the bishop of Winchester.

John Stratford bishop of Winchester, upon the remouing of Malwaine, was in the same twelfth yeare of king Edward the second admitted into the office of the treasurer, untill the king should otherwise determine. Which bishop found not in the treasure aboue nine & twentieth pounds seuentene shillings and eight pence, which might well be the cause of the displacing of the said Malwaine, who had ouer prodigallie dispersed the kings treasure.

Walter Stapleton bishop of Exeter was treasurer in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1319, in which I suppose he continued untill the fiftenth yeare of the said king, being about the yeare of Christ 1321. Of this man doth more follow.

Walter Porwich knight was the third time made treasurer, which place he inioined in the fiftenth yeare of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1321, or thereabouts. Walsingham saith that in the second of Edward the third *obijt* William de Porwich.

Roger Porchboroze Scutifer or keeper of the seale, being taken by the Scots at the battell of Bannockburne about the seventh yeare of Edward the second, in the yeare of our redemption 1313, was also cleark of the wardrobe, and treasurer in the firstenth of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1323. Of whom thus writeth one anonymall chronicle M. S. *Anno Domini 1321 obijt Walterus de Langtone episcopus Cestren. cui successit in episcopatus honoris viam impressionis & ambitionis Rogerus de Northburgh, clericus, de regis garderobia, sibi regis in cunctis fauentibus auxilio & voluntate. I haue read of one Godfreie de Northburgh bishop of Chester that died in the thirteenth and thirtieth of king Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ 1359, which perhaps should be this Roger Porchboroze, Godfreie being by the transcriber placed in stead of Roger. But I will not at this time determine any certaintie thereof, although I find an other note of one Roger Porchboroze consecrated bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield, in the yeare of Christ 1321, who sat in that see eight and thirtie yeares, which eight and thirtie yeares added to the yeare of Christ, in which this Roger was made bishop, doe make vp the number of the yeare of Christ 1359, in which it is said that Godfreie Porchboroze died.*

Walter Stapleton bishop of Exeter, the second time treasurer in the eightenth yeare of king Edward the second, & before, was remoued in Easter tearme in the same yeare. In which Easter tearme

¶ e e e e e . iij .

John Hothum bishop of Ely.

William Malwaine

John Stratford bishop of Winchester.

Walter Stapleton bishop of Exeter.

Walter Porwich.

Roger Porchboroze or Porcher.

Walter Stapleton bishop of Exeter.

was

was William bishop of Exeter also made treasurer, as is proved by the pell of Exitus, that terme being thus intituled, *De termino Pasche anno 18 Ed. 2. tam tempore W. episcopi Exon. quam W. archiepiscopi Eborum.* This Walter being elected to the bishopricke of Exeter, in the yeare of our redemption 1307, did sit in that place twentie yeares, and was beheaded at the coming into England of queene Isabell to depose Edward the second, in the twentieth yere of the said king Edward the second, in the yere of our redemption 1326. The cause of whose beheading was, for that he had procured the banishment of the said queene Isabell, and of hir sonne prince Edward.

William
Helson.

William Helton archbishop of Exeter made lord treasurer in latter terme, in the eighteenth yere of Edward the second, kept the same office untill the deposition of himselfe from that place, & of his master from his kingdome, in the twentieth yere of the reigne of the said Edward the second, and then gaue place to John Stratford.

John Strat-
ford.

John Stratford bishop of Winchester was the second time made treasurer of England, in the twentieth yere of the deposed king Edward, after the death of Walter Stapleton. This John the fourteenth daie of November, in the said twentieth yere of Edward the second, comming into the ercheke, brought thither the kings patent, or open writ, or commandement, vnder the seale of Edward the kings eldest son, to witnes his election and creation to that place of treasurer: the tenor of which writ I haue thought good to set downe, because it was done by the son in the fathers name, and vnder the teste of the son, the father yet being king in shew, but the son indeed as gouernor of the realme: which title he intioied, untill that he most vnnaturallie by the malice of his mother, the ambition of himselfe, and the flatterie of his followers had deposed his father. The tenor of which writ was in these words, as followeth.

Edwardus rex Anglie, & dominus Hibernie, baronibus & camerariis suis de scaccario suo salutem. Quum pro eo quod venerabilis pater W. archiepiscopus Eborum nuper thesaurarius scaccarii predicti, circa diuersa negotia in partibus borealibus est occupatus, quominus intendere possit ad ea quae ad officium illud in dicto scaccario pertinent exercenda: constituerimus venerabilem patrem Iohannem Wintoniensem episcopum, tenentem locum thesaurarii scaccarii predicti, quousque de officio illo aliter duximus ordinandum. Percipiendo in eodem officio (dum illud sic tenuerit) secundum consuetum prout in literis nostris patentibus prefato episcopo inde confectis plenius continetur. Vobis mandamus, quod ipsam episcopum ad officium admittatis, & ei in his quae ad officium predictum pertineant intendatis in forma predicta. Teste Edwardo filio nostro primogenito custode regni nostri. Apud Hereford sexto die Novembris, anno regni nostri vicesimo.

Adam Carle-
ton.

Adam Carleton, or de Myleton borne in Herefordshire, being decretorum doctor, was made bishop of Hereford by the pope at Aulnion in the yere one thousand three hundred and seauentene, about the tenth or eleuenth yere of the reigne of Edward the second, being he that made the sermon for the deposition of king Edward the second, and wrote the amphibologicall epistle for the death of the king, containing these words, *Regem occidere nolite timere bonum est*, which hath by a comma or point made at *Timere* one sense, and by a comma made at *Nolite* another sense. Which Adam was made lord treasurer in the first yere of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and six, in which office he continued not long. For in the latter terme of the said king came Henrie bishop of Lincolne. This man was made bishop of Winchester in the yere one thousand three hundred

thirtie and five, being the ninth yere of king Edward the third: in which seat he sate twelue yeares. The death of which Adam (who gaue Henningfield parsonage to the church of Hereford) sir Thomas de la More both most plentifulle yet forth.

Henrie Burgh bishop of Lincolne was lord treasurer in latter terme, in the first yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and seauen, in which office he continued untill the second yere of Edward the third, and was afterward removed.

Henrie Bur-
gh bishop of
Lincolne.

Thomas bishop of Hereford intioied the honorable place of the lord treasurer, in the third yere of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and nine: but in the yere following another came in place.

Thomas bi-
shop of Here-
ford.

Robert Woodhouse possessed the roome of the high treasurer of England, in the fourth yere of the reigne of the said yong king Edward the third, being the yere that the word became fleshy one thousand three hundred and thirtie, and was also treasurer some part of Michaelmasse terme, in the fifth yere of king Edward the third, who in the yere following did giue place vnto another.

Robert Wood-
house.

William archbishop of Exeter was againe treasurer of England, in the fifth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, and intioied that place some part of Michaelmasse terme in the said yere, after whome came the bishop of Norwich.

William
Helson

Richard
Bington
knigh.

Michaelmas terme in the said fifth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third: in which terme there had bene three lord treasurers successiuelie (a thing seldom or neuer heard, nor I thinke likelie againe euer to be) which office this bishop kept all Michaelmasse terme, in the first yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and two, and somewhat more in the end, yet yielding that honor to another.

Michaelmas
terme.

Robert le Ailestone, being lord treasurer in the seventh yere of the reigne of Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and three, continued in the same office untill the tenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yere of our saluation one thousand three hundred thirtie six, which was about three yeares, the same being a longer time than anie other had possessed that place, since the beginning of the reigne of the said king Edward the third.

Robert le
Ailestone

Henrie Burgh bishop of Lincolne was againe treasurer the tenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and six, in which yere (as hath Scala dronicorum) the king holding his parliament at London, was aduised by his counsell to prosecute his title to the crowne of France. Whereupon king Edward sent ambassadores to the duke of Bauerie emperor (which had married the other sister to the earle of Henalt, as king Edward the third had married one) for suertie of alliance, and to reteine noble men about him with no small charge, which ambassadores were Henrie Burgh bishop of Lincolne, and the earles William Spontacote of Sarum, and William Clinton of Huntington, who returned to the parliament at London with their answer well liked. Of this man see more in the chancelors, being yet after his ambassage treasurer in some part of the eleuenth yere of Edward the third.

Henrie Bur-
gh bishop of
Lincolne.

Richard de Burie bishop of Durham did intioie the honor of lord treasurer, in the eleuenth yere of the

Richard de
Burie bishop of
Durham.

Robert J
mag.

John
Chyler.

Robert J
mag.

William
Jury.

Robert J
mag.

the reigne of king Edward the third: he was a man of great gravitie, and much esteemed of the nobilitie and gentlemen of the north. Of this man is more spoken in the chancellors of England.

William de la Zouch bozne of the noble house of the lord Zouch, was tresuroz of England, in the twelfth yere of king Edward the third, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and eight; he being bishop of Poike was vicegerent to the king in the north parts, in the twentieth yere of the reigne of the said Edward the third, and in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and six, at what time he toke David Bruce king of Scots. This man went to Rome, and after a long contention betwene him and William Bellesie, Killbie, or Belsie (for all these different names are found in authoys) touching the archbishoprike of Poike, he was after two yeaes thus spent consecrated bishop of Poike by pope Clement the first. After which this William in the eleventh yere of his bishoprike, being long troubled with a greivous disease, began the worke of a chappell on the south side adjoining to the church of saint Peters in Poike, where he purposed to be buried: but died before it was finished, and lieth interred in the said church before the altar of saint Edward the confessor.

Sir Richard Sadington knight was tresuroz in the fourteenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred & fortie. There was one Robert Sadington living about this time, of whom is more mention in the chancellors of England: but as yet I well know not whether they were both one man or no; fith authoys make misplace Robert for Richard, as they haue often done.

Robert Poxtborow, being at that time (as I judge) bishop of Couentrie, was tresuroz of England, in the fourteenth yere of the reigne of Edward the third, being the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fortie, in which yere he was removed, whom with the chancelor the king meant afterward (as after shall appeare) to haue sent into flanders as pledges for monie that the king owght there. After whom I suppose that Sadington came in place, although I haue a little misplaced him at this time, following the fancies of other men more than mine owne.

A bishop of Chester was lord tresuroz of England in the fiftenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being about the yere that the word became fleshy, one thousand three hundred fortie and one, in which office he did not long continue.

Robert Berning or Bernicke was lord tresuroz in the Easter terme, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and one, being the fiftenth yere of king Edward the third, in which yere also he was made chancelor, and so continued both offices a while, untill in the sixteenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, as I gather by all circumstances of times, records, and histories: who in the seventeenth yere of the reigne of the said king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and three (as appeareth by the booke of the law) being chancelor, delivered a record with his hands into the court of the kings bench. Of this man more shall be set downe hereafter in my discourse of the chancellors.

Roger Poxtborow (as I take it) being then bishop of Couentrie, did honorable possesse the place of the lord tresuroz of England, in the sixteenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and two, of whom thus writeth Marthe w

Parker in the life of John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie: *ibi* (meaning at the tower) *concilium initum est, tandemque definitum, ut archiepiscopus & episcopus Cicerstrensis regni cancellarius & Couentrensis thesaurarius, una cum alijs satellitibus & licitoribus deprehensi, ad publicam custodiam rerum à se, absente rege, regiarum rationem redditari ducerentur. Mane accedunt satellites Lanetham, sed archiepiscopus ei pridie decesserat: tum Londinum reuersi Couentrensem & Cicerstrensem episcopos cum alijs designatis capiunt, captos ad turrim deducunt, &c.*

William de Cusans, being lord tresuroz in the seauententh yere of Edward the third, in the yere of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, fortie and three, continued in the same office all Michaelmasse tearme, in the eightenth yere of the said Edward the third, and the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and foure: and being a yere more. Betwene whom & Thomas Henle abbatt of Westminster was great contention about the iurisdiction of the hospitall of saint James in the parish of saint Margaret in Westminster, which hospitall is now a statelis house belonging to the prince, and built by king Henrie the eight called the manor of saint James with a parke walled about with bricke.

William de Edington, lord chancelor and tresuroz of England, and bishop of Winchester, was lord tresuroz in Easter terme the nineteenth yere of Edward the third, being about the yere of our redemption one thousand, three hundred fortie and five, in which office he continued untill the two and thirtieth of the said king, one thousand three hundred fiftie and eight, being fourteene yeaes, which was (as I thinke) as manye more yeaes as anye one man did possesse that place, since the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the third, untill the time of this William Edington. He was so surnamed of the place where hee was bozne, being the towne of Edington in Wiltshire: he was made bishop of Winchester (as some haue) about the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and seuen, being about the one and twentieth yere of king Edward the third. This man (chosen bishop of Canturburie, but yet neuer bishop) died (as hath Walsingham) in the fortieth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fiftie and six. I haue read of a bishop of Poxtborow that should also be tresuroz in the foure and twentieth of Edward the third, which must fall in the time that this Edington did continue that office: but how true it is, I leaue to others to consider, untill I haue in my large booke of the liues of the lord tresuroz dissolued that, and all other doubts and contrarieties that are here touched, or by authoys reported.

John bishop of Rochester was lord tresuroz in the two and thirtieth yere of king Edward the third, in the yere of our redemption 1358, in which office he continued in the thirtie three and thirtie fourth yere of Edward the third.

Simon Langham, being of the priorie of Westminster, made abbatt of that house, was thortie after made lord tresuroz of England, in which office he held in the five & thirtieth and six & thirtieth yere of king Edward the third, who being bishop of London (as hath Marthe w Parker) was in the yere that the word of the father toke on it the forme of a seruant, by due account 1361, being the five and thirtieth yere of king Edward the third, by the pope made bishop of Ely, where he sat five yeaes, and was after in the yere of our redemption, one thousand, three hundred, fiftie and six, being the fortieth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, chosen bishop of Canturburie, and consecrated in the yere of our redemption 1367, as saith the same Marthe w Parker. On which date of his consecration he demanded homage

Henrie Bar-
bath of Bur-
esse bishop of
Lincolne.

Thomas bi-
shop of Here-
rd.

Robert wad-
coufe.

William
Helson.

W. bishop of
Poxtborow.

Robert le
Pilestone

Henrie Bar-
bath bishop of
Lincolne.

Richard de
Worce bishop
of Durban.

William de
Cusans.

William de
Edington bis-
shop of Win-
chester.

John bishop
of Rochester.

Simon
Langham
bishop of
Ely.

homage of the erle Stafford of Thomas Wolfe, John
Burrell, Robert Bockill, & Rafe Sentleger, knights
for their lands which they held of the see of Cantur-
burie. Shortly after which in the yere of our redemp-
tion one thousand, three hundred, fiftie and eight, be-
ing the two and fortieth yere of the reigne of king
Edward the third, he was made cardinall, & died at
Aumere the two and twentieth date of Julie, about
the yere of our redemption, as saith one Anonymus
M.S. 1376, being the fiftith yere of king Edward
the third, and was buried besides Aunton, in a place
which he had raised from the foundation: three yeaers
after which his bones were brought to Westminster
where at this date he hath one honorable tome on the
south side of the thyme amongst the kings, on whose
tome the monks of Westminster did sometime
place this same epitaph in the remembrance of him:

*Simon de Langham sub petris his tumulatus,
Istius ecclesiam monachus fuerat, prior, abbas,
sede vacante fuit electus Londoniensis
Praeful & insignis eligi, sed postea primus
Totius regni, magnus regisque minister:
Nam thesaurarius & cancellarius eius,
Ac cardinalis in Roma presbyter iste,
Postque Praenestinus est factus episcopus atque
summus ex parte papae, transmittitur istuc
Orbe dolente pater, quem nunc remocare nequimus:
Magdalena festo milleno septuagena
Et ter centeno sexto Christi nunt anno:
Hunc Deus absoluat de cunctis quae male gessit,
Et meritis matris sibi caelica gaudia donet.*

Of this man I have intreated in my discourse of
the cardinals pag. 1165. and in my collection of all
the chancellors of England hereafter following.

John Barnet
bishop of wor-
cester.

John Barnet made bishop of Worcester in the
yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred
fiftie and two, being the six and thirtieth yere of king
Edward the third, was treasurer of England in the
seven and thirtieth yere of Edward the third, in which
office he continued, being treasurer in Michaelmasse
tearme in the eight & thirtieth yere of the reigne of
the said Edward the third, which fell in the yere of
Christ one thousand three hundred fiftie & four, and
so he continued in the three & fortieth yere of king Ed-
ward the third till treasurer. He was made bishop of
Bath in the yere of our redemption 1363, in which
bishopslike he remained three yeaers, and was by Ur-
bane the first then bishop of Rome translated from
Bath to Elie in the yere of Christ 1366, being the
fortieth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third,
in which place he sat six yeaers: and being a verie old
man, and having bene treasurer about six yeaers,
he died at Hatfield the seventh ides of June, in the
yere that God became man one thousand three hun-
dred seuentie and three, and the seven and fortieth yere
of the often named king Edward the third, he was
buried in the church of Elie besides the high altar on
the south part.

Richard de
Chesterfield.

I have read and seme by manie noted that one
named Richard de Chesterfield was treasurer to the
king in the one and fortieth yere of king Edward
the third, whome they will have lord treasurer: which
by no possible meanes as farre as I can yet conceiue
maie be true: because it appeareth by record that
John bishop of Elie (which was this Barnet if you
marke the time of his translating to Elie) was trea-
surer in the same yere: but it maie be that he was
treasurer of the chamber or household to the said king
in the said one and fortieth yere of his reigne.

Thomas de
Wantage-
ton.

Thomas de Wantington, being treasurer for the
king in the parts of Guisnes marches and Calis, in
the yere of our redemption one thousand three hun-
dred fiftie and seven, being the one and fortieth yere
of the reigne of king Edward the third, was made bi-

shop of Excester by especiall letters of the king in
the yere of our saluation one thousand three hundred
fiftie and eight, being the three and fortieth yere of the
said Edward the third, and was lord treasurer of
England in the four and fortieth & five & fortieth yere
of Edward the third: in which five and fortieth yere,
being the yere of our redemption one thousand three
hundred seuentie and one, he was in a parlement at
the petition of the lords removed, at that time also
there passed a law, that the chancellor, treasurer, and
clerke of the priuie seale, should no more be spirituall
men: but that secular men should haue those offices.

Sir Richard Scrope or Scrobs knight lord of
Bolton and chancellor of England, was treasurer of
England in the six and fortieth, seven & fortieth, & eight
and fortieth of Edward the third, and then gaue place
to sir Robert Ashton knight. This Richard made out
of the ground the castell of Bolton consisting of
four great strong towers, and of other stately lod-
gings, which castell was erecting eightene yeaers,
the charges whereof came yeaerlie vnto a thousand
marks, which was eightene thousand markes, or
twelue thousand pounds: the ounce of siluer being
then but at twentie pence, which being now trebla
and at five shillings, doth at this date amount vnto
six and thirtie thousand pounds, which castell he fi-
nished before Richard the second died. He bought the
betre generall of saint Quintine, that was hono-
r of Honnelie castell in Richmondshire, which betre he
was content one Coniers a seruant of his should
marrie, and haue the preferment of that ward: and
so Honnelie castell came to the Conierses, of which
house the first lord was William Coniers, grand-
father to him that died in the time of queene Marie
without betre male, whereby his inheritance came
to his three daughters. Which William the first lord
Coniers of that name did much cost vpon Honnelie
castell: being before but a meane thing. I haue read
of this lord Scrope, that he had a sonne called Wil-
liam, whereof we will speake more hereafter, that
was earle of Wilshire, who being beheaded in his
fathers life, left no issue behind him. After which the
father suruiuing was made treasurer to the king and
died in hono- although he was not restored to his
dignitie of chancellorship: but at what time he should
be the second time treasurer (after the death of his
sonne William) in the time of Henrie the fourth, I
can not as yet certeinlie learne. But it maie be that
he was againe treasurer in the ninth yere of Hen-
rie the fourth: for that I find not by any former search
who then possessed that place. It seemeth that he had
two wiues, the one the daughter of the lord Spenser
the other the daughter of Michael de la Pole erle of
Suffolke called Blanch. He had three sons, for whom
he bought of the king the three daughters and heires
of Robert lord Wiplost, whereof the eldest daughter
Margaret was married to Roger his second sonne,
the second daughter was married to William his
eldest sonne, the third daughter called Millescent
was married to Stephan the third sonne of the said
Richard.

Sir Robert Ashton knight, constable of Dover
castell, was lord treasurer in the fiftith and one and
fiftith of king Edward the third in Michaelmasse
tearme, which was the last Michaelmasse tearme
wherein the king reigned, being about the yere of
Christ one thousand three hundred seuentie and six, of
which name there was also one that was chiefe baron
in the time of Edward the second, as I haue read.

Henrie Wake or Wakefield, being made bishop
of Worcester in the yere of our redemption one
thousand three hundred seuentie and five, being the
fortie and ninth yere of the reigne of king Edward
the third, was made lord treasurer of England in the
yere

Thomas
Bantyn
son bishop
Excester

Richard
a grand

Thomas
Bantyn
bishop of
Excester

Robert
Wals.

Hugh lord
Seymour.

John
Bantyn

John for
sonn bishop
Durham.

Sir Robert
Ashton

Henrie made
bishop of wor-
cester.

peare that the word of the father tooketh in the wombe of the woman, one thousand three hundred seauentie and six, in the one and fiftith peare of king Edward the third, in which office he continued part of Easter tearme in the first peare of king Richard the second, being about the peare of our redemption one thousand three hundred seauentie and eight, he died in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and five, as saith Walsingham.

Thomas Wiantington bishop of Excester was made lord tresuroz of England towards the latter end of Easter tearme, in the first peare of king Richard the second, falling in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred seauentie and eight, as I at this time account it: from which place he was shortly remoued in the second peare of king Richard the second.

Richard earle of Arundell and Surrie, made lord tresuroz of England in the second peare of the reigne of king Richard the second, whereof part fell in the peare of our Lord one thousand three hundred seauentie and eight, & part in the peere one thousand three hundred seauentie and nine, continued about one peare in the same, and then gaue place to him which possessed the same office last before him, he married Elisabeth the daughter of William de Bohune earle of Northampton & Hereford, by whome he had issue Thomas earle of Arundell, Jane married to William Beauchampe lord Aburgauennie, Elisabeth married to Thomas lord Powys, Margaret married to Sir Rowland Lenthall, and Alice married to John Charleton lord Powes: this Richard was beheaded in the one and twentieth peare of Richard the second.

Thomas Wiantington bishop of Excester was the thirde time lord tresuroz of England, in the thirde peere of the after deposed king Richard the second, & was remoued from his office in the fourth peere of the said Richard, in the peere of our redemption one thousand three hundred and eightie, after the account of such as begin the peere on the five and twentieth of March.

Robert Hales chiefe prior of the knights of the Rhodes, intituled by the name of the knights of S. Johns Iherusalem in England, was lord tresuroz of England in the fourth peere of the reigne of Richard the second, in which office he continued during his life: for shortly after that he came into that place (which as I suppose he held Easter terme, and some moneths after) in the said peere of Richard the second; in the peere of our redemption one thousand three hundred and eightie and one (the rebelles having spoiled the hospitall or famous college of those knights of saint Johns by Smithfield nere vnto London) amongst others did fetch this Robert Hales out of the tower of London (where the king then lay) and beheaded him on the tower hill.

Hugh Segraue knight, whome Walsingham callith *Regis fenerator* the kings Steward, was made lord tresuroz of England in the fift peare of the reigne of king Richard the second, who continued in the said office the first, seauenth, eight, and some part of the Michaelmasse terme in the ninth peare of the reigne of king Richard the second, being the peare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and eightie and five.

John Fortham canon, being secretaire to the king, was made bishop of Durham the nine and twentieth of Maie, in the peere of our redemption one thousand three hundred and eightie and one, being the fourth peare of the reigne of king Richard the second, and was inthronized in September, in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred and eightie and two, being the first peare of the reigne of king

Richard the second. This man was made lord tresuroz in Michaelmasse terme the ninth peare of king Richard the second, being the peare of our saluation one thousand three hundred eightie and five: and so continued part of the tenth peare of king Richard the second, vntill he was by parlement discharged. He was translated from the bishoprike of Durham to Elie by Boniface the pope the fift calends of October, as hath the booke of Durham, one thousand three hundred eightie nine, being the twelwe peere of the same Richard: but as saith the booke of Elie one thousand three hundred eightie and eight, being the thirtenth peare of Richard the second. Which both may be true, because the one may haue relation to the peare of his translation, and the other to the peare of his inthronization, both which manie times happened in seuerall peares of manie other bishops. He was bishop of Elie seven and thirtie peares, three moneths, and foure daies, and died a verie old man the thirtenth of December, in his manor of Dunham, in the peare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred twentie and five, falling in the fourth peare of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

John Gilbert bishop of Hereford was by parlement made lord tresuroz in the tenth peare of king Richard the third, being the peare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and six, as I for this time take it, in which office he continued the eleuenth, and all Michaelmasse terme in the twelwe peere of king Richard the second, and the one and twentieth of March following: after which he was againe remoued, and then he with twelue more were appointed by commission to the gouernment of the whole realme vnder the king, of whome thus writeth one Anonymall dronicle M. S. *Is fuit de ordine predicatoru, vir qui plus lingua quam fide regebat*, which bishop (as I suppose) was remoued to saint Dauids, after that he had bene thirtene peares bishop of Hereford.

Thomas Wiantington bishop of Excester. I haue read that the bishop of Excester was made tresuroz in the twelwe peare of Richard the second, vpon the remouing of John Gilbert, which bishop of Excester could not be Edmund Stafford, as some falselie name him, for there is no such man as I can find in the catalog of all the bishops of Excester: neither was it Edmund Stafford, for he was not made bishop of Excester vntill the twentieth of June one thousand three hundred ninetie and five, being the date before king Richard the second began the one and twentieth peere of his reigne, which is eight pears after the time whereof we now intreat. Therefore it must needs be Thomas Wiantington, for he being consecrated bishop of Excester the tenth of March, in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred & seuentie, being the foure and fortith peare of Edward the third, and gouerning that six foure and twentie pears, till the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and five, in which came Edmund Stafford keeper of the priuie seale; it must needs be that (the bishop of Excester being tresuroz in the twelwe peare of Richard the second, falling in the peere of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and eight) it was this man Wiantington, and that he was the fourth time made lord tresuroz of England, about the eighteenth peare after that he was made bishop of Excester, who died in the peare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and five, as hath Ypodigma.

John Gilbert bishop of saint Dauids in Wales was lord tresuroz in the thirtenth and fourtenth peares of the reigne of the deposed king Richard the second. Of whome, because there is somewhat spoken before, we will intreat the lesse of him in this place.

John

Sir Richard
Crope lord
Bolton.

Thomas
Wiantington
bishop of
Excester.

Richard earle
of Arundell.

Thomas
Wiantington
bishop of
Excester.

Robert
Hales.

Hugh
Segraue.

Sir Robert
Hilton.

Henrie was
bishop of
Excester.

John Fortham
canon.

John bishop
of Hereford.

Thomas
Wiantington
bishop of
Excester.

John Gilbert
bishop of saint
Dauids in
Wales.

John Wals-
tham bishop of
Salisbury.

John Walsingham, of whome I haue spoken moze in my discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie, in the life of William Courtneie was bishop of Salisbury, maister of the rolles in the first yeare of Richard the second, and keeper of the priuie seale, after which he was tresuroz of England, in the fiftieth, sixtieth, seauentienth, and part of the eightieth of Richard the second, for he died in Michaelmas terme in the said 18 yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1395, others saie 1394, of whome thus writeth Walsingham: *Hoc anno (which was 1395) obiit Iohannes de Walsingham episcopus Sarum & regni thesaurarius, qui tantum regi complacuerit, ut etiam (multis licet murmurantibus) apud monasterium inter reges meruit sepulturam.*

Roger Walden bishop of London.

Roger Walden sometime secretarie to the king and tresuroz of the towne of Calis (in the twelue yeare of Richard the second) was made lord tresuroz in the eightieth of the same king, about the yeare of our Lord 1365, in which office he continued the two and twentieth of the said Richard the second. He was elected and made bishop of Canturburie, but after re- 20 tected and deposed, and thereupon was by pope Innocent the seventh made bishop of London on the tenth of December, in the yeare of Christ 1404, being the first yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the which bishopricke he continued about one yeare, and died in the yeare 1406, being buried at saint Bartholomewes priorie in Smithfield, who of a poore man (as saith Walsingham) was made lord tresuroz of England.

G. bishop of saint Dauid's in Wales.

G. bishop of S. Dauid's was lord tresuroz of England in the two and twentieth yeare of Richard the second, which bishop I suppose to be Guie de Spone, whom the booke Ypodigma & Thomas Walsingham call bishop of S. Dauid's, and saie that he died in the yeare of our redemption 1407, writing in this sort: *Eodem anno Guido de Mone Meneuensis episcopus presens lucis sensu eclipsim, qui dum vixit magnorum malorum causa fuit.*

William Scrope earle of Wilshire.

William Scrope knight, vicechamberleine to Richard the second was lord tresuroz, he bought of William Spontacut earle of Salisburie the Isle of Man, with the crowne thereof. He was one of those to whom king Richard the second let the kingdom to farme, he was lord tresuroz of England in the 21 of Richard the second, and was after created earle of Wilshire, in the said 21 yeare of the same Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1397. He was after beheaded at Wyke in the 23 and last yeare of the then deposed king Richard. Of which William Scrope and others thus writeth that worthy poet sir John Gower in his historie of Richard the second, commonlie taken as part of his worke intituled *Vox clamantis.*

*Henrie Bolingbroke coming into England and deposing Richard the second.

**Dux probus audaci vultu, cum plebe sequaci Regnum scrutatur, si proditor inueniatur, Sic tres exosos, magis omnibus ambitiosos, Regni tortores, inuenerat ipse priores, Ense percussu percutit, Gren, Scrop, quog, Buft, Hi qui regales fuerant cum rege sodales, Scrop comes & miles, cuius Bristolis viles Actus declarat, quo mors sua fata pararat. Gren quoque sorte pari, statuit dux decapitari Buft conuictus, similes quoque sustinet ictus, Vnanimes mente, pariter mors una repente, Hos tres prostravit gladius, quos sine vorauit, Sicut & egerunt alijs, sic hi ceciderunt, Quo dux laudatur, regnumque per omne iocatur.*

Sir John Northberie.

Sir John Northberie made lord tresuroz in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare that God took on him the forme of a seruant, a thousand three hundred nintie and nine, and continued in the same in the third yeare of Henrie the fourth, in which yeare he was also keeper of the priuie garde-robe in the towne.

Henrie Bolingbroke made bishop of Bath, about the yeare of our redemption 1401, bring also about the second yeare of Henrie the fourth, in which bishopricke he continued eight yeares, and was after at the kings instance in the yeare of Christ a thousand four hundred and seuen, about the eighth yeare of Henrie the fourth removed to Poike. This man was lord tresuroz of England in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption 1403, in which place he continued not about a yeare, if so long.

William lord Rosse, the sonne of Thomas lord Rosse, did possesse the honorable place of the lord tresuroz of England, in the fift yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being about the yeare of our saluation one thousand four hundred and foure, and shortly after gaue place to the lord Furniuall. He married Margaret daughter of Fitzallen lord Patrauns, he had issue Thomas lord Rosseaine in France, in the yeare one thousand four hundred twentieth and one, about the ninth yeare of Henrie the first, and manie other children.

Thomas lord Furniuall kept the place and office of the lord tresuroz of England, the first, seuenth, and some part of the eighth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, as in Michaelmasse tearme of the same eighth yeare, falling in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand four hundred and six, after which this lord Furniuall (who had the custodie of the castell and honour of Wigmore, being in the kings hands by reason of the wardship and minority of Edmund Mortimer earle of March) was (as it seemeth) removed from the tresurozship, in whose roome succeeded the bishop of London. To these lord Furniualls did Furniuall's inn of Holborne sometime apertene as their mansion house, being now an inn of chance-rie for yong students of the law and attornies, and belonging vnto Lincolns inn in Chancery lane.

Nicholas Bubwith made bishop of London in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and six: being the eighth yeare of Henrie the fourth, must be that bishop of London (as farre as I can yet conceiue) who was lord tresuroz of England in Michaelmas tearme in the said eighth yeare of Henrie the fourth: which office it seemeth that he held not long, for in Easter terme after in the same eighth yeare, the office of the tresuroz remained in the kings hands, and the accompts of the same terme go vnder the same title of being in the kings hands.

Sir Richard Scrope lord of Bolton (whereof is so much spoken before) was as I suppose the second time tresuroz of England in this ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth: whereunto I am induced by this reason; that first the king would not kepe that office so long in his hands as almost amounted vnto two yeares, but that he would bestow the same vpon some other: secondlie, for that I read that this Richard Scrope father to William Scrope earle of Wilshire beheaded by this Henrie the fourth before he came to the crowne) at Wyke in the last yeare of Richard the second, and in the first of this kings reigne) was after the death of the said William made tresuroz of England, and so died in honour: thirdlie for that I cannot see how he might be tresuroz in anie yeare since the death of the said William, vntill this ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth: and lastlie, for that I cannot in anie record or other au- thor find anie other man mentioned to supplie that place in this yeare: for which causes I haue attempted to bestow him here, and that rightlie, for anie thing that I can yet learne.

Sir John Tiptot or Tibetot knight, did possesse the place and office of the lord tresurozship of England in Michaelmas terme, in the tenth yeare of king Henrie

Henrie 101
Scrope.

Thomas 103
Furniuall.

Nicholas 104
Bubwith the
shop of L. 104
don.

Sir Richard 105
Scrope lord
Scrope of
Bolton.

Sir Roger 106
Keching

Henrie 107
Fitz Hugh

John 108
Stal

Henrie the fourth, being in the yere of our redemption one thousand four hundred and eight.

Henrie lord Scrope of Masham and of Gloucster, was made lord treasurer of England, in the eleventh yere of the reigne of K. Henrie the fourth, in the yere of our redemption one thousand four hundred and ten, as hath Walsingham: in which office he continued untill the death of king Henrie the fourth, which hapned in the fourteenth yere of the same king, and in the yere of our redemption one thousand four hundred & twelve, after the account of England: but one thousand four hundred and thirteene after the account of such as do begin the yere at Januarie. He rebelled against king Henrie the first, and was beheaded at Southhampton in the third yere of K. Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemption one thousand four hundred and fiftene the last of Julie. Of which Henrie so conspiring against Henrie the first, I find these verses in a written booke of parchment, intituled *Extractum breue de chronica Thomae Helmham, prior Lenton de tempore regis Henrici primi*. In which verses by the capitall letters are set down the names of the principall conspirators, & the yere of our Lord wherein the same was done, being the yere of our redemption one thousand four hundred & thirteene: the greater Romane capitall letters in the third verse serving for the yere of Christ, & for the name Zorc derived of this word COR in the fourth verse, & the English capitall letters onelie serving for the names of the persons in this list couched together for common capacitie:

Mox rex nauigium parat ut mare transeat armis,
Scrope fuit Henricus prodicione fremens,
Sic Vrans Conspirat K. Mat. V. Len. Cla. D. Lebi.
Rumpit Jugo COR Tuens Res Dabit Ultra Sonum
E. J. Ruit Gens Auita Malis Opus Hoste Triumphat,
Vota voluntatis sic sacre Christi ruae.
Versibus his quinque prætactis traditionem
Lector scire potes: hinc repetendo stude.
Hitres, Richardus Zorc, Henrici Scrupque, Thomas Gray,
In regem surgunt prodicione pares:
Munere Francorum corrupti terga dedere,
Iusto munus habet vindice quique suum.

Thomas Fitz Allen earle of Arundell and Surrey was aduanced to the honorable office of the lord treasurer ship of England, in the yere of our redemption one thousand four hundred and thirteene, being the first yere of the reigne of the most victorious prince K. Henrie the first, in which office it seemeth that he continued the first, second, and third of Henrie the first. He in the yere 1405, being the seuenth of Henrie the first, on the next daie of the feast of saint Katharine, married Beatrice the bastard daughter of the king of Boxtingale, by whom he had no issue, hauing his sisters his heires, and died in the yere 1415, being the third yere of Henrie the first, and was buried in the college at Arundell.

Sir Roger Lech (whom some call but not rightlie as I suppose sir Phillip Lech, being brother unto the said sir Roger) was treasurer of England, in Michaelmas and Easter tearme in the fourth yere of king Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemption one thousand four hundred and fiftene. He was at the siege of Rone with this king Henrie, in the first yere of his reigne, being also treasurer for the warres in that volage.

Henrie lord Fitz Hugh was aduanced to the office of the lord treasurer ship of England, in the fifth yere of Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemption one thousand four hundred & seuentene, in which office he continued (as I gather) untill the death of the said king Henrie the first, which happened in August, in the yere of our redemption one thousand four hundred & twentie and two.

John Stafford clerke was made lord treasurer of England in the first yere of king Henrie the first,

being the yere that the word became flesh 1421, in which office he continued in Michaelmas tearme, and fourth of the said king Henrie the first, falling in the yere of Christ 1425, he was chosen bishop of Bath, in the third yere of king Henrie the first, in the yere 1424, he was chancellor of England, and remoued to the archbishopricke of Canturburie, of whome is mention made hereafter in the discourse of the chancellors of England, & touching whom I will for this time onelie set downe here what Matthew Parker writeth of him in the life of Henrie Chicheleie an archbishop of Canturburie. *Archiepiscopus* (saith he) in the yere of Christ our redeemer 1424: *Cantuariensis* 12. *Octob. clerum in ecclesia Paulina conuocauit, in ea Henricus Beauford Winton episcopus regni cancellarius, & Iohannes Stafford Bathoniensis electus episcopus regni thesaurarius, ad bellum Gallicum opem a clero petiuit, & interposita paucorum dierum deliberatione, Wilhelmus Lindwood officialis curie Cantuariensis de archibus, hoc responsum ab inferiori cleri synodo acceptum episcopis declarauit: non esse penes cleri procuratores potestatem subsidium concedendi. Nam cum in dicta synodo in singulis diocæsis constituti essent, clerus his solutionibus consentiendi licentiam expresse ademit: quia tantis tributis dispendendis ad magnam inopiam & egestatem deuenit. Itaque cancellarius a superiori synodo ad inferiore transiens, longa & disertâ oratione, ac regis iam minoris necessitate, ac de instanti in Gallia bello egit, ac nequicquam suasisit.*

Walter lord Hungerford knight of the garter, the sonne of sir Thomas Hungerford knight, was made lord treasurer of England in the fourth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the first, being the yere of Christ 1425, in which office he continued about six yeres, untill some part of Michaelmas tearme in the tenth yere of king Henrie the first, falling in the yere that the sonne of God toke on him the forme of a seruant, one thousand four hundred thirtie and one. He was also one of the counsell to the said king, of whome is mention made by Matthew Parker in the life of Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie, in these words: *Proximo anno* (which was about the yere of our Lord 1425) *synodus sub eodem archiepiscopo, 15 Aprilis inchoata est. Qua Iohanne Kempo Eboracensi archiepiscopo & Waltero Hungerfordo milite, regis conciliariis (illo cancellario hoc thesaurario regni) regis nomine postulantiibus regi decimam concessit. Ac eisdem his petentibus, triennio post in recenti synodo media decima regi a clero data est.* This lord treasurer married Katharine, the daughter and heire of Thomas Penerele knight, by whom he had issue Walter lord Hungerford of Hatchberie knight of the garter, that died without issue, sir Robert lord Hungerford of Hatchberie. Edmund Hungerford knight, that died without issue, Margaret married to sir Walter Kooneie knight, and Elisabeth married to Philip Courtneie knight: which Robert lord Hungerford and Margaret his wife, John Cheineie of Wim esquier, John Speruine esquier and others did (by the kings licence granted vnto them in the eleventh yere of king Edward the fourth) build the hospitall of Hatchberie in Wilshire.

John lord Scrope of Upsall and Masham, made lord treasurer in the tenth yere of king Henrie the first, being the yere of our redemption 1431, in which office he continued untill some part of the twelue yere of the said king, as I for this time do gather. Of whom thus writeth Matthew Parker in the life of Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie, touching a synod holden in the yere of our Lord 1430, at what time, of the clergie he saith that Iohan-

walter lord
Hungerford

John lord
Scrope,

William lord
de,

Thomas lord
irrewall,

scholar
with the
up of L. one
n.

the Richard
scrope lord
of
olton,

the John
scrope
night.

nes Stafford episcopus Barboniensis cancellarius, & D. Scrope thesaurarius regni, necnon Wilhelmus Lindwood, custos priuatis sigilli, pro rege subsidium postularunt, & mediam decimam tandem a re impetrarunt.

Kase lord
Cromwell.

Kase lord Cromwell, the son of Kase Cromwell lord of Latherhall, possessed the place of the lord treasurer'ship of England, in Easter terme in the twelfth yeare of the after depose H. Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1434, and so continued in that office about ten years, falling (as I suppose) in the yeare of our redemption 1444. This man being knight was created lord Cromwell by the said king Henrie the first, and was lineallie descended of one of the heires of Robert lord Latherhall, that married one of the daughters and heires of William Dalbintie earle of Arundell. This Kase lord treasurer died without issue, and made his testament in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fiftie and foure, being in the thre and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, after whose death the inheritance came to the thre aunts being his heires, whereof the first was married to the lord Bardolfe flaine at Bancehome more in Northumberland, the second was married to sir William Fitzwilliams knight of the sepulchre, the third Elisabeth to sir John Clifton knight, & after his death to sir Edmund Beuefled knight. Of one Kase lord Cromwell I find this note set downe by Leland. *Dominus Radulphus Cromwell & Matildis uxor eius fundatores collegij sancte trinitatis de Latherhall, quibusque Roberti ordine domini erant de Tutor hall, hos sequutus est Radulphus Cromwell.*

Sir Kase
Butler lord
Sudleie.

Sir Kase Butler knight of the garter, lord Sudleie (descended from John lord Sudleie, and William Butler baron of Wem, which married Jone daughter and heire to John Sudleie lord Sudleie) did possesse the honorable place of the lord treasurer'ship of England the seventh of Julie, in the two and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred fortie and foure, which office he kept about thre yerres: for in the five and twentieth yeare of the said king, was the bishop of Carleill lord treasurer. This Kase lord Sudleie builded the castell of Sudleie, in the time of king Henrie the first, and of Edward the fourth, who in the time of the said Edward the fourth was committed to prison by the king, first sending for him to come to his presence. Whereupon he going to the king, and resting on an hill, from whence he did behold Sudleie castell, said: It is thou, it is thou Sudleie castell and not I which am the traitor. After which comming to king Edward the fourth, he resigned the said Sudleie castell into the kings hands. Which castell came after to Jasper duke of Bedford, and is now in the yeare 1585 in the possession of Giles a Bydges lord Shandois. This Kase being made baron in the twentieth yeare of Henrie the first, married Elisabeth the daughter of sir John Northberie, by whome he had issue Thomas his son that died without issue, leaving his two sisters to be his heires; whereof the eldest daughter called Elisabeth, was married to sir John Northberie, whose heire generall was married to John Hattwell of Denonshire, who had issue Jone his daughter and heire married to Edward lord Bate, of whome the lord Cobham now living is descended. The other sister married to sir Hamond Belknap, of whome is descended the worthy gentleman Thomas Wotton of Bacton Paleherbe in Kent esquire now living. The which Kase lord Butler of Sudleie was Vexillifer and high Butler of England, and steward in house to king Henrie the first.

Marinaduke
bishop of
Carleill.

Marinaduke bishop of Carleill was made lord treasurer of England in the five and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, in which office he continued

about two yerres, in the seven and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of our redemption 1448, or (as some haue) 1449.

James Fines created at Burie baron of Sale and of Sele, on the third of March, in the five and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption, according to the English account 1446, was constable of Deuer castell, and lord treasurer of England in the eight and twentieth yeare of the said king Henrie the first, and was from thence remoued (as some haue) in the nine & twentieth yeare of the said king, & was by the rebels of Kent Jacke Cade and his felowes taken out of the tower to the Guildhall, where he was arraigned before the maior and other the kings Iudices; who desiring to be tried by his peeres, was by the rebels forceably taken from the officers, and beheaded at the standard in Cheape. The manner whereof shall be more fullie set downe hereafter in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurers. Which his beheading some doo attribute to the eight and twentieth yeare of the said Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1450. He had issue six William Fines knight, and one daughter married to sir William Cromer knight, thiraffe of Kent, beheaded at that time also with his father in law. Of which Cromer is James Cromer of Kent now living descended.

John Lord Beauchampe, a person of great worth, possessed the place of the treasurer'ship of England, the nine and twentieth and thirtieth yerres of king Henrie the first.

John Tiptoft earle of Worcester possessed the place of the lord treasurer, in the one and thirtieth and two and thirtieth of king Henrie the first. Of whome is more mention made hereafter.

James Butler, the sonne of James earle of Desmond, being earle of Wiltshire and Desmond, possessed the office of the lord treasurer of England in Easter tearme the thre and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of our redemption 1455. Of whom is more spoken hereafter.

Henrie vicount Bouchier, borne of the noble house of the Bouchiers, the sonne of William Bouchier earle of Ewe in Normande, was lord treasurer of England in the thre and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the depose king Henrie the first, in which office he did not long remaine.

John Talbot earle of Shrewsburie, the sonne of John Talbot, the first earle of Shrewsburie of that name, possessed the place of the treasurer'ship of England in the five and thirtieth and six and thirtieth yerres of king Henrie the first, and then gaue place to the earle of Wiltshire. This earle was slaine at the battell of Northampton, in the eight and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our salvation 1460. He married Elisabeth the daughter of James Butler erle of Desmond, and had issue, John erle of Shrewesburie, James, Gilbert, Christopher, and George; Anne married to sir Henrie Vernon, and Margaret: this man was buried in the priorie of Wokefop.

James Butler, sonne to James the fourth of that name earle of Desmond, was the second time made lord treasurer of England, about the 37 yeare of king Henrie the first, in which office he continued (as I suppose) in the eight & thirtieth yeare of the said king. This man in the said eight and thirtieth yeare of the king conueied himselfe a waite out of England into Dutchlant (for feare of the nobilitie, as the duke of Yorke and others that rebelled against the king) sending backe his souldiers into England, which he had before assembled vpon the sea; but after he returned into England, and was againe put to fight at Poytimers crosse by Edward earle of March after king by

Henrie I
count 22
quier.

Thomas
Sturmy

John de
Worcester

Edward
Gere of
Wine ale
at Kent.

John lord
Beauchampe

John Tiptoft

James Butler
erle of
Wiltshire.

Henrie vicount
Bouchier.

John Talbot
earle of
Shrewsburie

James earle
of Desmond.

by the name of king Edward the fourth. He was made earle of Diamond in the nine and thirtieth yeare and last yeare of king Henrie the first. He married Eleanor the daughter of Edmund duke of Summerset, and died without issue, being beheaded at Peterborough castle in the yeare one thousand four hundred fiftie one, in the first yeare of Edward the fourth.

Henrie bicount Bouchier was lord treasurer of England the second time, in the nine and thirtieth and last yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred & fiftie. Who upon the deposition of the said king Henrie the first by Edward the fourth, was also removed from his office.

Thomas Bouchier, made lord treasurer of England in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred fiftie and one, continued not long in that office, but gave place to John earle of Worcester.

John Tiptoft earle of Worcester, the second time possessed the place of the lord treasurer of England, in the second and thirde yeare of king Edward the fourth. Of whom is more spoken before by me in my treatise of the countables of England pag. 869.

Edmund lord Greie of Ruthine, the sonne of John lord Greie of Ruthine, did enjoy the office of the lord treasurer of England, in the fourth yeare of the noble prince king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1464. This man secretlie in hart forsaking the part of king Henrie the first, for injuries received at the same king Henries hands, aided the said Edward the fourth, and was the chiefe means whereby he attained the crowne. In Michaelmas tearme in the said fourth yeare of the king, there was a sergeants feast held in Holborne in the bishop of Elices house, to which the mayo and aldermen repaired, being bidden thither. But when the mayo looked to be set to keepe the state in the hall (forgetting that he was out of his owne liberties, for the bishops palace was an exempt place) as it had bene used (saith John Stow) in all places of the citie & liberties of the same, out of the kings presence: the lord Greie of Ruthine then treasurer of England unknowne to the sergeants, and (against their wills as they said) was placed in the highest room. Where, upon the mayo, aldermen, and commons departed. This Edmund doth Matthew Parker, in the life of Thomas Bouchier archbishop of Canturburie, make to be treasurer in the thirde yeare of Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1463: which may well enough stand with the former, being treasurer to John earle of Worcester in the said thirde yeare of the king. For upon the removing of the said earle in the thirde yeare of Edward the fourth, came this lord Greie in place. The words of which Matthew Parker (with a note of the yeare of Christ 1463 in the margent) are in this order. *Edwardus rex, annulus iam annis feliciter gesto regno, parliamentum Westmonasterij tenuit, quo etiam tempore archiepiscopus (which was Thomas Bouchier the brother of Henrie Bouchier earle of Essex) & clerici in synodo conveniunt. In hac synodo Johannes comes Wigornia, Henricus comes Essexie, D. Edmundus Grey thesaurarius Anglia, D. Humfridus Cromwell, D. Wenlocke, D. Johannes prior sancti Johannis, & Robertus Stillington legum doctor custos privati sigilli, regis conciliarij, aliiq. literis regij, petierunt a clero decerni regi ad Scotos repellendos subsidium. Quod quidem gratissimis omnium animis tam munifico regi concessum est, qui superiori anno ecclesie immunitates atque iura iniquis iudiciorum calumnijs (viti in Tothanne Stafford antea diximus) convulsa & labefacta diplomate regio restauravit.*

Besides which, thus writeth John Whethamsted, that learned abbat of saint Albons, of this lord

Greie, declaring in what authoritie he was at first, in the dates of Henrie the first, and then in the reigne of Edward the fourth. His words be these. *Anno 36 H. 6. venerunt tres viri monachi de canobio Cluniacensi, quibus ad audiendum eorum nuntium missi sunt episcopus Dunelmensis custos privati sigilli, dominus Edmundus Greie de Ruthine, & secretarius regis, quibus isti viri dixerunt eorum adventum esse ob tria. Primo ad aperiendum quomodo reges Anglia & precipue Henricus secundus fuerunt tam magni benefactores ad eorum ecclesiam, ut potius pro nunc dicatur earum patronus ac precipuus fundator. Secundo venerunt ad petendum possessionem & confirmationem bonorum illorum, quae dicti progenitores eis contulerant, & per tempus non paucum iam dudum a manibus eorum detenta & distracta erant. Tercio ad impetrandum liberam licentiam ad ingrediendum singula loca religiosa ab eorum canobio dependentia, & quae per nobiles progenitores regis posita fuerunt sub eorum regimine. Sed nihil hic eis gratum fuit actum, ita ut tristes discederent. Out of the which words of Whethamsted make other things be gathered, besides the doings of the lord Greie: as that the kings of England, and speciallie Henrie the second, haue bene great benefactors and founders of the Charterhouse monks: with manie mo matters contained in the same, which I referre to the wise and learned reader, which made me the willinger to set downe his words so largelic.*

Moreover, the same Whethamsted, continuing the historie of Henrie the first, writeth of the battell of Northampton, wherein was this lord Greie, in this sort. *In praelio Northamptonensi Edmundus Grey dominus Ruthine corpore licet praesens (even as the lord Stanleie was in the battell fought betwixt Richard the third & Henrie erls of Richmond, after king by the name of Henrie the seventh) in campo domini regis Henrici sexti steterat, cor tamen eius non erat rectum in eo, neq. omnino fidelis habitus aut inuentus fuit. Nam venientibus turmis dictis ad fossam circumvallationis, & ipsam non multum propter elevationem verticis in parte ulteriore ascendere valentibus, occurrit ipsi dominus cum suis copijs obtutus, porrigendosq. ipsis dextram traxit eos per manus in campum Martium, iuxta votum suum. Thus much Whethamsted of Edmund Greie lord Ruthine, who was made earle of Kent in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1464.*

This Edmund Greie being lord Hastings, Wexford, and Ruthine (before he had the honour of this earledome) did by his deed of indenture dated the 18 of Nouember, in the five and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of our redemption 1446, give to John Pinchbecke prior of Dunstable in Northamptonshire in almesse, during the life of the said prior, his field called Challocke, belonging to the manour of Challocke, to keepe the obits of sir John Greie, father to the said sir Edmund, and of dame Custance the widow of the earle marshall, and daughter of John Holland duke of Crecester and erle of Huntington, mother to the said sir Edmund, with masse, &c. and such other collects as the said Edmund should deliuer unto the said prior. Out of this house of the Greies haue issued manie noble houses, and those of great antiquitie, whereof at this daie there yet remaineth two honourable houses: the one being Henrie Greie earle of Kent now living, a man of singular estimation in the countrie of Bedford where he now liueth, as well for the nobilitie of his race, being descended of this Edmund Greie lord treasurer of England, for the good government and carriage of himselfe, and for the orderlie and wise managing of the affaires of that countrie, deserving

deserving no lesse honourable place in the common-wealth, than the honour of his race, and worthinesse of his behaviour doe well merit.

The other house at this daie in honour, is the lord Greie of Wilton knight of the garter, and sometime deputie of Ireland, a man of no lesse merit for his service abrode in the seats of armes, than is the other Greie for his service at home in the affairs of peace. But I will not saie all that I thinke and know of them both, least some more maliciouslie than trulie blemish me with the note of flatterie. For I protest I am so farre estranged from that, as I being not at all knowne to the one, and but slenderlie to the other, and neuer benefited by any of them both, there is no cause why I should use any flatterie: and yet such force hath vertue, as it will shine even in despite of malice. But againe to the matter. There haue out of this house of the Greies, besides manie noble houses, issued one duke of Suffolke, two marqueses of Dorset, and five earles of Kent.

Again I thinke it not impertinent for the continuance of antiquities, and of deserts of honour, to mention how manie severall houses there haue bin of the nobilitie of these Greies, and in what time they lived. First there was Reignold Greie lord Greie of Codnor, in the time of king Stephan: the second was Reignold lord Greie of Rotherfield, in the time of Richard the second: the third John Greie earle of Tankerville in Normandie, in the time of Henrie the first: the fourth this Edmund Greie lord Ruthine earle of Kent, and tresuroz of England in the time of king Edward the fourth: the fifth house Thomas Greie marquisse Dorset, in the time of king Edward the fourth: the sixt Edward Greie lord Lisle in the time of king Edward the fourth: the seventh Edward Greie lord Powes, in the time of king Edward the fourth: the eight Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke, in the time of Edward the first. So that there were at one time, in one kings daies, which was the time of Edward the fourth, six noble men living of the name of Greies, which were the marquesse Dorset, the earle of Kent, the lord Lisle, the lord Powes, the lord Greie of Wilton, and the lord Greie of Rotherfield.

Wherefore to draw to an end of this lord tresuroz, who hath occasioned me to be more liberall in treating of him and the Greies, than of any lord tresuroz or noble name besides (for manie private reasons which I reserve to my selfe) I will yet speake more liberallie of him and the Greies in my large booke of the lives of the lord tresuroz of England, and knit by this Edmund Greie lord tresuroz with the marieng of his wiffe Katharine, the daughter of Henrie Percie earle of Northumberland, by whome he had issue George Greie earle of Kent; Elisabeth, married to Robert baron of Greiesocke; and Anne married to John lord Greie of Wilton.

Sir Walter Blunt knight, who was the first lord Pontioie, possessed the place of the lord tresurozship of England, in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, which fell in the yeare that the word of the father toke flesh in the wombe of the virgine 1465. Of this man is mention made in the booke of the law called Long Quinto of Edward the fourth. He married the daughter of one Dirham, and had issue, William, John, and James.

Sir Richard Woodville knight, chamberleine to the king, and constable of England, was made baron on the ninth of Maye in the second yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1424, and was after created earle Rivers in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1465, who thus advanced was after lord tresuroz in the first, seventh, & eight of Edward the

fourth. In which eight yeare of Edward the fourth, Thomas Coke late maior of London, was accused of treason and arreigned for the same. Who after that he had bene manie times purged thereof, was yet at last found gilty, and by this lord Rivers then lord tresuroz so handled, as that he could not be deliuered untill he had paid eight thousand pounds to the king, and eight hundred to the queene. This lord tresuroz married Jaquet the widow of John duke of Bedford, daughter to Peter of Lucenburgh earle of S. Paule, by whom he had issue Richard earle Rivers, Antonio lord Scales in the right of his wiffe, Edward Woodville knight slaine at the battell of S. Albine in Britaine in the third yeare of Henrie the seventh: Lionell bishop of Salisburie, Margaret married to Thomas erle of Arundell, Margaret married to William Herbert erle of Huntingdon, Anne first married to William Burcher erle of Essex and after to George Greie erle of Kent, Jaquet married to John lord Strange, Elisabeth married to sir John Greie younger sonne to the lord Greie of Ruthine, and after the death of the said sir John Greie to king Edward the fourth: and Katharine married to Henrie duke of Buckingham. Besides all which I haue read of one John, which was sonne to this earle Rivers, which John married the old duchesse of Norfolk, & was beheaded with his father: the truth whereof I leave to further triall. This Richard erle Rivers the lord tresuroz in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1469, was by Robert Hiltard, who named himselfe Robert of Kildedale, taken in the forest of Wene as some haue, others saie at Grafton, and from thence brought to Northampton, where he was beheaded.

John Longbrother, prior of saint Johns Ierusalem in England, possessed the place of the lord tresuroz of the realme, in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred and nine, for in the same yeare he gave place to the bishop of Elie.

William Greie bishop of Elie, was after the translation of Thomas Burcher from Eke to Canturburie advanced to that see by Nicholas the first then bishop of Rome, who gaue it to the said William being then procurator for king Henrie the first at Rome, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred fiftie and four. This man was lord tresuroz in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare in which God became man one thousand four hundred thre score and nine, in which office he continued (as I gather) untill the eleventh of king Edward the fourth, or thereabouts. This Greie was borne of the noble house of the lord Greies of Codnor, as saith Bale, and travelled into Italie to attaine great learning, where he heard the noble clerke Guarinus Veronenis read in Ferrara. He continued bishop of Elie four and twentie yeeres, eleuen moneths and two daies, departing this life at Dunham the fourth of August, in the yeare that the word of the father toke flesh in the wombe of the virgine, one thousand four hundred seventie and eight, as I haue red; and was buried at Elie betweene two marble pillars, hauing bestowed great summes of monie vpon the reparation of that famous belfrie of the church of Elie, and vpon other ornaments of the same church.

Henrie Boucher erle of Essex did the third time possess the honorable place of the lord tresuroz of England, in the eleventh yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, in which office he continued (as I gather) about twelue yeares, being all the rest of the life of the said Edward the fourth, who departed this world about the ninth daie of Aprill, in the yeare from the conception of the Meschiah one thousand

The lord Greie of Wilton.

The severall houses of the Greies.

The Greies right honorable.

Sir Walter Blunt knight

Sir Richard Woodville.

Sir Richd wood

Sir William Hopton,

Sir Reimol Wale knigt

Sir John Dunham knight.

Sir Eric

four hundred four score and three, which Bouchier being made earle of Essex in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, in the yeare of Christ 1461, married Elisabeth the daughter of Richard de Cambrudge earle of Cambridge the sister of Richard duke of Yorke, by whome he had issue William lord Bouchier, Thomas, John, Henrie, and Humfrie knights.

Sir Richard Wood

Sir Richard Wood knight, whome some call sir John Wood, being before vnder treasurer in the three and twentieth yeare of king Edward the fourth, was in the same yeare of the same king made knight, about a moneth before the death of the said king Edward the fourth. This man did possesse the place of the lord treasurer of England (as I gather out of the record of *Pellis eximus* of that yeare) in the second yeare of the reigne of the unnaturall, bloudie, and vnruling tyrant king Richard the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1484, which office I suppose that he kept, untill the said Richard the third was slaine by Henrie earle of Richmond afterwards king of England, by the name of Henrie the 7. And here I thinke it not amisse before I go any further (although it be somewhat out of order, sith it is best to observe *Decorum*, and vnderstande to treat of vnderlie officers vnder such an vnderlie king as Richard the third was) to make report of sir William Hopton knight, whome some will haue to be treasurer in the first yeare of the reigne of the same king, in the yeare of Christ 1483, attending on him to his coronation. But trulie, sauing the correction of better sene antiquaries than my selfe, I can not as yet receiue him into the catalog of the lord treasurers of England, but rather suppose that he was treasurer of the household.

Sir William Hopton

Sir Reinold Bate knight

Sir Reinold Bate knight (the sonne of Richard Bate physician as some haue noted to king Henrie the first) being seruant to Margaret countesse of Richmond mother to Henrie the seventh, was for the fidelitie to his ladie, & good seruice in furthering king Henrie the seventh to the crowne, receiued into great fauour with the said king, and made lord treasurer of England, as appeareth by the record of *Pellis eximus* made vnder his name in the first yeare of the reigne of Henrie the seventh, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand, four hundred, eightie, and five: besides which office he had manie other offices and honours, part whereof were, that he was treasurer of the kings wars, that he was one of the executors to king Henrie the seventh, that he was made knight of the Bath at the coronation of the said king, and created a banneret at Blaque heath field. He died the eighteenth yeare of the Salomon of England king Henrie the seventh, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred & three, and was honorablie buried at Windsor.

Sir John Dinham knight

Sir John Dinham knight (the sonne of sir John Dinham knight) a faithfull seruant to the house of Yorke as well in aiding the duke of Yorke, as in seruing king Edward the fourth sonne to the said duke of Yorke; to whom the said Edward the fourth, in the second yeare of his reigne had giuen one annuallie of fortie pounds by yeare, did after the death of the said king Edward the fourth, in the second yeare of king Henrie the seventh, possesse the place of the lord treasurer of England, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred four score and six, and so continued untill in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the seventh, and then gaue place to Thomas earle of Surreie, of which lord Dinham thus writeth Leland: *Diminus Denham primus fuit fundator sancti Nicolai aliius Horland*. He was created lord Dinham in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, shortly after the coronation of the said king, in the yeare of

our redemption one thousand four hundred three score and one, he died in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the seventh, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred, and the thirtieth of Januarie was brought to the Greie friers in London: there buried: he married Elisabeth the daughter of the lord Fitzwater, by whom he had issue George and Willip, and sir Thomas Dinham his base sonne that married one of the daughters and helres of sir John Dymond, which Thomas was buried at Ashing three miles from Berkhamsted. Besides which children this lord Dinham or Denham, for so I find both written in chronicles, had by his legitimat wife diuerse daughters, which were Margaret married to Nicholas baron of Carew, Joane married to the lord Zouch, Elisabeth married to the lord FitzWarren, and Katharine married to sir Thomas Arundell of Cornetwall knight.

Here I thinke it not amisse to saie somewhat of a note which I haue sene, that maketh John Touchet lord Audleie treasurer, which note is this. John Touchet lord Audleie treasurer of England, died the six and twentieth daie of December, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred four score and ten, falling in the first yeare of king Henrie the seventh, and had issue James lord Audleie beheaded the eight and twentieth of June, in the yeare of Christ 1497, being the twelfth yeare of king Henrie the seventh, he married the daughter of sir Richard Dauell knight: thus much the note. But trulie for anie thing I can yet learne, I can not perceiue when this John Touchet should be treasurer, and so cannot perceiue where he should be placed in this catalog of the treasurers of England. But as I will not receiue him into anie place of this succession at this time; so I will not altogether reiect him, in hope that following time will informe me of the truth therein.

Thomas Howard the sonne of John lord Howard (created the first duke of Norfolk of that name in the time of Richard the third) was at the same time also created earle of Surreie. This man (after the slaughter of his father at Bosworth field, when the tyrant Richard the third was slaine by Henrie the seventh) was after receiued into such fauour with the said king Henrie the seventh, that he was advanced to be lord treasurer of England, in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the seventh, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred, which place he continued all the life of the said king Henrie the seventh, who died in the four and twentieth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred and nine. After which for the good seruice he vsed in the time of Henrie the seventh, king Henrie the eight also permitted him to keepe that office, which he possessed untill the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred twentieth and three.

Thomas Howard erle of Surreie.

This man was created duke of Norfolk in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the eighth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred and thirtene, at what time also his son Thomas Howard was made earle of Surreie. This duke was advanced to that honour (in recompense of the death of the king of Scots, and for the good seruice that he did against that nation in the said six yeare of Henrie the eighth) with an augmentation of his armes, to beare the armes of Scotland in the bend of the arms of Howard. Touching which victorie and death of the king of Scots Buchanan lib. 13. writeth to this effect, that the said Thomas Howard (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants his cognisance (to weare on their left arme) being a white lion (the beast which he bare before as the proper ensigne

ensigne of that house) standing over a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdom of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes. This Thomas duke of Norfolk married two wives, his first wife was Elisabeth the daughter of sir Frederike Tinline knight, by whom he had issue Thomas erle of Surreie after duke of Norfolk, Edward slaine at Bzet admerall of England, & Edmund Howard, with Elisabeth married to Thomas Bulleine earle of Wiltshire, and spuriell married to John Greie viscount Lisle. His second wife was Agnes daughter of sir Philip Tinline knight, by whom he had issue William lord Howard of Effingham, with many others. This Thomas duke of Norfolk died in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and foure, and was buried at Wetsford in Norfolk.

Thomas
Howard.

Thomas Howard (sonne to the said Thomas duke of Norfolk) being earle of Surreie, possessed the place of the lord tresuroz in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare that Christ took flesh of the virgine Marie one thousand five hundred twentie and thre: the which office he continued in the eight and thirtieth yeare of the said king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and six; in which yeare on the eight and twentieth of Januarie, the said king Henrie died (so that this duke and his father were lord tresuroz of England almost eight and fortie yeares.) But about some few daies more than a moneth before the death of the said king, that is to saie, on the twelke of December, this duke with his sonne Henrie earle of Surreie were committed to the tower, the one by water the other by land. Shortly after which the said Henrie was beheaded at tower hill, the nineteenth daie of Januarie: about nine daies before the death of the king. And the duke remained as condemned to perpetuall prison, till the beginning of the reigne of queene Marie, who then set him at libertie. He married for his first wife Anne the daughter of king Edward the fourth, but had no issue by hir: after whose death he married Elisabeth daughter to Edward duke of Buckingham, by whom he had issue, Henrie earle of Surreie beheaded as before, Thomas viscount Windon, and Marie married to Henrie Fitzroie duke of Richmond. He died about the beginning of the reigne of queene Marie.

Edward
Seimor.

Edward Seimor earle of Hertford was after the death of king Henrie the eight made lord tresuroz of England, in the first yeare of king Edward the first: being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred fortie & six, in which yeare he was also made protectoz of England and duke of Summerfet: of whom thus writeth Matthew Parker, calling him *Regni camerarium*, in the life of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie in these words page 397. *In testamento* (meaning king Henrie the eight) *Edwardo principi minori novem annis nato heredi suo sexdecim tutores, ex episcopis solos Thomam Cranmerum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum & Cuthbertum Tonstallium Dunelmensem episcopum dedit.* And a little after pag. 398. fol. loweth: *verum pluribus (ut diximus) ei minori* (that was king Edward) *a patre constitutis curatoribus, ne numero suo atque multitudine ad dissensiones faciles essent & proclives unus electus est, qui ex consilijs reliquorum impuberis regis tutelam solus administraret.* Is fuit Edwardus Seimorus comes Hertfordiensis, totius regni camerarius regisque amuniculus. Qui suscepta tutela regis, totius regni atque dominiorum suorum protector & Summerfeti dux nuncupatus atque creatus est. This duke of Summerfet being tresuroz of England continued in the same office untill his death (as I gather) more than foure yeares, and was beheaded in the first yeare of king Edward the first, being the

yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred fiftie and one.

Sir William Paulet knight, marquisse of Winchester was made lord tresuroz upon the death of the duke of Summerfet: in the first yeare of king Edward the first, and the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and one, which office he kept by the space of twentie yeares and more: a longer time than ever any other tresuroz had done before, except the two last dukes of Norfolk. This man being a man of extreme age (as attaining to the yeares of ninetie seven) died lord tresuroz of England (the tenth of March, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand five hundred seventie and one, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of the famous queene Elisabeth) at his manor of Basing. He in his life time did see the children of his childrens children growne to the number of one hundred and thre, a rare blessing of God to men of his calling. He married Elisabeth the daughter of sir William Capell knight, by whom he had issue John marquisse of Winchester, Thomas, Chidloche, and Giles; Alice married to Richard Stowell, Margaret married to sir William Berkeleye, Margaret married to Richard Waller, and Cleane married to sir Richard Peckshall.

Gerald
Sylt.

Sir William Cecill knight of the garter and lord Burghleie, was advanced to the honorable place of lord tresuroz of England on the thirtieth daie of Julie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, five hundred, seauentie and two, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of our gracions queene Elisabeth. This man was descended of the honorable familie of the Sittspts of Wales, sometime lords of Beauport in the daies of Henrie the first, as appeareth by this pedigree here inserted.

Sir William
Cecill.

1 In the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and one, Robert Sittspt came with Robert Fitzhamon to the conquest of the countrie of Glamorgan, and after wedded a ladie, by whom he had Walterrennes and other lands in Hereford and Gloucestershires: he had a sonne called James Sittspt.

D. Powell
in hist. Camoria
p. 142. 153, 164.
Robert
Sittspt.

2 James Sittspt took part with Spawd the emperesse against king Stephan, and was slaine at the siege of the castell of Wallingford *Anno quarto Stephani*, having then upon him a vesture, whereon was wrought in needle worke his armes or ensignes, as they be made on the tome of Gerald Sittspt in the abbete of Dore, which are afterward trulle blazed, in a iudgement giuen by commission of king Edward the third, for the ancient right of the same armes. This James had a sonne called John Sittspt, and foure daughters.

James
Sittspt.

3 John Sittspt, the sonne of James, was after the death of his father, in the same warres with Roger earle of Hereford, and constable of England, and being taken prisoner at the siege of Lincoln, *Anno. 6. Stephani*, he paid for his ranfome foure hundred marks, and therefore sold his lordship of Beauport, and all his lands in the countie of Gloucester: he took to wife a ladie called Spawd de Frenes and had issue Cusface.

Gerald
Sittspt.

4 Cusface Sittspt the son of John was wedded to Elianor the daughter of sir Walter Penburyge knight, and had by hir Baldwin and John, and foure daughters, whereof one of them was the wife of sir Thomas Fitzneale knight.

John Sittspt.

5 Baldwin Sittspt the sonne of Cusface, was made knight by king Henrie the second, in the warres that the king had against the Welshmen, he was also killed in the same warres, at the siege of the castell of Cardiffe, his father being alive; he took to wife the daughter of Maurice de Brompton, and had by hir Gerald Sittspt, Cusface Sittspt, and

Sir John
Sittspt.

Henrie Sittsyt, John Sittsyt, and Walter Sittsyt; and two daughters, Catharine and Ellanoz. Catharine was the wife of Hugh Pureake, and Ellanoz was the wife of Walter Wallis. This Baldwin Sittsyt knight toke to his second wife, Margerie the daughter of Stephan Wadnoz knight, and had by hir, Stephan Sittsyt, Roger Sittsyt, Hugh Sittsyt, and David Sittsyt; and three daughters, the first was Mabel and she was a Nun, the second was Jone and she was the wife of John de Solers, the third daughter Anne was the wife of Owen ap Meredith. This man gave certeine lands in the towne of Kigefone, unto the monks of Dore, and granted unto the same monks freedom of common and pasture, and other liberties in his woods.

6 Gerald Sittsyt, the first sonne of Baldwin Sittsyt knight, toke to wife Mabil the daughter of Sir William Poigne knight, and had by hir three sonnes, Gerald Sittsyt that died a child, Robert Sittsyt that married and had children, and Owen Sittsyt a monke of the abbey of Dore. He had also three daughters, Catharine, that was wedded to Sir Griffin ap Iorford, and after to David ap Euan, and the third time to Geoffrey de Bret, sonne of Sir Walter Bret knight. Anne the second daughter of Gerald Sittsyt was wedded to Robert the sonne of Richard Bromelwich. And Ellen the third daughter of Gerald Sittsyt, was the wife of John Abzaball, father of Sir John Abzaball knight.

7 Robert Sittsyt, the sonne of Gerald toke to wife Alicia daughter of Sir Robert Tregois knight, and had by hir James Sittsyt his first sonne, Gerald the second sonne, Thomas the third sonne, and Baldwin the fourth sonne; and Margaret the first daughter, and Elisabeth the second daughter.

8 James Sittsyt the sonne of Robert, toke to wife Mabel the daughter of Sir John Knell knight, and had by hir James and Gerald twins; James died young: he had also Robert Sittsyt, and John Sittsyt; and five daughters, that is to saie, Alicia wedded to Walter Ponington, Grace wedded to Roger sonne of William Blunt, Ellanoz wedded to Thomas Waine, Margerie wedded to Morgan ap Meredith, and Mabel married to Howell ap Blethin, and after to Sir Hugh Bruge.

9 Gerald Sittsyt, sonne of James, toke to wife Margaret, daughter of Stephan Dalaber, and by hir had John Sittsyt; and after he wedded Bridget the widow of Sir Simon Ward knight, and had by hir James Sittsyt, and the third time married the daughter of Martine Hopton, and had by hir Martine Sittsyt, Henrie Sittsyt, and David Sittsyt, and Jone a daughter. And the fourth time the same Gerald Sittsyt toke to wife Jane the daughter of Robert Emerton, and had by hir one sonne named Stigand Sittsyt, that was slaine in the warres of Struelin in the time of king Edward the second, and had no issue, as the register of the abbey of Dore maketh mention.

10 John Sittsyt, the sonne of Gerald, toke to wife Mabil the daughter of Robert of Ewys, and had by hir Sir John Sittsyt knight, George Sittsyt, and a daughter named Margaret, that was the wife of Sir Robert Waskerville knight, who had by hir Sir John Waskerville knight; and by his second wife he had Sir Richard Waskerville knight, that toke to wife Jane the daughter and heire of George Sittsyt second sonne of this John Sittsyt, and had by hir Sir John Waskerville knight.

11 Sir John Sittsyt knight, toke to wife Alicia, the sister of the said Sir Roger Waskerville, and Sir Roger married his sister, as is aforesaid.

This Sir John Sittsyt had John Sittsyt and Roger Sittsyt.

* In the time of the warres that king Edward the third made against Scotland, at a place called Baldon hill nere Barwik anno 6. of Edward the third, there arose a great variance and contention betwene Sir William de Jacknham knight, on the one side apponant, and this Sir John Sittsyt knight, on the other side defendant, for an ensigne of armes, that is to saie; The field of ten barrets silver and azure, supported of fine scutcheons sable charged with so manie lions of the first rampants incensed geules, which ensigne both the parties did claime as their right. But as both parties put themselves to their force to mainteine their quarrell, and vaunted to mainteine the same by their bodies; it pleased the king that iustice should be yelded for trial of the quarrell, without shedding of blood: and so the bearing of the ensigne was solennelie adjudged to be the right of the said Sir John Sittsyt, as heire of blood lineallie descended of the bodie of James Sittsyt, lord of Beauport slaine at the siege of Wallingford, as before is declared. The finall order and determination of which controuersie is laid downe by John Boswell gentleman, in his booke intituled The concords of Armorie, fol. 80. This Sir John Sittsyt had a charge of men at arms, for the custodie of the marches to Scotland, in the eleventh yeare of king Edward the third.

12 John Sittsyt, the sonne of Sir John Sittsyt knight, toke to wife Jone daughter of Sir Richard Ponington knight, and had by hir John Sittsyt that died, his father being alive, and Thomas Sittsyt.

13 Thomas Sittsyt married Margaret the daughter and heire of Gilbert de Winslon, and had by hir Philip Sittsyt, and David Sittsyt. This man was a great benefactor to the monks of Dore, and forgave them great sums of monie which they did owe him.

14 Philip Sittsyt married Margaret, the daughter of John Phillips, and had by hir Richard, John, and Margaret.

15 Richard Sittsyt or Cecill married Margaret the daughter of Philip Waghan, and had by hir Philip Cecill, Margaret Cecill, John Cecill, David Cecill, and James or Jenkin Cecill.

* These pedegrees & descents I gathered faithfully out of sundrie ancient records and evidences, wherof the most part are confirmed with scales autentike thereunto appendent, manifestlie declaring the antiquitie and truth therof; which remaine at this present in the custodie of the right honourable Sir William Cecill, knight of the noble order of the garter, lord Burghleie, and lord high treasurer of England, who is lineallie descended from the last recited Richard Sittsyt, father to David Cecill, grandfather to the said Sir William Cecill now lord Burghleie. And at this daie William Sittsyt or Cecill esquier cozen german to the said lord Burghleie, removed by one degree onelie, is possessed of the foresaid house of Walterrennes in Ewys land as the heire male of the house of Sittsyts, and is descended of Philip Cecill, elder brother to the said David.

This Sir William Cecill lord Burghleie, living at this instant in the yeare of Christ, one thousand, five hundred, eightie and six, to the great support of this commonwealth, doth worthilie intoy the place of the lord treasurer of England, of whom (for avoiding the note of flatterie) I may not saie that god which we the subjects of England doe fele by his meanes, and all the world doth see in his rare and wise government. And therefore leaving what may be said of him for his honorable deserts, from his countrie, his prince, and his countrymen, as well

for rare gouernement at home, as for graue managing of the matter of state abroad, I beseech the almighty Lord to lengthen his yeares with perfect health and happie successe of all his good desires, to answer the worth of those his honourable deserts. Thus knitting by this discourse of the treasurers, with no lesse honorable person of the temporaltie in this our age, than I began the same discourse with a rare person of the spiritualtie in that their age: this being knowne as singular in policie as the other was supposed to be in prelacie, I here set end to that which with much labour of bodie, trauell of mind, and charge of purse, I haue brought to this forme what so euer it be. Thus this much by Francis Thyn touching the treasurers of England.]

The earle of Northumberland beheaded.

Englishmen sent to Ulster in Ireland.

Anno Reg. 15
A strange star appeared; the bignesse thereof, and of what continuance.

The 22 of August Thomas Persie earle of Northumberland late of Copelife, who had bene before attainted by parlement of high treason, as one of the principall conspirators in the late rebellion, and now brought out of Scotland, whither he had fled, was beheaded at Porke about two of the clocke in the afternone, on a new scaffold set by for that purpose in the market place. In this moneth of August sir Thomas Smith, one of the quenes maiesties priue counsell, carefullie tendering the reformation of Ireland, sent his son Thomas Smith esquier thither with a certeine number of Englishmen to inhabit the Acos in Ulster, after the maner of a colonie vsed by the Romans.

The eighteenth of Nouember in the morning was seene a star northward verie bright and clere, in the constellation of Cassiopeia, at the backe of hir chaire, which with three cheefe fired stars of the said constellation made a geometricall figure losengwise, of the learned men called Rhombus. This starre in bignes at the first appering seemed bigger than Jupiter, & not much lesse than Venus when she seemeth greatest. Also the said starre neuer changing his place, was caried about with the daillie motion of heauen, as all fired starres commonlie are, and so continued (by little and little to the eye appearing lesse) for the space of almost sirtene moneths: at what time it was so small, that rather thought by exercises of off betwing might imagine the place, than aye the could iudge the presence of the same. And one thing is herein chesellie to be noted, that (by the skill and consent of the best and most expert mathematicians, which obserued the state, proprietie, and other circumstances belonging to the same starre) it was found to haue bene in place celestiaall far above the moone, otherwise than euer aye comet hath bene seene, or naturallie can appere. Therefore it is supposed that the signification thereof is directed purposefullie and speciallie to some matter, not naturall, but celestiaall, or rather supercelestiaall, so strange, as from the beginning of the world neuer was the like.

Earle of Darbie deceased.

The life and death of the foresaid earle of Darbie.

The foure and twentieth of Nouember Edward earle of Darbie, lord Stanleie, & Strange, of Knocking, lord and gouernor of the Isles of Man, knight of the noble order of the garter, and one of the quenes maiesties priue counsell deceased at his house called Latham in Lancashire. His life and death deserving commendation, and crauing memorie to be imitated, was such as folloiweth. His fidelitie vnto two kings and two quenes in dangerous times and great rebellions, in which time, and alwaies as cause serued, he was lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, and lastelie offered ten thousand men vnto the quenes maiestie of his owne charge for the suppression of the last rebellion. His godlie disposition to his tenants, neuer forcing anie seruice at their hands, but due payment of their rent. His liberallie to strangers, and such as shewed themselves

gratefull to him. His famous housekeeping, and cleuen score in checkroll, neuer discontinuing the space of twelue yeares. His feeding especiallie of aged persons twice a daie three score and od; besides all commens thise a weeke appointed for his dealing daies; and euerie god fridaie these five and thirtie yeares one with another two thousand seauen hundred, with meat, drinke, monie, and monie worth. There was neuer gentleman or other that waited in his seruice, but had allowance from him, to haue as well wages as otherwise for horse and man. His yerlie portion for the expenses of his house foure thousand pounds. His cunning in setting bones dislointed or broken, his surgerie and desire to helpe the poore, his deliuerie of the George and scale to the lord Strange, with exhortation that he might keepe it so bespotted in fidelitie to his prince as he had, and his ioie that he died in the quenes fauour. His sofull parting this world, his taking leaue of all his seruants by shaking of hands, & his remembrance to the last daie.

The eight and twentieth of Nouember John Hall late of Battell in Suffe gentleman, and Oswald Wilkinson late of Porke and gaillof of Porke castell (being before arraigned and condemned of treason) were drawne from the tower of London to Abbeys, and there hanged, boyled, and quartered. This yere a great and sharpe frost almost continuallie lasted, from before the feast of All saints, till after the feast of the Epiphanie of our Lord, with sometime great and deepe snowes, and sometime raines, which frasted as fast as the same fell to the ground: where through at Wrotham in Kent, and manie other places, the armes and boughs of trees being overcharged with ice, brake off, and fell from the topes of the same trees. Also the wind continued north and east, till after the Ascension daie, with sharpe frosts and snowes, whereby followed a late spring.

The twelue of Januarie William lord Holward, baron of Effingham, lord priue seale, knight of the noble order of the garter, and one of the priue counsell deceased at Hampton court. The eighteenth of Januarie William lord Somerset earle of Worcester began his iourneie towards France, to the chaffening of the kings daughter there in stead of the quenes maiestie of England, who sent with him a font of gold for that purpose, weighing three hundred and six and twentieth ounces. The said earle with manie of his companie were robbed upon the sea by pirates of much of their baggage, and three or foure of their men slaine. In France he and his traine were honorable received. At the chaffening he gaue the child to iames Elisabeth. They returned into England the seauen and twentieth of Februarie.

In the moneth of Februarie, thorough sundrie heinous complaints brought to the quenes maiestie and hir counsell of pirates that kept the narrow seas, doing manie robberies, as also the robbing of the earle of Worcester (as is aforesaid) hir highnesse, by the aduise of hir honourable counsell, took order with the lord admerall of England, that he should send to the seas, ships and men to scowre the narrow seas, & to apprehend so manie pirates ships as might be met with. And for the better doing thereof, it pleased hir maiestie to send one of hir owne ships, named the Swallow to be the admerall, vnder the charge of William Holfstocke of London esquier, comptrollor of hir highnesse ships, who had with him the Gillian, the barke Caret, and the barke of Parmonth, and three hundred and three score able marchers, gunners, and soldiers in the said three ships, and one barke which scowred the narrow seas, from the north foreland, as farre westward as Falmouth in Cornewall, and took twentieth ships and barke of

Here quoted in a noble man.

Hall and Wilkinson executed.

Great frost and a sharpe winter.

1573
Lord priue seale deceased.

Earle of Worcester sent into France.

Earle of Worcester robbed on the sea.

The narrow seas scoured.

Blowme murthered by moone.

The comets often seen in his mination.

Pirates executed.

A man he ro in slain Georges field. The earl here deceased.

George & his men murdered at Shrewsbury.

Discouraged the more practised committes.

Roger Comens and his Roges.

Pirats on the
west seas.

Pirats execu-
ted.

late
noble

3 man hange
in saint
Georges
field.
The earle of
Kent deceas-
ed.

id with
execu-

George Sand-
ers murthe-
red at Shot-
ters hill.

frost
jarge

Discourse of
the murder
committed and
committed.

73
prize
executed,
of wope
sent in
ance.

Roger Cle-
ment
the Roger.

of wope
robbed
sea.

George the
murderer re-
ward with
maie.

narrow
scowled

De confession
to offense by
his exa-
mination.

sun drie nations, to wit, English, French, and Flem-
mings (but all pirats) and in fashion of warre. He
apprehended in those ships and barks to the number
of nine hundred men of all nations, and sent them to
ward to Sandwich, Douer, Wight, and Portes-
mouth (whereof three of them that robbed the earle of
Worcester were shortly after executed at Wight.)
Also the said William Holstoeke did rescue and take
from the aboue said pirats ships, fiftene other mer-
chants ships laden with merchandize, that were their
prizes, being of sundrie nations, and set at libertie
the said fiftene merchants ships and goods: which
done, he returned to Portsmouth, and there ended
his botage in March.

The fourth of March, a man was hanged in chains
in saint Georges field beyond Southwoke of Lon-
don, for murdering the gailloz of Portsmouth in the
same field. The seventeenth of March deceased Mel-
nold Greie of Ruthin, earle of Kent, at Bernefeie,
and was buried at saint Giles without Creplegate.
About the same time died Edmund lord Shandois.
The five and twentieth of March being wednesday in
Caster weke, and the feast of the Annuntiation of
our ladie, George Browne cruelly murdered two
honest men nere to Shoters hill in Kent, the one of
them was a wealthie merchant of London named
George Sanders, the other John Beane of Wool-
wich, which murder was committed in manner as
followeth. On tuesday in Caster weke (the foure
and twentieth of March) the said George Browne re-
ceiuing secret intelligence by letter from mistresse
Anne Durie, that master Sanders should lodge the
same night at the house of one master Barnes in
Woolwich, and from thence go on foot to saint Marie
Craie; the next morning he late in wait for him by
the waie, a little from Shoters hill, and there slue
both him & John Beane seruant to master Barnes.
But John Beane having ten or eleuen wounds, &
being left for dead, by Gods prouidence did recou-
er againe: and creeping awaie on all foure, was found
by an old man and his maiden, and conueied vnto
Woolwich, where he gaue euident marks of the
murderer.

Immediatlie vpon the dead dowing, Browne sent
mistresse Durie word thereof by Roger Clement
(among them called trustie Roger) he himselfe re-
paired forthwith to the court at Greenwich, & anon
after him came thither the report of the murder al-
so. Then departed he thence vnto London, and came
to the house of mistresse Durie, where though he
spake not personallie with hir, after conference had
with hir seruant trustie Roger, she prouided him
twenty pounds that same daie, for the which he laid
certaine plate of his owne, & of mistresse Sanders
to gage. On the next morning being thursdaie (ha-
ving intelligence that Browne was sought for) they
sent him six pounds more by the same Roger, war-
ning him to shift for himselfe by flight, which thing he
followed not to do. Neuer thelesse, the lordes of the
quens maiesties counsell caused so speedie and nar-
row search to be made for him, that vpon the eight
and twentieth of the same moneth he was apprehen-
ded in a mans house of his owne name at Rochester
and being brought backe againe to the court, was
examined by the counsell: vnto whome he confessed
the deed (as you haue heard) and that he had often-
times before pretended and sought to do the same, by
the instigation of the said mistresse Durie, who had
promised to make a marriage betwene him and mi-
stresse Sanders (whome he seemed to loue excessiue-
lie) neuer thelesse he protested (though truthtie) that
mistresse Sanders was not praisie nor consenting
therevnto.

Vpon his confession he was arreigned at the

kings bench in Westminster hall the eighteenth of
Aprill, where he acknowledged himselfe guiltie, and
was condemned as principall of the murder, accord-
ing to which sentence he was executed in Smith-
field, on mondaie the twentieth of Aprill: at which
time also truthtie (as the hir selfe confessed after-
ward) he laboured by all meanes to cleare mistresse
Sanders of committing euill of hir bodie with him,
and then slung himselfe besides the ladder. He was
after hanged by in chains nere vnto the place where
he had done the fact. In the meane time mistresse
Durie and hir man being examined, as well by
their owne confessions, as by falling out of the mat-
ter, and also by Brownes appeachment thought cul-
pable, were committed to ward. And after mistresse
Sanders being deliuered of child, and churched (for
at the time of hir husbands death she looked presentlie
to lie downe) was vpon mistresse Duries mans
confession, and other great likelihoods, likewise com-
mitted to the tower, and on wednesday the first of
Maie she was arreigned with mistresse Durie at
the Guildhall.

The effect of their indictment was, that they by a
letter written had bene procurers of the said mur-
der: & knowing the murder done, had by monie &
otherwise releued the murderer: wherevnto they
pleaded not guiltie. Howbeit they were both condem-
ned as accessaries to master Sanders death, and ex-
ecuted in Smithfield the thirtieth of Maie, being
wednesday in Whitsonweke, at which time they
both confessed themselves guiltie of the fact. Trustie
Roger mistresse Duries man was arreigned on
fridaie the eight of Maie, & being there condemned
as accessarie, was executed with his mistresse at the
same time and place aforesaid. Not long after, Anthonic
Browne brother to the fornamed George Browne,
was for notable felonies conueied from Petogate
to Booke, and there hanged.

The tenth of Aprill seauen pirats which among o-
thers had bene taken on the north seas, were lead
from Southwoke to Wapping, and five of them
were there hanged: the other two had their pardon
at the gallowes. The seauenteenth of Aprill a chande-
lers wife without Aldersgate of London, who had
practised hir husbands death by poisoning and othe-
rwise, was set on the pillorie in Cheape, with three o-
ther women, who had bene of hir counsell: two of
them were with hir there whiped.

The seauenth of June, betwene the houres of
one and two of the clocke in the after none, a great
tempest of haile and raie happened at Locester in
Northamptonshire, wherethrough six houses in that
towne were bozne downe, and fouretene more soze
perished with the waters which rose of that tempest.
The haillstones were square, & six inches about. One
child was there drowned, and manie sheepe with o-
ther cattell, which when the water was fallen, manie
of them were lieng on the high hedges, where the wa-
ters had left them. The sixteenth of June, Thomas
Woodhouse, a priest of Lincolnshire, who had laine
long prisoner in the Fleet, was arreigned in the
Guildhall of London, and there condemned of high
treason, who had iudgement to be hanged and quar-
tered, and was executed at Tiburne the nineteenth
of June.

The firstenth of August, Walter earle of Essex,
accompanied with the lord Rich, and diuers other
gentlemen, imbarked themselves in seuerall ships
at Eirpoule, and the wind sitting verie well, toke
their volage towards Ireland. The earle after manie
and grea dangers on the sea, at length wone Cope-
mans Island, from whence in a pinnelle of captaine
Perfes he was brought safe to Knockfergus. The
lord Rich with the like danger landed at castell Mil-
life,

George
Browne
hanged in
Smithfield,
and afterward
in chains on
Shoters hill.

Anne San-
ders, Anne
Durie, and
trustie Roger
hanged in
Smithfield.

Anthonic
Browne hanged
at Booke.

Pirats hanged
at Wapping.

Fourer women
on the
pillorie.

Haile in North-
amptonshire.

Thomas
Woodhouse.

Erle of Essex
and the lord
Rich with o-
ther sailed into
Ireland.

life, where being met by capteine Dalbie, maister Smith, & maister Poze pensioners, he was conducted to Inch abbaie maister Dalbies house, where he had in a readinesse on the morrow morning a hundred and fiftie horsemen for their safegard to Knockfergus, beside fiftie kerns which went a foot through the woods: there was among these a thirtie bowes with a bagpipe, the rest had darts. Sir Brian O'Connell had preied the countrie, and taken a swaie what was to be carried o' d'auen, but on the first of September he came to Knockfergus, to the earle of Essex, and there made his submission: the number of kine were esteemed thirtie thousand, besides sheepe and swine.

Bowes, bagpipes & darts among the Irish.

Erle of Essex capteine general of Ulster in Ireland.

Peter Burchet wounded maister Hawkins.

Peter Burchet found to be an heretike.

Peter Burchet abjured his heresie, & submitted himselfe to penance.

Peter Burchet killeth his keeper.

Peter Burchet hanged.

Anno Reg. 16.

After him Ferdough Macgillastiche the blind Scots sonne, Roze, Dge, Macwilline did the like: and diuerse other sent their messengers to the earle, to signifie that they were at his lordships disposition as the baron of Dongarrois, Condenell, Odonell, and the capteine of Kilulto. The earle of Essex hauing the countrie of Claniboie and other, the queens maiestie of England directed his letters to the lord deputie of Ireland, willing him to make by commission the earle of Essex capteine general of the Irish nation in the prouince of Ulster, and to diuide the countrie twome, Claniboie, and else where, &c. The eleuenth of October, Peter Burchet gentleman of the middle temple, with his dagger suddenlie assailed, cruellie wounded, and meant to haue murdered a seruiceable gentleman named John Watkins esquier, as he with sir William Winter, and another gentleman rode towards Westminster, in the high street neare to the Strand, beyond the Temple barre of London: for which fact the said Burchet being apprehended and committed to the tower, was afterward examined concerning the fact. When answered that he toke the said maister Watkins for another gentleman: and being further examined, he was found to hold certeine erroneous opinions, for the which he was sent to the Lollards tower. From thence being called into the consistorie of Pauls church, before the right reuerend father Edwine bishop of London, and others, & by them examined, he stood in his opinions, till the sentence of death as an heretike was readie to haue bene pronounced against him on the fourth of Nouember: but through the earnest persuasions of diuerse learned men, who toke great paines in that matter, he renounced, forswore, and abjured his opinions for erroneous & damnable, promising neuer to returne to them, and also willing to do and performe all such penance as the bishop his ordinarie should intioine him.

The ninth of Nouember, the said Peter Burchet was removed from the Lollards tower, to the tower of London, where on the next morrow about none, whilst one that had kept him companie was gone done, and locked the doore after him, leaving another with him called Hugh Longworth, who stood at the window reading in the bible, the said Burchet walking vp and done in the chamber, toke a billets end out of the fire, and knocked the said Longworth on the head, and left not till he had stricken him dead: for the which on the next morrow he was arraigned & condemned at Westminster, and then returned to Summer set house, where he remained that night: and on the next morrow being the twelfth of Nouember, he was brought to the gibet, where (after his right hand being stricken off, and nailed to the gibbet) he was hanged nigh the place where he wounded maister Watkins. This yeare about Lammas, wheat was sold at London for thre shillings the bushell: but shortly after it was raised to foure shillings, five shillings, six shillings: & before Christ-

mas to a noble, and seven shillings, which continued long after: bese was sold for twentie pence, and two and twentie pence the stone, and all other fish and white meats at an excessive price, all kind of salt fish verie deare, as five herings two pence, yet great plentie of fresh fish, and oft times the same verie cheape: peale at foure shillings the bushell, otemeale at foure shillings eight pence: baie salt at thre shillings the bushell, &c. All this dearely notwithstanding (thanks be giuen to God) there was no want of anie thing to them that wanted not monie.

The fourth of Aprill being Palme sondaie, there was taken sateng of masse in the lord Pozeis house within Algate of London, one Albon Dalman priest, and the ladie Pozeie with hir children, and diuerse others were also taken hearing of the said masse. There was also taken the same daie and houre for sateng masse at the ladie Wilfords in Trinitie lane, one Oliver Westwood priest: and for hearing of the said masse, the said ladie Wilford with diuerse other gentlewomen. There was also taken at the same instant in the ladie Browns house in Cowlane for sateng masse, one Thomas Westwood priest, and one John Cowper priest, with the ladie Browne, and diuers other were likewise taken being hearers of the said masse. All which persons were for the same offenses indicted, convicted, and had the law according to the statute in that case prouided. There was also found in their seuerall chappels, diuerse Latine booke, beads, images, palmes, chalices, crosses, vestments, pires, pases, and such like.

The ninth of Julie at six of the clocke at night, in the Ile of Thanet beside Ramsgate, in the parish of saint Peter vnder the cliffe, a monstrous fish or whale of the sea did shew himselfe on shore, where for want of water, beating himselfe on the sands, he died about six of the clocke on the next morning, before which time he roared, and was heard more than a mile on the land. The length of this fish was twentie two yards, the nether jaw twelue foot the opening: one of his eyes, being taken out of his head, was more than six horse in a cart could draw, a man stood by right in the place from whence the eye was taken. The thickness from the backe whereon he laye, to the top of his bellie (which was upward) was fourtene foot, his taile of the same breadth: betwene his eyes twelue foot, thre men stood by right in his mouth, some of the ribs were six foot long, his tongue was fiftene foot long, his liuer two cart lode, into his nostrils anie man might haue crept: the oile being boiled out of the head was parmasitie, the oile of his bodie was whittish and sweet of tast. The seventh of August, a sollemne obsequie was kept in saint Pauls church at London for Charles the ninth king of France, who deceased on the twentie day of Aprill last before passed.

On the fiftenth daie of August being sondaie, Agnes Bridges, a maiden about the age of twentie yeares, and Rachell Pinder, a wench about eleuen or twelue yeares old, who both of them had counterfetted to be possessed by the diuell (wherby they had not onlie maruellouslie deluded manie people, both men and women, but also diuerse such persons as otherwise seemed to be of good wit and vnderstanding) stood before the preacher at Pauls crosse, where they acknowledged their hypocriticall counterfetting, with penitent behauiours, requiring forgiveness of God and the world, and the people to praye for them. Also their seuerall examinations and confessions were there openlie read by the preacher, and afterwards published in print for the further posteritie hereafter to beware of the like deceiners.

The fourth of September in the after none, such a storme of raine happened at London, as the like of long

dearly bought out scarse, & afterwards plentie to them that had monie.

1574
Purges taking masse ap- prehend.

A monstrous fish (but not so monstrous as some report) for his eyes being great, wherein his head and not in his backe.

Sperma cet. Obsequie at Pauls for the French king.

Sale fall bare.

157

Presen- tation th winder change.

old house in a chan London.

Domato salt at St Guildhal

Examine inuited.

A world one hour

Fierie in pectious naturally

Anno Re

Temperd with the fourth

Sale fall bare.

157

Presen- tation th winder change.

A lad of eight years

Death with
out scarie,
after words
sentie to
hem that had
none.

Pricks in
the male ap-
prehended.

A monstrous
fish (but not
so monstrous
as some repo-
red) for his
eyes being
great, were in
his head and
not in his
backe.

*Sperma cere,
Ableque at
Pauls for the
French king.

Agnes Byn-
ges & Rochell
Pinder at
Pauls crosse
for counter-
feiting to be
possessed.

A lad of eigh-
teen years

Remained
in council in
London.

Remained
in council in
London.

Remained
in council in
London.

Remained
in council in
London.

Remained
in council in
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London.

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in council in
London.

Remained
in council in
London.

Remained
in council in
London.

long time could not be remembred, where though the
chauncels of the citie suddenie rising, ran with such a
forcible course towards the common sewes, that a
lad about the age of eightene yeares, minding to
haue lept ouer the chancell nere unto Dowgate, was
borne ouer with the streame, and by the same caried
from the conduit there towards the Thames, with
such a swiftnesse, that no man with staues or other-
wise could stay him, till he came against a cart wheele
that stood in the watergate, afoze which he was drow-
ned and starke dead.

This yeare the maior of London went by wa-
ter to Westminster, and there took his oth, as hath
bene accustomed: he kept no feast at the Guildhall,
although great prouision had bene made for that
purpose, but dined at his owne house with his bre-
thren the aldermen: the companies dined at their
seuerall halles. This was done by the speciall ap-
pointment of the quenes maiesties counsell, to a-
void infection of the plague, like to haue increased by
comming together of such a multitude. This weeke
from the two and twentieth, unto the eight and twen-
tith of October, deceased in the citie and liberties,
containing an hundred and eight parishes, of all dis-
eases, one hundred threescore & six, of the which num-
ber threescore and five were accounted to die of the
plague. Michaellmas term, which had bene about-
ned by proclamation, began at Westminster on the
first of Nouember. The same first day in the morning,
there happened two great tides at London, in the
riuer of Thames, the first by conrse, the other within
one houre following, which ouerflowed the marshes,
with manie vaults and cellars neare adioining.

The fourteenth of Nouember being saturday, about
midnight following, diuerse strange impressions of
fire and smoke were seene in the aire to proceed forth
of a blacke cloud in the north toward the south, which
so continued till the next morning that it was daie
light. The next night following, the heauens from
all parts did seme to burne marvellous raginglie,
& ouer our heads the flames from the horizon round
about rising did meet, and there double and roll one
in another, as if it had bene in a cleare foynace. The
eighteenth daie at night blew verie stormie & tem-
pestuous winds out of the south, as hath not bene
knowne the like out of that quarter, especiallie af-
ter midnight, till the next morning that it was daie
light. These are to be receiued as tokens of Gods
wrath readie bent against the world for sinne now
abounding, and also of his great mercie, who doth
onlie thus but to shew vs the rod wherewith we daile
deserue to be beaten.

This yeare at London after haruest, the price of
wheate began by little and little to fall, from seven
shillings to thre shillings the bushell, at which price it
staied (little or nothing rising or falling) all the yeare
after: but baie salt was raised from thre shillings
to foure shillings, five shillings, and six shillings the
bushell, the like whereof had neuer bene seene or
heard within this realme. The 24 day of Februarie,
being the feast of saint Matthe, on which daie the
saire was kept at Tenkesburie, a strange thing hap-
pened there. For after a flood which was not great,
but such as therby the meadows nere adioining were
couered with water, in the after none there came
downe the riuer of Seuerne great numbers of flies
& beetles, such as in summer eueninges vse to strike
men in the face, in great heapes, a foot thicke aboue
the water, so that to credible mens iudgement there
were seene within a paire of butts length of those
flies aboue a hundred quarters. The mills there a-
bout were dammed by with them for the space of
four daies after, and then were cleared by digging
them out with shouels: from whence they came is

yet unknowne: but the daie was cold and a hard
frost.

The six and twentieth of Februarie, betwene foure
and six of the clocke in the after none, great earth-
quakes happened in the cities of Dorke, Worcester,
Gloucester, Wiltsow, Hereford, and in the countries
about, which caused the people to runne out of their
houses: for feare they should haue fallen on their
heads. In Tenkesburie, Wexdon, and other places,
the dishes fell from the cupboards, and the booke in
mens studies from the shelves. In Dorseton chappell,
the people being on their knees at euening praier, the
ground mouing, caused them to run abate in grea-
te feare that the dead bodies would haue risen, or the
chappell to haue fallen: part of Rother chappell fell
downe with certeine bricke chimneies in gentle-
mens houses. The bell in the shire hall at Den-
bigh was also caused to toll twice, by shaking of the
hall, &c.

On Easter daie, which was the third of Aprill, a-
bout nine of the clocke in the forenone, was disclosed
a congregation of anabaptists, Duchmen, in a house
without the bars of Albgate at London, wherof sea-
uen and twentie were taken and sent to prison: and
four of them bearing fagots recanted at Pauls
crosse, on the fiftenth daie of Maie in forme as follo-
weyth.

The forme of recantation openlie made by the said anabaptists.

Whereas J. J. T. H. being seduced by
the diuell the spirit of erro, and by false
teachers his ministers, haue fallen into
certeine most detestable and damnable
heresies, namelie:

- 1 That Christ took not flesh of the substance of
the blessed virgine Marie:
- 2 That infants of the faithfull ought not to be
baptised:
- 3 That a christian man may not be a magistrat
or beare the sword or office of authoritie:
- 4 That it is not lawfull for a christian to take an
oth:

Now by the grace of God, and through confe-
rence with god and learned ministers of Christ his
church, I do vnderstand and acknowledge the same
to be most damnable and detestable heresies, and
do aske God here before his church mercie for my
said former errors, and do forsake them, recant,
and renounce them, and abiure them from the bo-
tome of my heart, professing that I certeinlie be-
lieue:

- 1 That Christ took flesh of the substance of the
blessed virgine Marie:
- 2 That infants of the faithfull ought not to be bap-
tised:
- 3 That a christian man may be a magistrat, or
beare the sword or office of authoritie:
- 4 That it is lawfull for a christian man to take an
oth.

And further I confesse, that the whole doctrine
and religion established and published in this realme
of England, as also that which is receiued and preach-
ed in the Dutch church here in this citie, is sound,
true, and according to the word of God: wherunto in
all things I submit my selfe, and will most gladlie
be a member of the said Dutch church, from hence-
forth utterlie abandoning and forsaking all and eue-
rie anabaptistall erro. This is my faith now, in
the which I do purpose and trust to stand firme and
stedfast to the end. And that I may so do, I beseech
you all to praie with me, and for me, to God the hea-
uenlie father, in the name of his sonne our sauour
Jesus

An earth-
quake in sum-
drie places of
England, and
what effect it
 wrought.

Anabaptists
bare fagots at
Pauls crosse.

The anabap-
tists heresies

Recanted.

Jesus Christ. The like recantation was made by them afterwards in the Dutch church.

Matthew Parker archbishop of Canturburie deceased.

The seauenteenth of Maie about midnighf follo-
wing, the reuerend father in God Matthew Par-
ker doctor of diuinitie archbishop of Canturburie
deceased at Lambeth, and was there honozable bu-
ried, on whose tombe (being of blacke marble) is
written this most wortheie epitaph here following:

Walter Had-
don.

*Sobrius & prudens, studij, exultans & usu,
Integer & vera religionis amans,
Mattheum vixit Parkerus fonerat illum
Aula virum iuuenem, fouit & aula senem,
Ordine res gestit, recti defensor & equi,
Fixerat ille Deo, mortuus ille Deo est.*

Matthew Parker liued soberlie and wise,
Learned by studie and continuall practise,
Louing, true, of life vncontrold,
The court did foster him both yong and old,
Orderlie he dealt, the right he did defend,
He liued vnto God, to God he made his end.

fo. St. 113a.

Matthew Parker a learned antiquarie, and what monuments of his loue to learning he left behind him.

This reuerend father examined throughe the
English translation of the holie bibles, wherein he
partlie vsed the helpe of his brethren bishops, and o-
ther doctors, and caused the same to be newlie prin-
ted in the largest volume, for the due furniture of
manie churches then wanting. Also making dili-
gent search for the antiquities of the Britons, and
English Saxons, to the end those monuments
might be carefullie kept, he caused them to be well
bound and trimlie couered: and such liber of he knew
berie few examples to be extant (among the which
was Matthew Paris, Matthew Florilegus, and Tho-
mas Wallingham) he caused to be printed. The fa-
mous palace of his see at Canturburie, by long con-
tinuance decayed & consumed with fire, he renewed,
bailded, and fallie restored with the charges of more
than fourtene hundred pounds. He founded a gram-
mar schole in Rochdale in the countie of Lancaster.

Founder of
a grammar
schole.

A benefactor
to Corpus
christi college.

To Corpus Christi college in Cambridge he pro-
cured thirteene scholarships, and bare the charges in
making and furnishing two chambers for scholars,
and the inward librarie of the same college. Item
he gaue to the outward and inward librarie of the
said college a goodlie companie of printed bookes, & a
great number of written bookes of great antiquitie
& much value. Item he procured to the said college
the patronage of saint Marie Abchurch in London.
Item he hath founded two felowships in the said col-
lege, and procured one charter of mortmaine to the
summe of one hundred pounds by yeare. Item he
hath giuen to the same college of silver plate double
guilt three hundred nine ounces, and three quarters,
& surrendered to them a lease with the improuement
of foureteene pounds and eight shillings perleie for
seuenteene yeeres. Item one hundred pounds to
the maintenance of a fier in the hall from Walomas
to Candlemas; and by his last will and testament
five hundred pounds. Item to diuers scholars cham-
bers within the said college diuerse bedsteads, with
sufficient bedding & books to remaine for ever. Item
he hath founded for ever five sermons to be preach-
ed in diuerse places of Dorsetholke euerte yeere in Ro-
gation weeke; and fortie shillings to be diuided at
Dorsetholke to the poore and others. Item to the citie of
Dorsetholke one bason and elver of silver and double
guilt of one hundred seauentie and five oun-
ces. Item to the towne of Walsall in Dorsetholke for
ever an annuities of fiftie shillings to be diuided to
the poore with a sermon in Rogation weeke. Item
to Cunvill and Caius college one scholarship, with
a standing cup; and a pot of silver double guilt of
five and fiftie ounces and three quarters, and one nest
of goblets with a couer silver and guilt, with a num-

Sermons
perpetuallie
founded at his
charges in
Dorsetholke:
and what o-
ther particu-
lar gifts he
bestowed to
good pur-
poses.

ber of good bookes to their librarie. Item to Trint-
tie hall one scholarship, a standing cup and a pot of
silver and guilt of three and fiftie ounces, a nest
of goblets silver and guilt with a couer; and bookes
to their librarie. Item to the vniuersitie librarie
fiftie old ancient written bookes, and fiftie printed
bookes. Of this prelat, to his further commendati-
on the aforesaid doctor Haddon, in the second boke
of his poems maketh very honozable mention, com-
piling in six verses the ensignes of his ancestors,
with those also which were accessarie by the grations
nesse of the prince, who preferred him to his prelacie.
In the same verses also is comprehended as it were
an harmonie or consent of most goodlie qualities an-
swerable vnto the ensignes that he bare; as thus:

*Sunt antiquorum claves monumenta parentum,
Veni ab angusto principe stella triplex.
Sic bene conspiciunt virtus, doctrina, potestas,
Et placida pacis semina lata ferunt.
Sed tamen ad finem decurrunt gaudia vite,
Ac homo pulvis erit, pulvis ut ante fuit.*

De insignibus
enclauis tri-
plex.

The 21 of Maie being Whitsun euen, one man
and ten women anabaptists Dutch, were in the
confinde of Paules condemned to be burned in
Smithfield: but after great pains taken with them,
onlie one woman was conuerted, the other were
banished the land. On the first of June the nine
women being led by the shiriffs officers, and the
man also tied to a cart & whiped, were all conueied
from Fleetgate to the waters side, where they were
shipped awaie neuer to returne againe. The twelue
of June stood at Paules crosse five persons English-
men of the sect termed the familie of loue, who there
confessed themselves vtterlie to detest as well the
author of that sect as all his damnable errors
and heresies.

Anabaptists
banished.

13. pag. 121
Good panish
of pericrite

Archbishop
deard.

The bote
burned.

Grane han-
ga.

Problers
first voyage
by the oilco
arne of Ca-
tia.

From the
captaine F.
which was
cut awie.
Queene El-
izabeths for-
ward.

A woman
brought at
the age of
being his
bed.

The two and twentieth of Iulie two Dutchmen
anabaptists were burned in Smithfield, who died in
great horroz with rozing and crieng. The thirtieth of
Iulie in the afternoon was a great tempest of ligh-
tening and thunder, wherethroughe both men and
beasts in diuerse places were stricken dead. Also at
that time fell great abundance of haile, whereof the
stones in manie places were found to be six or seuen
inches about: The fourth of September being sun-
daie about senen of the clocke in the morning, a cer-
taine glasse house, which sometime had bene the cros-
sed friers hall nere to the tower of London burnt
out on a terrible fire: wherevnto the lord maior, al-
dermen and shiriffes with all expedition repaired,
and practised there all means possible, by water buc-
kets, hokes, and otherwise to haue quenched it. All
which notwithstanding, whereas the same house in
a small time before had consumed great quantitie of
wood by making of fine drincking glasses, now it selfe
having within it nere fortie thousand billets of wood
was all consumed to the stone walles, which walles
greatlie defended the fire from spreading further,
and doing any more harme.

Anabaptists
burned in
Smithfield.

Thunder and
haile, where
infused great
hurt.

The glasse
house burned.

The six and twentieth of September, a puluers
wife in the parish of Christs church within Fleetgate
of London was deliuered & brought to bed of foure
children at one burthen, all females or maiden chil-
dren, which were christened by the names of Eliza-
beth, Marie, Margaret, and Dorothy: and the same
daie moneth the mother was beried, but all the
four children lining, and in good liking, were borne
to church after hir. On Michaelmas euen at night
the like impressions of fire and smoke were scene in
the aire to flash out of the north-east, north and north-
west, as had bene on the five and twentieth of No-
uember last before passed.

A woman
brought a bed
of foure child-
dren at one
burthen.

The tenth of October manie French, and some
Englishmen, but all pirats of the seas, were arreig-
ned

the num-
ber of two and
twentie were
condemned,
and had sen-
tence of death
pronounced
against them.
The mayor of
London went by
water to West-
minster, and
there took his
oath as hath
bene accus-
tomed: he kept
no feast at the
Guildhall, but
dined at his
owne house
with his breth-
ren the alder-
men and others.
The companies
dined at their
seuerall halles,
etc. This was
done as in the
yere last be-
fore passed,
to auoid the
infection of
the plague,
which might
haue increas-
ed by comming
together of
greater num-
bers of people.
That weeke,
from the two
and twentieth
unto the eight
and twentieth
of Decem-
ber, deceased
in the citie
and liberties
of all diseases
one hundred
thirtie and
two, of the
which number
six and thir-
tie were ac-
counted to die
of the plague.
The next wee-
ke following
ending the
third of Nou-
ember (thanks
be giuen to
God therefore)
there de-
ceased of all
diseases but
one hundred
and ten, and
of them of
the plague but
six and twen-
tie.

The plague
deceased in
London.

infigu-
rations of
the plague.

the plague
deceased in
London.

the plague
deceased in
London.

the plague
deceased in
London.

the plague
deceased in
London.

the plague
deceased in
London.

The eleuenth of Februarie Anne Ameries, wi-
dow, forswearing hir selfe for a little monie that she
should haue paid for six pounds of towe at a shop in
Woodstreet of London, fell immediatlie downe
specklede, casting vp at hir mouth in great aboun-
dance, & with horrible stinke, the same matter which
by natures course should haue bene voided downe-
wards, till she died. A terrible example of Gods iust
iudgement vpon such as make no conscience of
swearing against their brother. The fiftenth of Fe-
bruarie, Edmund Grindale sometime bishop of Lon-
don, late archbishop of Yorke, was in the chapter
house of St. Pauls church at London elected archbi-
shop of Canturburie. The first of March in the night
through a great stau of wind then in the northeast, a
fierce boate with about the number of one and thir-
tie persons, men and women, comming from Graues-
end toward London, were all drowned; one boie ex-
cepted. The thirtieth of Maie Thomas Greene gold-
smith was drowned from Newgate of London to
Luburne, and there hanged, headed, and quartered,
for clipping of coine both gold and silver.

The fiftenth of June Martine Frobisher being
furnished of aduenturers, with two small barks &
one pinnesse departed from Blackwall, vpon his
voiage for the discouerie of a passage to Cataia by
the north-west seas. Vpon the first of Iulie he had
sight (as he indged) of Freeland, but durst not ap-
proch the same, by reason of the great yce that laie a-
longst the coast. Not far from thence he lost his pin-
nesse and one of his barks, who mistrusting the dan-
ger of tempests returned home, with report that
their generall Martine Frobisher was cast awate:
which woorthie capteine notwithstanding continued
his course north-west, beyond anye man that hath
heretofore discouered, and the twentieth of Iulie had
sight of a high land, which he named Queene Elisa-
beths foreland; and after that another foreland with a
great passage, diuiding (as it were) the two maine
lands asunder: this place he named Frobishers
Streits. After he had passed sixtie leagues further, he
went ashore, found the same to be inhabited with
sauage people, caught one of them into his barke,
and returning, arriued in England in the moneth of
August following. One of his companie brought
from thence a peece of a blacke stone, much like to a
seacole in colour, which being brought to certeine
goldsmiths in London, to make a saie thereof, found
it to hold gold, and that verie richlie for the quantitie.

The nineteenth of Iulie a woman was burnt at
Tunbridge in Kent for poisoning of hir husband:
and two daies before a man, named Orleie, was
hanged at Maidstone for being accessarie to the
same fact. The tenth of August a rare peece of woike

and almost incredible, was brought to passe by an
Englishman bozne in the citie of London named
Peter Bales, who by his industrie and pacifice of his
pen, contriued and wrote within the compasse of a pe-
nie in Latine, the Lords praier; the creed, the ten
commandements, a praier to God, a praier for the
queene, his poise, his name, the daie of the moneth,
the yeare of our Lord, and the reigne of the queene.
And on the seuententh of August next following at
Hampton court he presented the same to the queens
maiestie in the head of a ring of gold, couered with a
chistall, and presented therewith an excellent specta-
cle by him deuised for the easie reading thereof:
wherewith hir maiestie read all that was written
therein with great admiration, and commended the
same to the lords of the counsell, and the ambassa-
dors, and did weare the same manie times vpon hir
finger.]

This yeare, by reason of the troubles in the low
countrie, the English merchants sustained great
losses diuers waies. For the men of warre that kept
the seas, aduocuing themselves to be retained with
the prince of Denegre, vnder colour to serch for their
aduersaries goods, oftentimes boarded the English
ships as they met with them on the seas, smallie to
the profit of them to whome the same ships and goods
appertained. Some they staid and took awaie with
them. And at length there was a generall restraint
made by the prince of Denegre, that no English
ships should passe to or fro the towne of Antwerpe
by the riuier of Scheld, such being arrested and detei-
ned at Flushing as were comming downe that ri-
uer, and other likewise that were bound by the same
time towards Antwerpe.

The English merchants, feeling themselves thus
molested and dammified at sundrie seasons, exhibi-
ted their complaints to the queens maiesties coun-
cell, who accordingly dealt from time to time with
the prince of Denegre and his deputies for redress,
but speciallie now vpon this generall restraint. And
although great difficultie appeared in the matter, as
well for contenting of the aduenturers of Flushing,
as for that there had bene foure ships belonging to
the prince arrested and staid at Falmouth: at length
yet such English ships as were kept and holden at
Flushing were released and sent home; but not till
two of the English merchants aduenturers' men of
god calling and estimation (hauing first as hath bin
said made a certeine maner of protest) were faine to
enter into bond for the loane of a summe of monie,
and were therewith kept at Flushing till the con-
tract in that behalfe might be perfoirmed. Wherevpon
the queens maiestie, misliking that hir subiects
should be thus hardlie dealt with, armed and set forth
certeine of hir ships, which going to the seas to see
that hir subiects might traueise the same in safetie,
toke diuerse of the Flishingers vessels, and brought
them into the English streames. The Flishingers
herewith on the other part toke and arrested other of
the English ships, so that the troubles seemed rather
to increase than to be in any wise appeased: although
afterwards by sending to and fro, the matter was
taken vp, and such order had as was thought to stand
verie well for the suertie, commoditie, and good li-
king of the English merchants.

But in the meane time, and before this could be
brought to passe, through a disordered mutinie which
chanced among the Spanissh souldiers, it so fell out,
that the states of those low countrie agreed with the
prince of Denegre, and set themselves wholly against
the Spaniards. Wherevpon the pong count de Eg-
mont, the marquisse de Hauerie entered the towne
of Antwerpe, with a power of souldiers for the
states, and meant to haue kept that towne against
the

Here woike-
marshing ser-
ued in the con-
passe of a pen-
ie by the hand-
writing of an
Englishman.

Anno Reg. 18.
1576
English mer-
chants sus-
tained great
losse by sea,
and whye

The English
merchants
complainte to
the queene of
their wrongs.

These foure
ships were
staid for sa-
tisfaction of
one Simons
ship, out of
the which a
Flushing
had taken cer-
taine tans of
Canarie
winnes.

* Martin
Caltrap &
William Go-
bard.

The troubles
increase.

This was the fourth of November, 1550 one with another slain, drowned and burned.

the Spaniards that held the castell. But they doubting to be inclosed & shut up by some siege, got more of their fellows to them, entered the towne by force, & spitefull killing no small number of people, sacked the towne, and put aswell the townesmen as others that were merchants resident there to their ransoms. Amongst other our Englishmen escaped not altogether free, so as diuerse were spoiled of that they had, and the whole number put to their ransome; although vpon the sending ouer of doctor Willson hir maiesties ambassadoz, so much of the ransome as remained vnpaid was promised to be remitted.

Thus were our merchants euill intreated on each hand, by reason of those ciuill tumults in the low countries, aswell this yeare as in the former yeares past, and small hope would be of better successe there, if some end should not be had of that ciuill dissention, which hath so long continued betwixt the king of Spaine and his subiects in those countries, not onelie to the hinderance of themselves, but also of others that haue to trade among them, spectallie for traffike sake and intercourse of merchandize. But at length they haue compounded their controuersies, and are growen to a full agreement and perfect conclusion of peace, which God grant may take place so effectually, as may turne to the quietnesse and publike commoditie not onlie of those countries but of their neighbors, whereby merchants and passengers may in suertie passe to and fro without disturbance, so as no occasion be giuen of breach of leagues and amities betwixt princes and countries, but that the same may be maintained to Gods glorie, and the suertie of the christian commonwealth.

In this yeare the right honorable Walter Deuereux earle of Essex and Cu, earle marshall of Ire-land, viscount Hereford and Bourcher, lord Ferrers of Chartlie, Bourcher & Louaine, knight of the most noble order of the garter, fell sicke of a losenesse of his bodie the one and twentieth of August being fridaye, and for the space of two and twentie daies together he was so greivouslie tormented therewith, that finallye on saturdaye the two & twentieth of September he departed out of this transitorie life, passing from hence to the ioies of heauen, as by his godlie end all that were about him gaue testimonie. The losse of this noble man was greatlie bemoaned, aswell by the English as Irish, for the noble courage, vertuous qualities, and tender zeale to the advancement of the commonwealth which appeared in him.

So that it were a fowle fault in the highest degree, not to laie by some commemoration of so worthie and well deseruing a gentleman, both of prince and people, in perpetuall records: which I will doe by Gods grace none otherwise than I am lead by such matter, yea memorabile matter, as I find in a funeral sermon, made by the reuerend father in God Richard bishop of saint Dunis, at the buriall of this right honorable earle of Essex, in the parish church of Caerperth in Wales, where the said bishop taking for his text these words of S. John, in the 14 of the reuelation, *Audui vocem de celo, dicentem: Beati mortui, &c.* I heard a voice from heauen, saying: Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, &c. After he had discoursed vpon the text as the spirit of God gaue him utterance, he descended at last to a particular treatise tending wholie to the praise of this right noble man: saying in sort as followeth.

Behold the heauie hand of God for our sins, vpon all the whole countrie in the death of this noble man, which is not onelie a messenger of Gods wrath towards this towne and countrie (wherein he was borne) but also in verie deed a great losse to the whole realme. And although this countrie, who shall misse so noble and so worthie a ruler and magistrate, that

boze them so great affection, so ready to benefit all, and hurt none, and for the high calling he was of so able to pleasure and to do good: although I saie this countrie by the death of this noble earle is most earnestlie & effectually cited to appere before the Lord, and to fall to a reckoning: yet doe I beleue that the quaines maiestie, hir highnesse counsell, and all the nobilitie of the realme may hereby receiue admonition, and cause of further circumspection and aduigilancie. For such valiant and couragious noble men are the bulwarks and walles of defense of the whole realme. They saie the realme is walled about, because it is inclosed with the sea: but I hold rather with their iudgements, that make the stoutie and true hearts of the subiects, and especiallie of such of the nobilitie that haue made themselves (by Gods especiall grace) expert to gouerne and rule vnder hir maiestie, aswell in warre as peace, the strong towers of defense both of hir maiestie and hir highnesse realme.

This noble earle was one of these number: for I beleue there is no prince in the world, that had a more faithfull noble subiect, than hir maiestie had of him in his time. And for the notable valiantnesse, experience, and vertues that were in him, I am persuaded that hir maiestie (if he had liued) might haue used his seruice to be a terrour to all enimies, foren or domestickall. And now that I may speake somewhat of his great nobilitie, his excellent, vertuous, and worthie qualities: first I thinke I may saie thus much in a generalitie, that it was easie for a man of any iudgement, that should behold his countenance and behauiour, to find in him nobilitie, maiestie and honoz, planted by the especiall gift of God, euen from his mothers wombe. When I consider the nature of nobilitie with the causes efficient and finall, it seemeth vnto me that nobilitie may be compared vnto a riuer or a fountaine, which in the original issueth out of foure principall welles, and all the foure rise out from the compasse of one hill. The welles of nobilitie are prudence, fortitude, iustice, and temperance: the hill whence they spring is the feare of God, or true religion.

Although this worthie earle by progenie was of noble blood, whose ancestors were of great honour, which of it selfe, if a man degenerat not too far from his forefathers, deserueth honorable acceptation in this world: yet was he not therewith satisfied, as it may appere by his studie and trauell in his life time: for he seemed to be of that iudgement that Alphonsus king of Aragon (of whose we read in stories) was of. When a certeine man toke in hand to set out the laud and praise of his nobilitie, he stood much in rectall that he was a king, a kings sonne, a kings nephew, a kings brother, and such like titles. The king interrupting his tale answered, that he neuer esteemed much of that kind of glorie: and that it was the praise and commendation of his ancestors, who by vertue and worthie qualities had deserued such high callings and honour, and not of him: and that his praise stood not in that which might fall vnto him by testament, but in the imitation and performing of the noble acts, provelse, and valiantnesse of his forefathers. This noble earle likewise, not answered to his expectation in that he was a noble man by blood and inheritance, gaue himselfe wholie all the daies of his life to purchase and win the nobilitie that springeth immediatlie from the verie originall founteins of the same, as partly I will put you in remembrance of. We will begin with prudence, which may be thus defined.

Prudence is a power or facultie of the mind giuen of God, whereby man is made wise, prudent and circumspect, and whereby man attaineth knowledge, cunning, and expertnesse in all matters that

what noblemen are the walls of the realme.

The praise of the earle by sumptuous considerations.

Comparison of true nobilitie vnto a riuer or fountaine.

Prudence is a power or facultie of the mind.

The disposition of the earle to enlarge and augment his nobilitie.

Prudence is a power or facultie of the mind giuen of God.

A conclusion of peace betwixt the parties before divided.

Walter Deuereux earle of Essex departed this life.

Abr. Fl. ex com-
mune funebri, vs
pates in contex-
tu.

The place of the earls birth: wher tolle all England hath of him.

How he showed his piety and piety.

The report of his knowledge.

The earle in the scripture and mat of religion.

He was a power or faculty.

His experience in the world, in the world, in the world.

Fortitudinal noble men were not to be feared.

the children of men haue to deale with in this world. This noble erle was of great wisdom, deepe iudgement, graue consideration, and so blessed with vnderstanding, experience, and manifold vertues and gifts of God, that he was right worthy to serue his maiestie in princelie and weightie affaires, both in warre and peace. He was of such prudent and excellent discretion, that he had a speciall grace to intertaine all states of men, superiour, equall, and inferiour, with such comelinesse and decencie, that for ciuillitie, humanitie, maners, and honorable behauiour, he was a paterne and an example for nobilitie to imitate and to follow. In his youth he bestowed not the time in banitie, slovenesse, or voluptuousnesse; but in atchylung and winning of such sciences, properties and vertues, which might beautifie and increase his nobilitie, and preuailed therein so effectually, that he became excellent in all kinds of knowledge and qualities, meet, commendable, or necessarie for a man of honour. Concerning diuine matters, I haue in my time conferred with his lordship, and therefore can saie somewhat therein: and amongst others, one thing is notable, which in conference I receiued at his mouth. He affirmed this in effect, that there was nothing in the world that could blemish and abate the heroicall nature of nobilitie so much, as to haue the eyes of vnderstanding so closed and shut vp, that a man in honour should not be able to discern betwixt true religion, and the hypocriticall false religion; betwixt the right worshipping of God, and idolatrie; betwixt the traditions of men and Gods word: but remaine subiect to lies and superstition, and to call bad good, and good bad: and concluded that to be free from this seruile state, was a necessarie point of true nobilitie.

He therefore in his time had diligently travelled in the scriptures, and so furnished himselfe with principles of christian religion, that he was able readilie to discern sermons and disputations, and to find out who had veritie on their side: and also probable to speake with authoritie of scripture in matters of controuersie. His vnderstanding by the speciall worke of the holie ghost was so illumined, that he claue & drew to true christian religion, as the adamant stone cleaueth and draweth to Steele. His lordship therefore furthered and fauoured all preachers of Gods word, so that whosoever will iudge of the successe of Christs religion by humane reason, must confesse that the gospell hath lost a mightie protector, and an earnest defender. But God in setting out of his word, beth to worke beside the expectation of man, and beyond the reach of reason. I haue yet further to speake of his lordship, that I beleue there be vertue few noble men in England, more readie and expert in chronicles, histories, genealogies, and pedigrees of noble men, and noble houses, not onlie within the realme, but also in forren realmes, than this noble erle was in his time. He excelled in describing and blasing of armes, and in all skill pertaining thereto: and to be short, his vnderstanding and capacitie was so liuie and effectuall, that it reached to all kind of matters that a perfect nobleman shall haue to deale withall in this world.

Fortitude is another founteine from whence nobilitie floweth, of Cicero *In Tusculanis questionibus* thus defined: *Est affectio animi qua grauius patiendo legibus obtemperatur*: It is an affection of the mind whereby to satisfie the lawes a man is content to suffer hardnesse; he meaneth mans lawes, and not Gods law. It satisfieth the refoze that it may be thus more euidentlie and fullie defined: Fortitude is an affection of the mind, whereby a man is made hardie and couragious to suffer difficulties and dangers, auoiding on the one side rashnesse, & expelling on the other side feare,

to performe that which Gods law and honestie prescribe and commandeth. Although by this definition on we find, that the effect of fortitude reiecteth much in banishing of feare of bodilie hurts: yet both it agree verie well with the feare of God. Ietho therefore counselling Moses to chuse men to gouerne vnder him, saith; *Prospice viros fortes, timentes Deum*; Seeke out men indued with fortitude, fearing God, &c. Whereby we perceiue, that fortitude and the feare of God varie not, but are linked together. Deepe was the flood of nobilitie that this valiant erle had fetched out of this founteine. For in this together with the well of prudence, he found that excellent knowledge of this world, the cunning to lead an armie, to guide and to rule soldiors, that experience of stratagemes & warlike policies, that notable magnanimitie and incredible courage, whereby he indured and overcame so manie dangers and perils, for the which he is renowned in England and Ireland, and shall neuer be forgotten. He was by nature the sonne of Mars; and by practising feats of war and exercise aforesaid he had made himselfe in manner a perfect warriour, as fore that euer he came to the wars; and was for prowess, magnanimitie, and high courage to be compared to the old Romane capteins, that he so much in stories commended. This fortitude is no lesse necessarie for nobilitie in time of peace than in time of war. For it belongeth vnto them to minister iustice betwixt partie and partie, without respect of persons, which cannot be performed without the assistance of this vertue. I haue good cause to thinke of this noble erle, that there was no subject in England, that could feare or corrupt him from executing of iustice. He was to the proud and arrogant a lion, and to the meeke and humble a lambe, neither is there anie contrarietie in this: for true nobilitie discerneth a due and conuenient time and place to vse both the one and the other.

Iustice is the third well of nobilitie, it is a constant and a perpetuall will to giue euerie man his owne. This is a diuine vertue, precious, and commendable in all men, and especiallie in the nobilitie, who by reason of authoritie may do iniurie without remedie for the same. We see by experience that great is the number of them that would oppresse, if they had authoritie: we see also the iniuries that are done daillie by them that haue colour of authoritie, be it neuer so simple. But examine the life of this erle who will, and I beleue there is no man liuing that can iustlie complaine of anie iniurie or wrong done by him. I once in my time heard him not a little offended with one of his men that was complained vpon; saying that his seruant could do him no greater dishonor, than by pretense of his authoritie to do anie worse man wrong. Job in the time of his authoritie & wealth, was commended to be a iust & a righteous man. And in the explication of part of that iustice Job hath these words, *Eui oculum ceco, vice pedum claudo*, &c. I was the eyes to the blind, and I was the feet to the lame, I was a father to the poore, and when I knew not the cause I sought it out diligentlie, I brake the chawes of the vnrightheous man, and plucked the prete out of his teeth. Here we find that who soeuer will do iustice, must not onelie do no wrong, but must also with all his might, succour and comfort the helpelesse and oppressed. In this part of iustice there was neuer noble man more forward than this good erle. He was the comfortable refuge of all such as were in aduersitie, or oppressed by power.

Of Titus Tlespianus emperor of Rome we read, that he answered one of his friends, admonishing him to hold his hands, and not to make his liberallitie and gentlenesse common to all men, saying; that it becommeth not a prince to let anie man part

The earles chualrie, martiall knowledge and prowesse advanced.

Fortitude needfull both in time of peace and warre.

Iustice a noble vertue, wherewith this erle was indued.

The bishop reporteth of the earles iustice vpon his owne knowledge.

Iob. 29. 15.

The paterne of a good erle indeed.

Suetonius; from

The huma-
nity, courtesie,
affabilitie, and
other vertues
of this earle.

from him with a heaute hart. This worthy erle was of like mind: for he was so full of humanitie and compassion, that he would be loth to let anie distressed part from him without some comfort and ease. In so much that in him (if ever in anie man) this adage, *Homo homini Deus*, A man a god to man, was as true, lie performed, as in tyrants the contrarie adage, that is, *Homo homini lupus*, A man a wolfe to man. Wee read in chronicles of emperors, kings, & noble men, which for their bountifullnesse, gentlenesse, affabilitie, and godnesse, deserued some honorable addition to their names; as amongst the emperors *Antoninus pius*, Anthonie the vertuous; amongst the Britissh kings, *Elidorus pius*, Elidor the goodlie; and amongst noble men, in the time of king Richard the second, sir Thomas Pontacute the good earle of Salisburie; and in the time of king Henrie the first, sir Thomas Beuchampe the good earle of Warwicke. This noble earle for the verie like qualitties hath trulie deserued to be called, the good earle, the vertuous earle, and the valiant earle of Essex.

Temperance,
a noble vertue
wherewith
this erle was
indued.

Temperance is the founteine of nobilitie; it is a vertue whereby a man obserueth a moderation, & a reasonable meane in the vse of all things pertaining to bodie & mind: it is the mother of all other vertues, without which, the rest are blemished and disgraced. In the Dutch chronicles that tell of the liues of emperors, the first qualittie that is noted, is temperat, or not temperat, as an argument of the rest of his life and doings: for he is thought unworthy to rule others that can not rule himselfe. This noble earle had a speciall grace, and an excellent gift of God in obseruation of this vertue, whether you respect diet, or the suppression of all vicious affections. I haue diuerse times noted in him, when understanding was brought vnto him of some Thasonicall contumelious word, spoken by some glorious inferiour aduersarie against him, he would neuer be stirred to anie perturbation of mind thereby, but with graue wisdom and magnanimitie contemne it and smile, deriding the banittie and wastwardnesse of that cankered stomach that vomited such soore rotten infection: for he did effectually consider that it became no better a noble hart to take in & receiue wranglings, biallings, chafings, and anger, than it is conuenient to daub a golden pillar with mire and clauie. Salomon was of that mind, and therefore saith; We not thou hastie to be angrie, for anger resteth in the bosome of foles. I haue had occasion by that I noted in his lordship to call to remembrance this saying of Christ; A good man out of the good treasure of his hart bringeth forth good things: & the euill man out of the euill treasure of his hart bringeth forth euill things. For though occasion were ministered, yet should you neuer heare him utter anie opprobrious words, no not against his aduersarie, so pure & immaculate did he studie to preserve the nobilitie of his mind. There be some that count themselves worthy hono: & estimation, when they feare God in peeces with chafing and horrible othes: which this noble earle detested and abhorred, as a matter not onelie vndecent, but also repugnant to the nature of true nobilitie, attributing due reuerence to the name of the Lord, & thereby prouing the fountains of his nobilitie to spring out of the hill of the feare of God.

The earle
could not as-
waie with
swearing, cha-
fing, nor anie
disordered
dealing, &c.

The disposi-
tion and de-
motion of this
earle in the
time of his
sickenesse.

But what was his religion, what faith God had blessed him withall, what godlie disposition he was of, and how abundantlie God had enriched him with his holie spirit; the confession of his faith, his speeches, naie rather his sermons in his sicknesse afore his death shall testifie for ever. For I receiued by the relation of such as are worthy credit, and were present about him, although not all, yet manie of his learned godlie sayings at that time. Concerning his

saluation, he reposed his affiance and sure trust in the blood of Iesus Christ. He forgaue all the world, and by inuincible faith apprehended, laied hold, and imbraced remission of his sinnes, in the merits of the sacrifice of Christs bodie offered vpon the crosse for the sinnes of the world. Trentals, masses, diriges, pardons, and such other papisticall trifies he utterly contemned, as wicked and blasphemous against the death and passion of Christ. He sared like the children of Israel in the wilderness, which when they were stinged with serpents euen to death: yet when they lookt vpon the brazen serpent, they were made whole, safe, and sound. So this noble earle grieved with the remembrance of his former vnthankfull life (as hee iudged) immediatlie directed the eyes of his mind to the passion of Christ, and forthwith felt such health of soule, that he was filled with ioy in the holie Ghost, and all his delight was in meditation of the ioy of the world to come, and the fruition of the presence of God for ever: in so much that five or six daies before he died, he shewed himselfe more like an angell from heauen, than a man compassed with flesh and blood.

My lord the archbishop of Dublin (as I was informed) could moue him in no question or article pertaining to saluation, that he was not readie in, and learnedlie, and godlie resolved: yea, and made such answers in all things, that my lord of Dublin had them in great admiration, and affirmed that his speeches at that time should serue him for sermons as long as he liued. How trulie he relinquished the vanities of this world, and how effectually he thirsted after the ioyes of the life to come, his godlie admonitions ministered vnto such as visited him, and his heauenlie lessons & exhortations to his seruants, shall testifie for ever: for they were such that his seruants report they shall neuer forget, and such as they shall be the better for whilst they liue. Thus haue I by this and partlie declared vnto you, both the life and death of this worthy magistrate, to the end we should consider how seruently God doth call vs to a reckoning by the losse of such a good magistrat. Now a word or two to shew who they be that die in the Lord, and then an end. They principally are said to die in the Lord, which suffer death vnder the beaue, for confession of Christs religion, for they properly die in the Lords cause. Such are the martyrs, as well of the primitive church vnder the cruell emperours, as the martyrs of all ages since vnder antichrist of Rome. They also die in the Lord, which though they die not by the crueltie of the beaue, yet they die in the faith of Iesus Christ, and are therefore blessed.

Of this number was this godlie earle, as I haue before declared. Wherefore I will conclude and direct my speech for two or three words to this god earle. A noble earle of Essex, in thy time the pearle of nobilitie: the mirrour of vertue and worthy qualitties: the child of chualtrie: the beautifull floure of England: the pretious iewel and comfort of Wales: the true state of Ireland. Thy life was most honorable: thy worthinesse incomparable: thy death pretious in the sight of God: for thou diedst in the Lord a right inheritor of the cuerlasting kingdome of heauen. Wherefore by authoritie of the heauenlie oracle that saint John was commanded to write, thou art to be pronounced blessed for ever. Our sins haue shortened thy life, so that we could intoe the same no longer. Thou hast notwithstanding bequethed thy bodie to be buried amongst vs here in Wales. Of verie dutie therefore a noble earle, thy toime shall be with vs in reuerence, estimation, and hono: the same name of thy nobilitie, valiantnesse, vertue, and worthinesse shall neuer be forgotten; but shall liue and be kept with vs in memorie from generation to generation while the world standeth. Thus far the words

Numb. 21. A

The heauen-
lic conten-
plation of this
earle bearing
to his end,

My lord
the arch-
bishop of
Dublin
was
in
great
admira-
tion
of
his
speeches

How his
seruants
were
affected
at his
last speeches.

Who they
be that
die in the
Lord.

A speech
con-
cluding
the
bishop
directed
to the earle
departed.

The earle
terms his
life
as
a
gift.

To what end
the epitaph
genealogicall
was added to
the funerall
sermon.

The old earls
counsell at his
death to the
young earle
now aliue
touching the
shortnesse
of life.

you may know what you are by birth and blood, and that you should not by ignorance or lacke of knowledge of your selfe, doe anie thing unworthie the noble houses from whence you are descended: a well-willer of yours hath ioined to this sermon (amongst other epitaphs containing your fathers due praises) his statelie descent in well digested Latine verses: not to puffe you vp with anie swelling vanities, but to giue you a reason how you beare your armour and badges of honour, and to remember you that error you enter into, if you should blemish the vertues of your noble ancestors, or to doe anie thing (as I said) unworthie your birth and calling.

Lastlie my lord, haue alwaies before your eyes the feare of God, and the counsell of the earle your father at his death: namelie, that you should euer be mindfull of the moment of time, assigned both to your father and grandfather, the eldest hauing attained but to six and thirtie yeares, to the end that vpon consideration of the short course of life that you in nature are to looke for, you might so imploie your tender yeares in vertuous studies and exercises, as you might in the prime of your youth become a man well accomplished to serue his maiestie and your countrie, as well in warre as peace: wherevnto he commanded you to bend all your indencours, & with those conditions heaped his blessings vpon you. I praise therefore that God will increase those conditionall blessings, and the causes of them in you, to the end that his maiestie may thinke of you hereafter as of a true seruant and humble subiect, one of the pillars of his estate, his maiesties kinsman by manie alliances, and the sonne of a most noble father.

Your L. at commandement E. W.

Thus much concerning the two earles, the father departed, and the sonne suruiuing, of whose proceeding in the steps of his father, there is no doubt but within few yeares the world shall haue iust cause (as there is present hope) to beare witnesse: whome in all his attempts we will leaue to such fortunat successe, as God the giuer thereof shall vouchsafe to provide and assigne.]

The tenth of Nouember a proclamation was published for the free traffike of merchants to be restored as had been accustomed in times past betwixt the kingdoms and countreies of the quenes maiestie of England and the king of Portugal, which traffike had been discontinued by reason of certaine staies and arrests made of diuerse subiects on both parts, with their goods & ships. But now it was accorded in name of both their maiesties, that all manner of both their subiects of what kingdome or countrie so euer they be, from the fiftenth of the said moneth, might vse the like mutuall traffike for merchandizes, and in the same places: that is to saie, his maiesties subiects in the kingdomes of Portugal & Algarbia, and in the Isles of Medera and Azore: and likewise the subiects of the king of Portugal in England and Ireland, as they were lawfullie accustomed before the said arrests. This restitution of the said traffike to remaine from the said fiftenth daie of Nouember in this yeare one thousand, five hundred, seauentie and six, during the space of thre yeares next ensuing. At the end of which terme, if by the said princes in the meane time it be not otherwise provided for continuance of the said traffike to indure perpetuallie, no new arrests shall be made of anie things brought into the kingdoms and Isles aforesaid, of either of the said princes during the time of the said thre yeares. It was further agreed by the said princes for the more sure preservation of the amitie and friendship betwixt them, their said realmes and subiects, that neither of them shall receiue anie pirat or rouer into anie of the ports or creeks of either of their realmes, dominions, and countreies, which may or shall haue committed anie piracie or robbrie vpon either of their subiects, nor shall they anie fauour, giue anie aid or succor, or suffer anie to be giuen directly or indirectly to the said rouers or pirats. Neither shall they during the time of the said amitie, in either of their kingdoms, or anie place of their dominions, fauour, intertaine, receiue or retaine, nor suffer to be fauoured, intertaine, receiued, or retelined by anie of their subiects, anie rebels, traitors, or fugitives, subiects to either of them.

Thus farre haue I continued this collection of the English histories, noting breefelie in these later yeares, such things as I find in the abridgement of Richard Grafton, and in the summarie of Iohn Stow, increased somewhat (as may appeare) in places with such helpes as haue come to my hand; humbly beseeching the reader to accept the same in good part, and to pardon me where I haue not satisfied his expectation: for herein I must confesse, I haue nothing contented my selfe, but yet at the request of others haue doone what I could not what I would, for want of conference with such as might haue furnished me with more large instructions, such as had beene necessarie for the purpose.

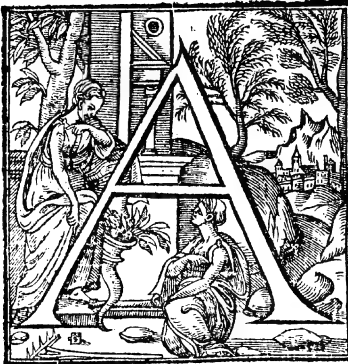


THE CHRONICLES OF England, from the yeare of our

Lord 1576, where Raphaell Holinshed left;

supplied and continued to this present

yeare 1586: by Iohn Stow,
and others.



Disciple of Socrates, by name Aristippus, a man fuerlie of a verie sharpe iudgement and pleasant wit, when he was demanded what profit he tooke by the studie of wisedome, made this answer: Forsooth this profit, that with all sorts of men I can frankelie and boldlie speake. Which answer might well be of that mans making; bicause he bare a mind indifferentlie free, as well from hope as feare: for he serued no man, nor yet flattered anie person, nor otherwise behaued himselfe than his hart gaue him. Of the same mind it were to be

wished that all storie-writers were: for then should Chronicles approach next in truth to the sacred and inuiolable scripture, and their vse not onelie growe more common, but also of greater account. And right good reason whie. For therein is contained the rich and pretious treasure of time, the wisest counsellor vnder the cope of heauen. And that saw Thales the philosopher well inough, who being asked what of all was the eldest? answered, God: what of all the fairest? the world: what of all the greatest? place: what of all the swiftest? the mind: what of all the strongest? necessitie: and what of all the wisest? time. Time in Greeke is called χρόνος, whereof the word Chronicles ariseth, termed τὰ χρονικά, that is, obseruations of time: so that if nothing in wisedome dooth excell time, then who can but wax wise by reading and perusing the obseruations of time, which are meerelie & simplie Chronicles? Chroniclers therefore deserue a reuerence of dutie, whome time hath called and culled out as it were by the hand, to vse their ministerie and seruice for the disposing and distributing of the riches of his wisedome to all ages, that successors may be taught by their predecessors, wit by their follie, fealtie by their disloialtie, obedience by their rebellion, vnitie and peace by their dissention, plainnesse by their doublenesse, sobrietie by their vntemperance, courtesie by their churlishnesse, pitie by their vncharitablenesse; finallie all goodnesse by their badnesse; for the which (as we may see by a sea of examples in this booke) sith they were greuouslie punished, it is our gaine by their smart to be admonished.

Gggggg.iiij.

For

The Epistle.

For surelie heerein standeth a speciall vse of chronicles, that whilest some of-
fending against the lawes of God, of nature, and of nations, doo draw vnto them-
selues deserued vengeance: others by loue allured, or by feare inforced, seeing
their rufull fals, and auoiding the meanes, may happilie escape the paine. This
frute hitherto hath this historie of chronicles afforded, no lesse heereafter by the
continuation following is like to be performed; besides manifold mat-
ters of recreation, policie, aduentures, chiuallrie, &c: abundant-
lie ministred; and all vnder the golden reigne of blessed
queene Elisabeth, the sweet floure of ami-
able virginite:

*Cui vitam, studiūque Deus, regnique coronam
Perpetuet, beet, & tranquillo prosperet usu:
Postque hanc exactam vitam, studium atque coronam,
Cælesti vita, studio, diademate donet.*

A. F.



An. 1

I. Scow.
In vna
rall broth
murther
his natur
brother, bi
the vnnat
rall broth
was hang
as he was
disfruct.

Anno Reg

A tempest
Richmont
Gaz.

1577
Tower on
London
taken down

Robinson
banged for
clipping of
p. 2.

Second be
25 to Ca-
14.2.

Storage Ac



THE CONTINUATION of the chronicles of England from the year of our Lord 1576, to this present year 1586, &c.

Stow.
In vnnaturall
kill brother
murdereth
a naturall
cutter, but
the vnnaturall
brother
was hanged
as he well
desued.



Anno Reg. 19.

Tempest in
Richmond=
Surre.

1577
Tower on
London bridge
taken downe.

Robinson
trayed for
clipping of
gold.
Second booke
of the Cal-
lia.

Large fische.

The tenth day of November, in the citie of Worcester, a cruell & vnnaturall brother (as an other Cain) murdered his olone naturall & louing brother, first

smiting his braynes out of his head with an ar, and after cutting his throte to make him sure, and then buried him vnder the hearth of a chinneie, thinking thereby (though longfullie) quietlie to haue intoid his brothers goods long before in his possession: but not long after this secret murder comming to light, the murderer was rewarded according to his deserts, and to the terror of such vnnaturall murdering brethren. The seventeenth of March, through a strange tempest which hapned in the North, nere to a towne called Richmond, not onelie cotages, trees, barnes and haiesstakes, but also the most part of the church called Patrike Wymton was overthrowen, with most strange sights in the aire, both fearefull and terrible.

In the moneth of Aprill, the decayed stone house called the tower vpon London bridge was begun to be taken downe, and the heads of traitors that were wont there on poles to be fired, were remoued thence, and set on the gate at the bridge foot toward Southworce. The seuenteenth daie of Maie, Richard Robinson goldsmith was hanged from the tower of London to Tiburne, and there hanged for clipping of gold. The one and thirtieth daie of Maie, Martin Frobisher with one ship and two barks furnished for that purpose, sailed from Hartwich in Essex towards Cataia by the north-west seas, and entered the streits beyond quene Elizabeths foreland, about thirtie leagues, where he went on shore, and finding store of the blacke stone, which the goldsmiths had said to hold gold, and therefore called the same gold ore, he staught his ship & barke, caught a man, a woman, and a child of that countrie, and then on the foure and twentieth of August returning from thence, arrived at Milford haue in Wales on the twentieth of September next following.

The fourth, six, and first daie of Iulie, the assises

being holden at Driford, there was arreigned and condemned one Rotoland Fenkes, for his seditious tongue, at which time there arose amongst the people such a dampe that almost all were smouldered, verie few escaping that were not taken at that instant: the iurors died presentlie, hostlie after died sir Robert Bell lord chiefe baron, sir Robert de Olie, sir William Babington, master Wineman, master de Olie high shiriffe, master Dauers, master Harcombe, master Kirtle, master Metipace, master Oxenwood, master Foster, master Path, sergeant Waram, master Stephans, &c. There died in the towne of Driford thre hundred persons, and sickened there, but died in other places two hundred and ob, from the first of Iulie to the twelke of August, after which daie died not one of that sickenelle, for one of them infected not an other, nor ante one woman or child died thereof.

¶ Of this sickenelle there passed a report in print, published vnder the name of M. B. who (as he saith himselfe) was present with sir William Babington, and therefore was able, and did (as he thought good) set downe the certaintie of that heauie accident, for the satisfaction of such friends of his as desired to know the vndoubted truth. And the same M. B. setting downe the opinion, that diuerse conceiued of this venemous maladie, saith that some supposed it to be of two sorts; howbeit (saith he) it is not so. For those that bled till they died, strone so much with their sickenelle, that the blood issued out at their vents: but yet had perfect memoire, even to the paining of their breath, as was verie well perceiued by sir William Babington, who neuer ceased to call vpon God in his great agonie, &c. This reported M. B. as a certaine truth, to stop the sieng rumors of those that (as he saith) haue spoken vnturle in this behalf, and published their owne fantasies.]

On sundae the fourth of August, betwene the houres of nine and ten of the clocke in the forenone, whilst the minister was reading of the second lesson in the parish church of Blithborough a towne in Suffolke, a strange and terrible tempest of lightening and thunder strake thorough the wall of the same church into the ground almost a yard deepe, brake downe all the people on that side aboue twentie persons, then renting the wall vp to the reuestre, cleft the doore, and returning to the steeple, rent the timber, brake the chimies, & fled toward Wongie a towne sir miles off. The people that were stricken downe were found groueling more than halfe an houre after, whereof one man more than fortie peares and a boie of sixteen peares old were found stark dead: the

nesse as
Driford.

Ab. Fl. ex re-
latu W. B. im-
press. 1577.

Tempest in
Suffolke.

The tower on
London
bridge new
builded.

Anno Reg. 20.
Cuthbert
Waine exe-
cuted.
An example of
for ceters, and
such as came
to worke wo-
ders to deceiue
men of their
monie.

Nelson and
Shereford
executed.

Counterfet-
ters of coine
executed.

Pirats
hanged.

1578

Frobishers
third boiage.

the other were scorched. The same or the like flash of
lightening and cracks of thunder rent the parish
church of Worgie, nine miles from Dorwich, worging
in sunder the wiers and wheles of the clocks, and
two men which sat in the belfre, when the other
were at the procession of suffrages, and scorched an
other which hardlie escaped. The tower on London
bridge being taken downe, and a new foundation
drowne, sir John Langley lord maiors of the citie of
London laid the first stone on the eight and twen-
ty daie of August, in the presence of the shiriffes of
London & the two bridgemasters, which new tower
was finished in the moneth of September, Anno
1579.

The thirtieth daie of Nouember, Cuthbert Waine
was drowne, hanged, and quartered at Lanceson
in Cornwell for preferring Komane powder. The
seuententh of Ianuarie, one Simon Penbrooke
dwelling in saint Georges parish in Southworse,
being a figuredinger, and vehementlie suspected to
be a confuter, by commandement of the ordinarie
iudge for those parties, appeared in the parish church
of saint Saviours in Southworse, at a court holden
there. Which Simon being busied in interteining a
proctor, and hauing monie in his hand, leaned his
head vpon a pew wherein the proctor stood: which af-
ter he had done a certeine space, the proctor began to
lift by his head to see what he asied, and found him de-
parting out of life, and straightwaie the said Simon
fell downe, rattling a little in the throte, and neuer
spake word after. This was done euen as the iudge
came into the church, who said it was the iust iudge-
ment of God towards those that used forcertie, and a
great example to admonish other to feare the iustice
of God. After, his clothes being opened, there were
found about him fine diuells books of confutation,
and most abhominable practises, with a picture of sin
of a man, hauing three dice in his hand with this
posse: Chance dice fortunatic; & diuerse papers of
such like matters, as he had dealt in for men, such
men I meane as are mentioned in Leuiticus the
twentieth chapter and first verse: If any soule turne
himselfe after such as worke with spirits, and after
soothsayers, to go a whozing after them (saith the
Lord) I will put my face against that soule, and will
cut him off from among my people.

The third daie of February, John Nelson for
denying the quenes supremaie, and such other tra-
itorious words against hir maiestie, was drowne
from Jewgate to Turne, and there hanged,
bowelled, and quartered. And on the seventh of the
same moneth of February, Thomas Shereford was
likewise drowne from the tower of London to Tu-
burne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered for
the like offense. The five and twentieth of February,
John de Loy a Frenchman, and five English gen-
tlemen, was conueied from the tower of London
towards Dorwich, there to be arraigned and execu-
ted for coining of monie counterfeit. And on the
ninth of March, seven pirats were hanged at Wap-
ping in the ouze beside London.

The ladie Margaret countesse of Lennox deca-
sed on the tenth of March, at hir house in the parish
of Hackneie besides London, and was buried at
Westminster on the third of Aprill. The one and thir-
tith and last of Maie, Martine Frobisher with fif-
teene saile of good ships, manned, vittelled, and other-
wise well appointed, departed from Harwich in Es-
sex on his third boiage towards Cataia. And on the
one and thirtieth and last daie of Iulie, after manie
attempts, and sundrie times being put backe by
flurds of ice in the streits, he recovered his long
withed port, and came to anchor in the Islands, new-
lie by hir maiestie named *Meta incognita*, where (as

in the yeare before) they sought their ships with the
like stone or gold ore out of the mines; and then on
the last of August returning thence, arrived safelie
in England about the first of October.

The two and twentieth of Ianuarie being thursdaie,
about seven of the clocke at night, John Casmere
countie palatine of Rhene, duke of Banare, landing
at the tower of London, was there by diuerse noble
men and others honourablie receiued, and conueied
by cresset light and torch light to sir Thomas Crel-
hams house in Bishops gate street, where he was
receiued with sounding of trumpets, drums, fies,
and other instruments of musike, and there both
lodged and feasted till sundae next, that he was by
the nobilitie fetched and conueied to the court at
Westminster, where after he had talked with hir ma-
iestie, he returned vnto Summeretts house at the
strand, and was there lodged. In the weeke follo-
wing he hunted at Hampton court. On sundae the
first of February he beheld a valiant iustling and
running at the tilt at Westminster. On the next
morrow in the same place he saw them fight at bar-
riers with swords on horse backe. On tuesdaie he
dined with the lord maiors of London; on wednes-
daie with the dutchesse of Suffolke, at hir house cal-
led the Barbican in Red crosse street; on thursdaie at
the Stillard, &c. On sundae the eight of Februa-
rie, the quene made him knight of the garter, by de-
liuering to him the collar, & putting the garter on his
leg at White hall. And on the fourteenth of Februa-
rie, he departed from London to Rochester home-
wards, with great rewards giuen to him by the
quenes maiestie, the nobilitie, men of honour, the
lord maiors of London, and other citizens of that
citie.

The same moneth of February; so wit, on the
fourth daie, and in the night next following, fell such
abundance of snow, that on the fifth daie in the mor-
ning, the same snow was found in London to lie
two foot deepe in the Shallowest, and otherwise being
driven by the wind, verie boisterous in the north-east
on banks one ell or a yard & a half deepe. In the which
drifts of snow, farre deeper in the countrie, manie
cattell, and some men and women were ouerwhel-
med and lost. It snowed till the eight daie of that
moneth, and stilled till the tenth, and then followed a
thaw with continuall raine a long time after, which
caused such high waters, and great floods, that
the marshes and low grounds being drowned for
the time, and the water of the Thames rose so high
into Westminster hall, that after the fall there-
of, some fishes were found to remaine in the said
hall.

The seuententh of February, an Irishman for
murdering of a man in a garden of Stephenheth pa-
rish, was hanged in chaines on the common called
Ayle end greene. This common was sometimes
yea in the memorie of men yet liuing, a large mile
long (from White chappell to Stephenheth church) and
therefore called Ayle end greene, but now at this pre-
sent, by graedie (and as seemeth to me vnlawfull) in-
closures, and building of houses, notwithstanding
hir maiesties proclamation to the contrarie, it re-
maineth scarce halfe a mile in length. The twentieth
daie of February deceased sir Nicholas Bacon, who was
lord keeper of the great seale of England, who was
honourablie buried vnder a sumptuous monument
or tombe (by him in his life time erected) in St. Pauls
church of London, on the ninth daie of March. This
sir Nicholas Bacon in his life time gave for six scho-
lers, to be found in Bennets college in Cambridge,
to each of them three pounds six shillings and eight
pence the yeare for ever.

The said sir Nicholas Bacons tombe aforesaid, bea-
ring

Anno Reg.
The recei-
uing of Cas-
mire.

On the fo-
ur these
berles.

On the m-
side these.

Great kno-
in the mor-
of April.

Sir Tho-
Bacon
chancellor.

The colle-
tion of Fra-
is Thin.

1579
Days snow.

Great low
waters.

Summer
hanged on
Ayle end
greene.

Lord keeper
deceased.

As Elcolle
et epitaph di
ciprionobilis.

ing certeine representations of his wines and chil-
dren in imagerie worke, is adozned with a notable
epitaph, wherein is pithilie described the meanes
whereby he grew to be noble, as also immortall. The
same being contained in these verses following, and
sufficient by the verie epitaph, whereof this is a true
transcription, & great pittie but it shuld be perpetuall.

*Hic Nicolaum ne Baconum conditum
Existima illum, tam diu Britannici
Regni secundum columen; exitium malis,
Bonis asylum; caca quem non extulit
Ad hunc honorem fors; sed equitas, fides,
Doctrina, pietas, unica & prudentia.
Non morte raptum crede, qui unica
Vita perennes emerit duas: agit
Vitam secundam cælestes inter animus,
Fama implet orbem, vita quæ illi tertia est:
Hac positum in ara est corpus olim animi domus,
Ara dicata sempiterna memoria.]*

On the fourth
for these
verses.

On the month
for these.

Great know
in the month
of Aprill.

for Thomas
Bromleie lord
chancellor.

This yeare in the moneth of Aprill, to wit on the
fourth and twentieth daie, fell such a snow betwene the
hours of foure of the clocke in the morning, & nine of
the clocke before none of the same daie, that in Lon-
don the same snow was found to lie one foot deepe.
The 25 daie of Aprill, sir Thomas Bromleie knight
was made lord chancellor of England.

The chancellors of England, col- lected out of sundrie ancient histories.

The collec-
tion of Fran-
cis Thun.



The creation of this sir Thomas
Bromleie lord chancellor, hath occasio-
ned me to treat of the chancellors of
England, a matter which I haue bene
the willingest to set downe, because I would mini-
ster cause to others (who haue long wanted of their
cunning in this matter) to impart to the world some
of their great knowledge herein, to the benefit of
their countrie. But since I doubt that they will
not accept this in good part till that come. And as I
may, & perhaps doe (in this) somewhat more largelie
(than in the iudgement of others shall seeme answe-
rable to the most receiued opinion, touching the
chancellors) treat of the antiquitie of them; so yet
I haue no mind to erre, or to leade anie other into
error. Wherefore, if things be not in perfection by
on this first rough hewing (as nothing is at the first
so exquisit, as time doth not after amend it) yet
disdaine it not, sith this may giue more light than
before was knowen. And I determine God wil-
ling, either to amend, or to confesse and auoid in the
large description of their lines, whatsoeuer imper-
fections haue now distilled out of my pen, either for
mistaking or misplacing of name, person, or time;
and so to the matter.

It hath bene some question amongst the best an-
tiquaries of our age, that there were neuer anie
chancellors in England, before the comming of Ed-
ward the confessor out of Normandie, whome they
suppose to haue brought the same officer with him
from thence into this realme. But sith I am with
manie reasons and ancient authorities led to beleue
the contrarie; I will embrace the contrarie opinion
thereunto, and hold in this discourse (as the order
thereof shall proue) that there were chancellors be-
fore saint Edwards time; for the confirmation
whereof and for the authoritie of them; for the ety-
mologie and originall of the name, and for the conti-
nuance of their office, thou shalt find an ample dis-
course in my booke purposelie written of the lines
of the chancellors, wherunto I wholie refer thee: who
I hope shall within these few yeares be partaker
thereof, and in the meane time giue thee this tast of

the age and names of the chancellors, and vicechan-
cellors, and such keepers of the great seale, as ser-
ued in place of chancellors. For euerie one that was
keeper of the great seale, was not intituled chan-
celloz, no more than euerie chancellor was intitu-
led the keeper of the great seale. But because the
one did serue in the vacancie of the other (so that
after a certeine sort, the keeper of the great seale
was vicechancellor, and possessed the place, though
not the name of a chancellor; as in our age, sir Phi-
lip de Beaumont did: we therefore haue set downe
the names of the one and the other, as they followed
in succession of time, after this manner.

Turketill chancellor to Ethelwald, who began
his reigne about the yeare of Christ 718, which Tur-
ketill gaue sir manours to the abbete of Crowland,
as I haue sene noted.

Saint Swithin bishop of Winchester was chan-
celloz, and chiefe of counsell to the great monarch
king Egbert, though some attribute him to E-
dgar, which Egbert began his reigne about the yeare
of Christ 802.

Willinus, chancellor to king Athelstan, who began
his reigne in the yeare of our redemption nine hun-
dred and foure and twentie.

Adulfus, chancellor to king Edgar, who began
his reigne in the yeare that the world became fleshy,
nine hundred fiftie and nine: of this man speaketh
Hugo Petro Burgenfis; and Leland calleth this A-
dulfus Cancellarium & archigrammatum: chancellor or
chiefe secretarie.

Alsius or Aelfus the second abbat of Elie, chan-
celloz to king Ethelred, who began his reigne in the
yeare of Christ nine hundred fentie and eight, this
man, being by Ethelwold bishop of Winchester,
consecrated abbat at the appointment of the said
king Ethelred or Egbert, and being then abbat of
Elie, when Ethelred gaue forth his commande-
ment that the abbat of Elie should then, and for e-
uer, be chancellor; I doubt not to place him here a-
mongst the chancellors: the prouer of which matter I
haue here verbatim set downe, out of the second
booke of the historie of Elie. Statuit (which was
Ethelred) atque concessit quatenus ecclesiam de Eli, ex tunc
& semper in regis curia cancellarij ageret dignitatem, quod
etiam alijs sancti videlicet Augustini & Glefonia eccle-
sijs constituit, ut abbates istorum canobiorum vicissim adsign-
natis succedendo temporibus annum trisarie diuiderent,
cum sanctuarijs & ceteris ornamentis ministrando: &c.

Leofricus Bathonicus chancellor to Edward the
confessor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fortie
and nine, and some yeares before: this man was bi-
shop of Eridington in Cornewall, which see was af-
ter translated to Exeter.

Willinus, or Willinus chancellor to Edward the
confessor, in the latter end of the said yeare of Christ
one thousand fortie and nine, being the third yeare of
his reigne; this man cannot be he which some would
haue to be Willinus the abbat of Westminster. For
that Willinus died one and fortie yeares before
this Willinus the chancellor; sith that Willinus
was made abbat of Westminster, about the yeare
nine hundred fiftie and eight, and died in the yeare
one thousand and foure; being bishop of Shireburne.
Yet I will not at this time iudicially resolve, al-
though I suppose it true, whether this Willinus the
chancellor, and Willinus the bishop of Lichfield,
witness to a deed, wherein Edward the confessor
granted certeine liberties to Leofwine, abbat of the
abbete of Conentre, built by Leofrike erle of Mercia,
be all one man or no. Again, there is an other
man which was abbat of saint Albons called Will-
inus, which for affinity to the name of this man I
thought onelie to touch in this place.

Wescen

579
in know.

it tend
rs.

thereby
ed on
end
ic.

o keeper
sted.

Saint Swi-
thin.

willinus.

Woulphus.

Hist. Elien-
lib. 2. scriptum
in the time of
St. Stephan.

Leofricus.

willinus.

Hesembalbus, or Hesembalbus, for I take them both by manie and ancient authorities to be all one man, was chancelloz to Edward the confessor, and seale bearer, witnesse amongst others, to manie deeds which I haue scene of the confessor; some dated in the yeare one thousand three score and six, and some other wise. He was buried at. Cirencester, or Cicester.

Hauricus. Hauricus chancelloz to William the Conqueror in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three score and seven, being the first and part of the second pere of William the Conqueror.

Osmondus. Osmondus, after bishop of Sarum, chancelloz to William the Conqueror, in the pere one thousand three score and seven, and after in the pere one thousand three score and fiftene, about the ninth yeare of the kings reigne.

Arfalus. Arfalus bishop of Helmane, who translated his see from Helmane to Tetford, was chancelloz to William the Conqueror, in the pere of Christ one thousand three score and eight, being in the second and third pere of the Conqueror, and also in the pere one thousand seuentie and seven, being about the tenth yeare of William Conqueror.

Hirmanus. Hirmanus that was first made bishop of Surin, or Wilton, and translated his see from Wilton to Shirburne, & from thence to Sarum; he is that Hirmanus which I suppose was chancelloz to William the Conqueror, and called Hirmanus, and that wrote the life and miracles of saint Edmund king of the Eastangles.

William Welfon. William Welfon borne of a noble house, chapleine and chancelloz to William the Conqueror (as hath Robertus Montensis) succeeded Arfalus in the bishopricke of Tetford, to whom by the gift of William Rufus succeeded in that see Herbertus Losinga abbat of Ramseie, which translated the bishops see to Norwich; of which Losinga were (as hath Matthew Westminster) these verses here set downe compiled:

*Surgit in ecclesiam monastrum genitore Losinga,
Simonidum secta, canonum virtute refecta,
Petre nimis tardas, nam Simon ad ardua tentat,
Si presens eses, non Simon ad alta volaret,
Proh dolor! ecclesie nummis venduntur & are,
Filius est presul, pater abbas, Simon uterque.
Quid non speremus, si nummos possideamus?
Omnia nummus habet, quid vult facit, addit & aufert,
Res nimis iniusta, nummus sit presul & abbas.*

William Gifford. William Gifford bishop of Winchester was chancelloz in the time of the Conqueror, and of William Rufus, & of Henrie, who made him bishop of Winchester in the yeare one thousand and one hundred, and was consecrated in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred and seven: though it seemeth that Robert Bluet came in place of this William Gifford, removed about the fourth of the same Rufus from his office of chancellozship, as I suppose will be well proued, but after placed againe in that office. At the death of this William is much contrarietie, for Matthew Westminster placed it three severall pears, of Henrie the first, and againe in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred fortye and two, being the seuenth yeare of king Stephan.

Robert Bluet. Robert Bluet, or Bloet made chancelloz in the pere of Christ one thousand and ninetie, being the fourth yeare of William Rufus, he was made bishop of Lincolne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand ninetie and two: but as it appereth to me by some authoritie that I haue scene, he did execute that office being bishop of Lincolne: he died at Wadstocke in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentieth and three, being about the three and twentieth pere of the reigne of Henrie the first, whose

epitaph Henrie Huntington reciteth in this manner:

*Pontificum Robertus honor, quem fama superite,
Perpetuare dabit, nec obiturnus obit:
Hic humilis, dives (res mira) potens, pino vltor,
Compatiens, mitis, quum pateretur erat,
Noluit esse suis dominus, studuit pater esse,
Semper in aduersis murus & arma fuit:
In decima Iani mendacis somnia mundi
Liquit, & euigilans vera per hunc viderit.*

Ranulphus in the time of William Rufus, which might be that man which was after chancelloz in the time of Henrie the first.

Walbycus chancelloz to Henrie the first, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and three, being the third yeare of his reigne.

Herbertus chancelloz in the fourth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand one hundred and foure (as appeareth by an anonymous pamphlet in written hand) of whome I am not yet resolved whether this were Herbertus Losinga bishop of Norwich or no.

Roger bishop of Salisbury, whome Henrie the first called a most chapleine to serue soules, was chancelloz to king Henrie the first, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and one, being the first pere of king Henrie the first, and in the pere one thousand one hundred and seven, about the seuenth yeare of the said Henrie the first, being chosen bishop in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred and two, and consecrated in the yeare one thousand one hundred and seven.

Galfridus Rufus bishop of Durham, witnesse to a deed wherein Henrie the first confirmed to the priozie of Christs church a peece of ground without Aldgate called Knighton guild, in the presence of Gessrie chancelloz, Gessrie Clinton, and William Clinton: he was also chancelloz in the two and twentieth pere of Henrie the first, and so untill the three and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the first, and then was made bishop of Durham, which Gessrie died about the pere of our redemption one thousand one hundred fortye and one.

Ranulphus, called by Matthew Westminster Ranulphus, chancelloz to Henrie the first, and Richard the chapleine, keeper of the great seale, being at one time. This Ranulph was chancelloz in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred and sixtene, being the firsteighth of king Henrie the first, in which office I suppose that he continued, untill the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentieth and three, being the three and twentieth of the said Henrie, in which yeare this chancelloz (for so is he then called) fell from his horse and brake his necke on a hill not far from Dunstable, where the king kept his Christmasse.

Reginald chancelloz to king Henrie the first, as Leland hath set him downe, writing in this sort in his notes of Pontacute abbey: Reginaldus cancellarius, so named (belike) of his office, he was a man of gret fame about king Henrie the first: he fell to religion, and was prioz of Pontacute, and enlarged it with great buildings and possessions, &c.

Roger bishop of Salisbury againe chancelloz in the latter end of the reigne of king Henrie the first, and in the beginning of king Stephan, in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtieth and six, which Henrie the first died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred thirtieth and nine, being the five and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie. This Roger died in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtieth and nine, being about the fourth yeare of king Stephan.

Godfrete chancelloz to Henrie the first (as I gather out of Matthew Parker in the life of William Godscall) the first and thirtieth archbishop of Canturber

Welfon
bishop
Lincolne

This
about
gumit
fourth
to An.
1118,
1119,
1120,
1121,
1122,
1123,
1124,
1125,
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to which dignitie this William was
in the thre and twentieth yeare of Henrie
the first, being the yeare of Christ 1123, of which God-
frede the said Matthew further writeth in this sort,
speaking of the said William the archbishop retur-
ned from Rome with the pall: *Deinde Alexandrum
Lincolniensem episcopum Cantuariæ, Godefredum regni can-
cellarium Bathoniensem episcopum Londini consecrauit.* Con-
cerning which Godfrede we will speake more here-
after in the liues of the chancelors, onelie at this
time setting downe that this Godefredus was the
quenes chapleine, and could not be that Galfredus
before named, which was bishop of Durham; for this
Godefredus died six yeares before that Galfredus,
for this bishop of Bath died in the yeare of our Lord
1135, being the last of king Henrie Beaucherke,
and the first of king Stephan; that bishop of Dur-
ham died in the yeare of our Lord 1141, being a-
bout the first yeare of the said king Stephan; and this
Godfrede was the second bishop of Bath and Wells
after the uniting of those two cities to one bishop-
rike by John de Eborac, the first bishop of those two
places in the yeare of our Lord 1092, being about
the first yeare of William Rufus.

Alexander bishop of Lincolne (as may be after a
sort gathered out of Wilhelmus Paruus lib. 1. cap. 6.)
being cousin or nephue to Roger bishop of Salis-
burie was chancelor: the words of which W. Paruus
be these: *Eidem (that was to king Stephan) quoque
sublimato in regem se (that was Roger bishop of Sa-
lisburie) talem exhibuit, ut obsequiorum gratia praeclaram
apud illum habere fiduciam videretur. Tanti ille beneficii in-
gratus, et in ipsam episcopum (cuius opera nunquam episco-
palia fuere) ultor diuinitus ordinatus, eundem tanquam ex-
igui hominem momenti primo carcerati custodia, postmodum
eum cili inopia, et nepoti eius (qui cancellarius fuerat regis)
intentato supplicio ita coarctauit, ut duo illa praeclara castella
(which were the castles of Giffes otherwile called de
Deuilles, and the castell of Shirburne) in quibus thesauri
eius erant repositi resignaret.* Thus much Wilhelmus
Newburgenfis, the truth whereof I leaue to other to
consider, with the words of those authors may be di-
uerse expounded, either that this Alexander was
chancelor, or his sonne, or else the sonne of Roger bi-
shop of Salisbury. But be it any or none of them, as
the truth shall hereafter be made plaine, yet because
I haue mentioned Alexander in this place, I thinke
it not amisse to set downe such verses as Henrie
Huntington hath recited of this Alexander, which are:

*Splendor Alexandri non tam renitefcit honore,
Quam per eum renitefcit honor, flos namque virorum,
Dando tenere putans thesauros cogit honorem,
Et gratis dare festinans ne danda rogentur,
Quod non dum dederit non dum se credit habere
Ob deum, oh morum director, quo veniente,
Certa fides, hilaris clementia, cauta potestas,
Lenis iugum, doctrina placens, correctio dulcis,
Libertasque decens, venere pudorque facetus.
Lincolnia gens magna prius, nec maxima semper,
Talis et iste diu sit nobis tutor honoris.*

Robert chancelor of England in the time of
king Stephan, but I find not in what yeare, because
the charter is without date, neither can I learne
what he was, because I know not his surname.

Philip chancelor to king Stephan, about the
fourth yeare of his reigne, being about the yeare of
our Lord 1139, witnesseth to manie deedes which
king Stephan made to the monks of Ely, and to
Algellus the bishop of that see.

Reinold abbat of Walden, whome I haue scene
in one anonimall briefe written chronicle to be ter-
med chancelor: but in what time he liued, or what o-
ther name he had I do not yet know, but by the
course of the bishopricke much about this time.

John chancelor of England in the time of king John.
Henrie the second, but what he was or in what yeare
of king Henrie he liued I do not know, and there-
fore leaue it to him that both can and ought to giue
life to these persons whom he impudently in the east
castell of London; not doubting but in time he will
do his countrie good, and correct other men; though
now he be so streit laced, as that he will not procure
anie furtherance of other mens traucels.

Thomas Becket made chancelor (as some write)
in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the se-
cond, others saie in the fourth yeare: but the best au-
thors agree that he gaue ouer the seale in the yeare
of Christ 1162, being the eight yeare of the victorious
prince the said Henrie the second against the will of
the prince, he died in the yeare of our redemption
1170, as these verses do proue, being such as the
curiositie of that superstitious age would permit:

Pro Christo, sponsa Christi, sub tempore Christi,

** In templo Christi, verus amator obit,*

Anno mileno, centeno, septuagena,

Anglorum primas corruit ense Thomas.

Quis moritur? præsul: cur? pro grege? qualiter? ense:

Quando? natali: quis locus? ara Dei.

Rafe Warneville archdeacon of Here and trea-
surer of the church of Poike, was made chancelor a-
bout the yeare that the world became flesh 1173, be-
ing about the eighteenth yeare of king Henrie the
second: of this man speaketh Matthew Paris and
Matthew Westminster.

Walterus de Constantijs archdeacon of Oxford
after bishop of Lincolne, in the yeare of our redem-
tion 1182, from whence he was advanced in the
yeare 1184, being the one and thirtieth yeare of king
Henrie the second unto the archbishopricke of Here,
of this man is more spoken in my discourse of the
protectors of England pag. 1069.

Geffreie the bassard sonne to king Henrie the se-
cond, after that he had surrendered the bishopricke of
Lincolne, whereof he was neuer consecrat bishop,
but kept the place and receiued the reuenues, was
made chancelor much about the first and twentieth
yeare of king Henrie the second, being the yeare
of Christ 1180: yet be there some that saie he relin-
quished the bishopricke in the seven and twentieth yeare
of king Henrie the second, in the yeare of Christ
1181. The difference whereof groweth (as I suppose)
for that some accompt the beginning of the yeare of
our Lord from the first of Januarie, as all other na-
tions of Europe do; some from the birth of Christ,
as we in England did long time since the conquest;
and some from the first and twentieth of March, on
which it is supposed that the world began first to be
created: which last accompt we in England (and the
Scots as hath Lesleus) do keepe, together with them
of Genoa or Gene in Italie, contrarie to the order
of all other nations. The beginning of which maner of
accompt amongst vs I cannot as yet certeinlie
learne: but I suppose it began much about the time
of king Edward the third, for all the former histo-
riographers begin the yeare from the birth of Christ.

William Longchampe the proud bishop of Ely,
legat of England for the bishop of Rome, chiefe in-
stee of the south and west parts of England, and de-
putie of that part of the realme, when Richard the
first went to the warres of the holie land, was made
chancelor in the said first of king Richard, being the
yeare of our redemption 1189: of the sumptuous
feast of whose institution thus writeth Ferthul-
phus (or Ferthulphus) by the waie of comparison:

Præuisit alij, Elysia festa videre,

Est quasi præuisa nocte videre diem.

He died in the yeare of Christ 1197, going to Rome,
in the abbete of Winc, being of the charterhouse or
det.

Thomas
Becket.

* Christes
church in
Cantuarie.

Rafe warne-
ville.

Walterus de
Constantijs.

Geffreie.

William
Longchampe.

Eustachius.

der. About which time in the first yeare of Richard the first, there was a vicechancellor called *Malm Catulus*.
Eustachius deane of Salisburie, was chancellor of England, being elected bishop of Elie the third dayes of August, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1196, being the ninth yeare of king Richard the first, of whome thus writeth Matthew Parker, in the life of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, contrary to that which others ascribe, writing that Eustachius succeeded William Longchampe in the office of chancellor, and in the bishopricke of Elie. The words of Matthew Parker in the life of Hubert be these: *Hubertus deposito magistratu civili, ecclesie cura totus vacabat, consecravitque postea Robertum de Salopesbi episcopum Banchorensem, & Eustachium qui in cancellarij munere ei successit Eliensem episcopum, Westmonasterij debita accepta ab utroque subiectionis professione.*

Hubert Walter or Walter Hubert.

Hubert Walter or Walter Hubert, for such a transmutation of the name is used by authors, being first bishop of Salisburie and then archbishop of Canturburie, was made chancellor shortly after the coronation of king John, which was in the yeare that the virgin brought forth Christ 1199, at what time a certaine noble man said unto him in scoone, I haue often seene of a chancellor made a bishop, but I neuer before saw an archbishop made a chancellor.

Simon.

Simon or rather Hugh, of which is more hereafter, archdeacon of Welles in the first yeare of king John (after as I suppose that Hubert had left the office being so disgraced & abased as he thought) was witness to a deed, in which king John granted to the citizens of Poike a guildhall, banke, and other liberties, as I haue seene noted in the copie of the same charter, for which cause I haue here set it downe as an other man, although in truth I am fullie resolved that this Simon and the Hugh following were all one person, leauing it yet for euerie mans iudgement.

Hugh de Welles.

Hugh de Welles archdeacon of Welles, witness to the deed in which king John, in the first yeare of his reigne, confirmed to the monasterie of Wells minister, Gisleip or Gilep in Orfordschire, in which house Edward the confessor was borne, he was made bishop of Lincoln about the tenth yeare of king Johns reigne, in the yeare of our Lord 1209, and died in the yeare of our Lord 1235.

Walter Wate.

Walter Wate chosen bishop of Chester, in the yeare of our Lord 1210, was bishop of Worcester and after bishop of Poike, a man of extreme age, was made chancellor in the seventh yeare of king John as one anonymall chronicle saith, to hold that office during his life. Others saie that he was made chancellor in the yeare of Christ 1209, being the tenth yeare of king John after Hugh de Welles. But I suppose he surrendered that patent to hold it during his life, when he came to be bishop of Poike. Of this man is more spoken in my treatise of the protectors of England pag. 1069.

Richard de Sparischo.

Richard de Sparischo, whom Matthew Paris termeth *Tholenarius*, as it were tolgatherer or treasurer; if you list, being archdeacon of Northumberland, was chancellor in the fourth yeare of king John, as appeareth by a deed that I haue seene: and further he was made chancellor in the 15 yeare of king John, in which office he continued to the 17 yeare of the said king, and as some doe write during king Johns life, and died about the calendes of Maie in the yeare of our redemption 1226, in the tenth yeare of the long reigne of king Henrie the third, as some haue. But the booke of Durham saith, that he was made bishop of that see by Gwado the legat, and consecrated by Walter Wate bishop of Poike, in the yeare of our redemption 1214, being about the sixteenth

yeare of king John, and died suddenly at Peterborough the first daie of Maie, in the yeare of Christ 1226, being the tenth yeare of king Henrie the third, after that he had bene bishop of Durham nine yeares, of whom a monke of Durham made this epitaph in formall deuise as you see following:

*Culmina qui cupi
Est sedata si
Qui populos regi
Quod mors immi
Vobis preposi
Quod sum vos erit*

*Laudes pompasque sui
Sine pensare veli
memores super omnia si
non parcat honore pati
similis fueram bene sci
Quid me curendo veni*

And here sith I am entered into the surname of Sparischo, I will set downe what I found ingrauen on the wall of the doore of the chapter house of the monasterie of Bath (almost defaced with the wether) written in Greke Saron characters. *Hic iacet Alexander de Alueto, & Ernberga uxor eius, & Fulco de Alueto filius eorum: & Lucia de Mariscis filia eius, & Iordanus de Mariscis filius eiusdem Lucie, & Wilhelmus de Mariscis filius eiusdem Iordani.* Which name of the Sparishes, Sparishes, or Sparres, if it like them to expound it, as I doubt not but manie will quiddle thereupon, was as great a name in Ireland as it was in England.

Rafe Penill was confirmed (as it seemeth) chancellor by the whole consent of the nobilitie, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1226, being about the tenth yeare of king Henrie the third, after which he was made bishop of Chichester in the eleventh yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1227, as hath Matthew Westm. he was made bishop of Chichester in the yeare of Christ 1223, being before chancellor. After which the king in the two and twentieth yeare of his reigne, offended with Penill, took from him the great seale, & deliuered it to Gesteie of the temple, as hath Matthew Paris, and to John de Lerington: although that the said Penill remained still chancellor, and receiued the profits thereof, to whom the king would after haue regien the seale in the yeare of Christ 1239, being the thre and twentieth yeare of the said king Henrie, but Penill would not receiue it. This man died in the yeare of Christ 1243, being the seven and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third, at his palace at London not far from the new temple.

Gesteie the Templar & John de Lerington were made keepers of the great seale. But shortly after this Gesteie had the seale taken from him, because he grew in dislike of the nobilitie in continuall prouoking them to anger.

Hugh Batethall canon of Paules is by Matthew Paris fol. 656, called chancellor in the thre and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third, which I much doubt to be true. Of this man shall be more said in the treasurers of England.

Simon the Poorman keeper of the great seale in the thre & twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1229: he had the seale shortly after taken from him, and was banished the court, because he would not seale the patent, whereby Thomas earle of Flanders might take foure pence for custome of euerie sacke of wool that came out of England into Flanders. This Simon died in the yeare of Christ 1249, being the thre and thirtieth of king Henrie the third.

Richard Grosse or Grossus abbat of Cusham (the said Simon expelled) had the keeping of the great seale in the thre and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third, he kept the seale thre yeares, and being chosen bishop of Chester, he resigned the same in the yeare of Christ 1242, being the six & twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third: he died being wise & learned in the canon and ciuill law) in the same yeare

John de Lerington.

Ranille de Lerington.

Rafe Penill bishop of Chichester.

Sparishes or Sparres.

John Sparill.

Gesteie the Templar.

Hugh Batethall canon of Paules.

John de Lerington.

John Sparill.

Richard Grosse abbat of Cusham.

peare in Calcoine, in a cittle called in Latine *Riola* or *Regula*, where he was buried.

John de Lerinton was againe made keeper of the seale in the fir and twentieth yere of king Henrie the third, being the yere of our redemption 1242, to execute that office, Wase Penill being in life and still chancelloz, but in the kings disgrace, shortly after which this Penill died. This John Lerinton died 1257, being the 41 yere of Henrie the third.

Ranulfe Biston (as I read) is said to be chancelloz and tresuroz of the chamber, about the seven and twentieth yere of Henrie the third, being the yere of our Lord 1242. I suppose that he onellie had the keeping of the great seale as the rest had before him, during the life of Wase Penill, and so I leave him to the iudgement of others, fifth Matthew Paris continuallie nameth him tresuroz and once chancelloz, who suddenly died after dinner beholding plaiers at dise, in the yere of Christ 1246, being the thirtieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the third: of whom thus writeth the said Matthew Paris in his greater historie fol. 954. *Ranulphus Brito quondam domino familiarissimus regi & reginae (multis posthabitis nobilibus) & eiusdem cancellarius specialis, quum post mensalem refectioem aleatores certatim inperisisset colludentes, lateralis apoplexie inexpectato vulnere corruis suffragatus.*

Spencer de Cwerden received the great seale the nine and twentieth yere of Henrie the third, being the yere that the son of God became flesh one thousand two hundred forty and six: he was vice-chancelloz & consecrated bishop of Carlisle (being a man most cunning in the custome of the chancery) in the yere of Christ 1247, being the one and thirtieth yere of Henrie the third.

John Mansell tresuroz of Poike, parson of Wadstone in Kent, and parson of Wigan, chancelloz of Paules, master or ruler of Beuerlete, chiefe iustice of England, one of the priue counsell to Henrie the third, his chapleine, ambassadoz into Spaine, and a worthy souldier, crossed to go to Jerusalem, who at one feast had two kings, two queenes, and I know not how many noble men, and whose spirituall livings were about foure thousand marks of perelle revenues (as I haue gathered) he was at the will and instance of the king made keeper of the great seale as vicechancelloz (for Matthew Paris saith, *Custodiam sigilli regij accepit cancellarij vices acturus & officium*) about the one & thirtieth of king Henrie the third, in the yere that God took on him the forme of a seruant 1247, he built a house of regular canons at Rommele two miles from the sea. To this man king Henrie the third, in the thirtieth yere of his reigne, did grant that his towne of Wigan should be a burrow.

John de Lerinton, being after chiefe iustice of the foress from the river of Trent southward, was againe keeper of the great seale, untill some part of the two and thirtieth yere of Henrie the third, in the yere of Christ 1248.

John Mansell againe keeper of the great seale, who at Wodstocke in the two and thirtieth yere of king Henrie the third, did receive the great seale of the said John Lerinton, which he kept (as I suppose and that with some good profe) untill the three & thirtieth yere of the said king, being the yere of our redemption 1248. Of which John Mansell thus writeth an old anonymall chronicle concerning the barons warres: *Sed & Iohannes Mansell multarum in Anglia ecclesiarum rector seu potius incubator, reddituum quoque quorum non erat numerus possessor magnificus, ita quod ditior eo clericus non videbatur in orbe episcopali, puta dignitate minime insignitus, metus baronum aufugit & latenter ultra mari de turri London, in qua rex Anglia & regina sua tunc temporis tenebantur se. Quem quum Henricus filius regis Ale-*

mania fugientem insequeretur, & ipse capitur quum applicasset Bononia a magistro Gerardo de Fenes procuratore deputabatur regine, &c.

Ranulphus de Diceto was chancelloz (as I read & suppose) much about this time: but for certaintie I refer the same to the large booke of their liues, where he shall not faile to haue his right time and place.

William of Bilkennie, being a modest, wise, William of Bilkennie. and faithfull man, learned in the canon and ciuill lawes, was made keeper of the great seale, in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred and fiftie, being the four & thirtieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the third. He was elected to the bishoprike of Elie, as saith the historie of Elie, the eighteenth kalends of September, in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie & five, being about the nine and thirtieth yere of Henrie the third. But others saie that he being then vicechancelloz, was elected bishop of Elie in the yere of our Lord one thousand two hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and thirtieth yere of Henrie the third, after that he had faithfullie and to his great commendation vsed and borne the great seale, he was consecrated to that bishoprike in the yere of Christ 1255, and died in the yere 1256 being about the one and fortieth yere of king Henrie the third, whose heart was buried at Elie.

Henrie de Wingham was made chancelloz in the nine and thirtieth yere of Henrie the third, and continued in the one and fortieth and two and fortieth yere of Henrie the third, in which yere (as some haue) and in the 43 of Henrie the third (as others haue.) He was chosen bishop of Winchester, upon condition that he should giue place to Athelmer halfe brother to king Henrie the third, & son to Hugh Bzune earle of March, and of Cleano: king Henrie the thirs mother, being banished by the barons, if that he should againe returne into England, and then leave the bishoprike of Winchester vnto him, which he did vpon the coming againe of the said Athelmer into England, and for that cause was after chosen bishop of London, being chosen thereto in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, being the three and thirtieth yere of king Henrie the third, and still chancelloz, and is buried in Paules on the south side of the quier (next to Cuthbertus bishop of London) in a monument of marble, with this inscription on the wall to tell who it was: *Hic iacet Henricus de Wingham quondam episcopus huius ecclesie, qui multa bona contulit ministris ecclesie sancti Pauli.*

Walter Sperton chancelloz in the foure and fortieth yere of king Henrie the third, being the yere 1260.

Nicholas of Elie made chancelloz by the barons, in the said yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred and fiftie, and Walter Sperton displaced. But king Henrie the third, disdainning to haue officers appointed him by his subiecs, did in the month of Daober following, in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred and fiftie, or rather one thousand two hundred fiftie and one, depzie the said Nicholas, and replaced the said Walter Sperton.

Walter Sperton bishop of Rochester the second time made chancelloz as before appeareth.

John de Chesill archdeacon of London and tresuroz of England, was made keeper of the great seale, in the yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and fortieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the third. This man was consecrated bishop of London in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, the third kalends of Maie, as hath Matthew Westminster: he died in the yere that the word of the father became flesh one thousand two hundred seuentie and nine, the fourth ides of February, in the seuenth yere of the scourge of the Scots and Welshmen.

h h h h h. Thomas

John de
Lerinton.

Ranulfe
Biston.

Wase Penill
thop of Chy
chester.

Spencer de
Cwerden.

John Man-
sell.

Geffrey the
Emplet.

Hugh Pates
thali chanon
of Paules.

John de
Lerinton.

Simon the
Adornat.

John Man-
sell.

Richard
Cravie abbot
of Eustham.

Henrie de
Wingham.

Walter
Sperton.

Nicholas
of Elie.

Walter Sp-
erton the se-
cond time.
John de
Chesill.

Thomas de Cantelupe, borne of the noble house of the lordes Cantelupes (the son of William Cantelupe and Gillescent, who, as saith Leland dyed his originall from the counteies of Powke) being archdeacon of Stafford, was doctor and after bishop of Hereford in the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and six, and before that made chancelor, after the feast of saint Peters chaire, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred fiftie & five, being the nine and fortieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. He died beyond the seas coming from the court of Rome, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, being the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, or moze trulie (as others haue) in the yeare one thousand two hundred eightie & three, being the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the first, whose bones were brought to Hereford.

Walter Gifford
1020 bishop
of Bath.

Walter Gifford bishop of Bath and Welles, whose manie do call William, did inspy the state of the chancelor, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fiftie & six, being the fiftith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third: he was translated from Bath to Powke, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, being the nine and fortieth yeare of the same Henrie the third, and died the seuenth kalends of Aprill in the twelfth yeare of his bishopricke, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie & seuen, being the first yeare of king Edward the first, or (as hath Nicholas Triuet) in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and nine, being the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first.

Geffreie
Gifford.

Geffreie Gifford was chancelor also in the one and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred fiftie and seuen. This man was bishop of Worcester about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine, where he sat foure and thirtie peares, foure moneths, and foure daies, and died in the yeare one thousand three hundred and foure, being about the two and thirtieth yeare of king Edward the first.

John de
Cheshill.

John de Cheshill was the second time honoured with the place of the chancelor, in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, being the thre and fiftith yeare in which king Henrie the third of that name did hold the scepter of England.

Richard de
Spiddleton.

Richard de Spiddleton, so surnamed of the place where he was borne, was advanced to the office of the chancelorship, in the said thre and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, in the moneth of Julie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, and was also (as appeareth by a charter which I haue seene) witness to the same deed, in the foure and fiftith yeare of the said king Henrie, who (as farre as I can gather) died in August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and one, being the six and fiftith yeare of the long government of king Henrie the third. There was a writer of England that wrote many volums of this name living at this time, whom I doubt not for arie thing that I can yet learne to be the same man which was chancelor.

John de
Kirbie.

John de Kirbie, after the death of Richard Spiddleton, was made keeper of the great seale in the said six and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third. Whether this were the same John Kirbie, which after was bishop of Ely, and treasurer of England, I haue not as yet to determine, although I rather hold the affirmative than the contrarie.

Walter Hert
ton.

Walter Hertton the third time made chancelor of England, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand

two hundred seuentie and thre, being the first yeare of the reigne of that famous prince king Edward the first of that name: he was bishop of Rochester, and built Hertton college in Oxford, and died in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, being the sixt yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first.

Robert Burnell the eleuenth bishop of Bath and Wells (after the uniting of those two sees in one by

William
hameto

10 John de Tournes in the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and two) was made bishop of Bath in the yeare of our Lord (as saith Eueriden) one thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, and chosen archbishop of Canturburie in the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, but relected by the pope: he was chancelor in the second yeare of the said Edward the first, in which place it seemeth that he long continued: of whom thus writeth an anonymall chronicle; Dominus Edmundus comes Cornubie fundavit novum studium ordinis Cisterciensis apud Oxonias, & monachos de Thame primo ibidem introduxit, & dedit eis prima donatione manerium de Erdington, & fecit dedicare locum abbatia terty idus Decembris: per dominum Robertum Burnell episcopum Bathon & Welles, cancellarium regis, & posuit fundamentum novae ecclesiae eodem die Northolme. This bishop was required with the son of Edward the first, and Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, in the time of Edward the first, to be delivered for pledges for Lleweline prince of Wales for his safe returne, if he came to the parlement, whereunto he was summoned by the said king Edward. In the time of this chancelor the court of chancerie was kept at Wyke. This man died in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and thre, being the one and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third.

Walter M
doct.

John de Langhton made chancelor of England in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and thre, being the one and twentieth yeare of the scourger of the Scots, king Edward the first, in which office he remained untill the thirtieth of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand thre hundred and two. He was made bishop of Chichester about the six and twentieth or rather the seaven and twentieth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and eight, or rather one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine: and in the said yeare one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine he was before chosen bishop of Ely, but relected by the pope, who made him archdeacon of Canturburie: from which Langhton this Edward did take the great seale in the thirtieth yeare before said, and delivered it to John Dokenford.

John de
Langhton.

John
Lang

Matthew
Parker.

John Dokenford keeper of the wardrobe was made keeper of the great seale in the thirtieth yeare, as before, in which office he continued from about the fiftenth daie of August untill Michaelmas.

John Doken
ford.

60 William de Greinfield, deane of Chichester, and canon of Powke, was advanced to the place of the chancelor, in the yeare that God became man one thousand thre hundred and two, being about the thirtieth yeare of the said king Edward the first, which office was given unto him at saint Radigunds (as saith Anonymus M.S. He was after chosen bishop of Powke, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thre hundred and thre: who in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thre hundred and eight buried the body of the said king Edward the first at Westminster, though that king died in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand thre hundred and seaven. This bishop died about the yeare of our salvation one thousand thre hundred and fiftene (being about the first yeare of king Edward the second) at Calwood, after that

William de
Greinfield.

Walter
mol.

that he had bene bishop nine yeares, eleven moneths, and two daies, and was buried in saint Nicholas porch of Poike, receiuing his consecration at Rome in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and five (after that he had bene there two yeares) of pope Clement. This Greinfield was a man verie eloquent and pithie in counsell.

William de Hamelton, deane of Poike, was created chancelor of England, in the yeare that the virgine brought forth the sonne of God one thousand three hundred and five, being the three and thirtieth yeare of that noble prince king Edward the first. This William surrendred his borrowed life in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and seven, being about the five and thirtieth yeare of the said king, at the abbey of Fontenelle in Poyshire, being a man that well deserved of the common wealthe.

Kalfe de Baldoche chosen bishop of London, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and three, was confirmed at Titneshall by Robert of Winchester bishop of Canturburie, and consecrated at Lions by Peter of Spaine bishop of Alba, the third calends of Februarie, in the pere of our redemption one thousand three hundred and five. He was made lord chancelor of England, after the death of the said William Hamelton in the said five and thirtieth yeare of king Edward the first, and receiued the great seale in the Rogation weeke following, being some foure or five weekes after that he was advanced to that office at the archbeker. Shortly after which died king Edward the first, for which cause the said Baldoche sent the great seale to king Edward the second then at Carleill, by reason of his fathers death. This Kalfe Baldoche died on saint James euen in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and thirtene, being the seuenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second.

John Langhton bishop of Chichester againe made lord chancelor of England, in the yeare that the word of the father toke on him the forme of a seruant one thousand three hundred and seauen, being the first yeare of king Edward of Carnaruan, in which office it seemeth that he continued, untill the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and ten, being the third yeare of the reigne of the after deposed king Edward the second.

William Spelton, hauing two others joined with him, had the great seale deliuered unto them for a certeine time, to execute all such things as were to be done therewith during the kings pleasure. This man was a canon of Poike, prouost of Beuerleie, treasurer of England, and archbishop of Poike, as saith Anonymus M. S. He was consecrated bishop of Poike at Rome, where he tarried two yeares for the same: he was a man neuer wearied with trouble. He first of all the bishops of Poike (after a long controuersie betwene the deane and canons of Poike) visited the chapter by due order: he was wise, rich, seuer in correction, gentle, familiar, and humble: he finished the west part of the church of saint Peters in Poike with three hundred pounds, he was archbishop of Poike two and twentie yeares, five or six moneths, and two daies: he died at Catwood on saint Georges euen, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and thirtie, and was buried in the minster of Poike nere to the font.

Walter Reynolds bishop of Worcester, treasurer of England and archbishop of Canturburie, was made keeper of the great seale, and chancelor of England on the first of Julie one thousand three hundred and ten, in the said yeare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred and ten, being the said third yeare of that king Edward, whome his sonne Edward the third deposed from his kingdome.

Of this man & all other chancelors, which were archbishops of Canturburie, shall be somewhat more said at another time, in the order and placing of the bishops of that see, which caution I haue here set downe, because I would once for all make repetition thereof in one place, and not severallie in manie places, under the severall names of euery chancelor that was intrusted with that metropolitan honor of Canturburie.

John de Sandall clerke, bishop of Winchester, & treasurer, was at Poike made chancelor of England, in the yeare that the virgin Marie was deliuered of the first begotten son one thousand three hundred and foureteene, being the eight yeare of king Edward the second, in which place he continued two yeares and more, some part thereof being after that he was bishop of Winchester (as I gather) and then deliuered backe the seale at Westminster, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and seuentene, being the eleuenth yeare of the said king Edward the second. Of this man is more spoken in the treasurers of England.

John Wyham bishop of Elye was created lord chancelor of England in the pere of Christ one thousand three hundred and seuentene, being the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the second, in which office he continued untill the yeare of our Lord God 1319, being the thirteenth yeare of the last before named king Edward. During whose government of the see of Elye, in the yeare one thousand three hundred fortye and one, the steeple of the chaire fell downe, which made such terrible noise and shaking of the ground that it was supposed to haue bene an earthquake. He died of the palsee in the pere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and six, being the tenth yeare of that king Edward the third that first wrote himselfe king of both realmes, England and France.

John Salmon bishop of Norwich was advanced to be chancelor, in the yeare that God toke on him the forme of a seruant, one thousand three hundred and ninetene, being the thirteenth yeare of that king Edward the second, against whome the nobles rebelled for the midemeano; of Piers de Gauesone (the Gascoigne) earle of Cornewall. In this yeare one thousand three hundred and ninetene (as saith one anonymall chronicler M. S.) was William Aremine keeper of the seale vicechancelor taken prisoner by the Scots. The words of the which author for the more certeinlye thereof we haue here set downe, in the yeare of Lord one thousand three hundred and ninetene. *Episcopus Eborum, episcopus Eliæ thesaurarius, abbas beatae Mariae Eborum, abbas de Selbie, decanus Eborum dominus Willielmus Armentis vicecancellarius Angliæ, ac dominus Iohannes Dabeham cum 8000 ferme hominum, tam equitum quam peditum & ciuibus prosperanter ciuitatem egredientes, quoddam flumen siuale nuncupatum sparsis cuneis transseunt, & indispolitis seu potius confusis ordinibus cum aduersariis congressi sunt. Scotti siquidem in Marte gnari amplitudinem eorum exercitus caute regentes in nostros agminibus strictis audacter irruerunt, nostrorum denique in breui laceratis cuneis atque dissipatis. Corruerunt ex nostris tam in ore gladij quam aquarum scopulis suffocati, plusquam 4000, & capti sunt domini Iohannes de Pabeham miles & dominus Willielmus de Armentis ut prefertur de cancellaria, &c.* Which William Aremine was also in the fiftenth of the said king Edward the second, one of the keepers of the great seale, as I haue bene registred.

Robert Baldoche archdeacon of Middlesex, a man euillie beloned, and whom the old English chronicler calleth a false peld priest, was made chancelor of England in the seuententh yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second, at the castell of Poike.

Jere Wue:

William de Hamelton.

Kalf Baldoche.

Jm de nighston.

John Langhton.

threw rker.

William Spelton.

Jm Wro nllord.

William de reinfeld.

Walter Reynolds.

John de Sandall.

John Wyham.

John Salmon bishop of Norwich.

* De Pabeham
* York.
* Twelve miles from York.

Robert Baldoche.

Th h h h h h. ring

Histor. episc.
Norwich.

William Tre-
mear keeper
of the seale.

John Hot-
ham bishop
of Elie.

Henric Cliffe
master of the
rolles.

Henric
Burghwath
bishop of
Lincolne.

John Strat-
ford.

ring in Poxkehire, he was after made bishop of Poxke, and did his fealtie for restitution of his temporalities in the nineteenth yeare of the said king Edward the second at Wodstocke in Drfordshire, he was apprehended in the 20 yeare of Edward the second, being the yere of our Lord 1326, (as others haue) one thousand thre hundred & five and twentie, & first committed to the custodie of Adam Warleton or de Waleton bishop of Hereford, & after was put in the prison of the Newgate in London, in which twentieth yeare of the said Edward the second the great seale was againe deliuered to William Alesme, who I suppose was then also made bishop of Poxke, and this Baldocke deposed from that see, of which Baldocke thus writeth a Polychronicon of Durham: *Robertus de Baldocke cancellarius An. 1325 captus cum Hugonibus de despensers, quia clericum fuit & sacerdos in noua porta Londinorum, ponit fecit Edwardus princeps & Isabella mater eius, ubi pro nimia miseria mortuus fuit infra breue.*

John Hotham bishop of Elie the second time was at Westminister made chancellor of England, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1326, being the first yeare of the reigne of that king which first intituled himselfe king of England and France: but he continued not long in the same office, for he was remoued in the second yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand thre hundred twentie and eight. He was elected bishop in the yere of Christ one thousand thre hundred and thirtene, in which place he ruled twentie yeares, and died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thre hundred and sir and thirtie of the passeie at Summerham, being buried in the church of Elie vnder a goodlie monument of stone, with the image of a bishop carued out of alabaster vpon his tombe.

Henric Cliffe master of the rolles had the charge and keeping of the great seale of England, in the said yeare of Christ 1328, being the second yeare of king Edward the third, and was the kings chancellor also.

Henric de Burgh, Burghwath, or Burgesse, nephew vnto sir Bartholomeu Bladsmere baron of Leeds in Kent, hauing bene treasurer of England, inioined the honoz of the chancellor in the second yere of king Edward the thirde, being the yeare that the sonne of God toke on him the forme of a seruant 1328, and was made chancellor at Poxhampton, which office he did not long iniole. Here because I haue a little mentioned sir Bartholomeu Bladsmere, I will saie somewhat moze of him, which is, that being orator for the king in diuers weightie affairs, he spent in those busineses, 15000 pounds of the kings monie, and yet produced little or nothing to effect in the kings causes, except the procuring of this Henric Burghwath to the bishoprike of Lincolne, who was buried in the east end towards the north of the church of Lincolne, at whose feet was also buried Robert his brother a knight of great fame in the warres, in which church is also buried Bartholomeu sonne to the said Robert. They founded a grammar schole, and five priests, & five poze scholars in Lincolne.

John Stratford bishop of Winchester, and after of Canturburie, and sometime treasurer of England, was made chancellor of the realme, in the yere of our redemption one thousand thre hundred and thirtie, being the fourth yeare of the said king Edward the third, who being sent in the first yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thre hundred two and thirtie, ambassadoz beyond the seas about the affaires of the king & kingdome, did not (like cardinall Wolseie the chancellor

in the daies of R. Henric the eight) presumptuously carrie the great seale with him beyond the seas, but left the same in his absence with others, who both could and would answer the well or euill bing thereof whilst he was in France. This man continued in the office vntill the eight yeare of Edward the thirde.

Richard de Burie, other wise called Richard de Angerulle (being borne in a little village beside saint Edmundsburie, commonlie called the Burie abbrie, was so surnamed Burie of that place) had to his father sir Richard Angerulle knight. His man being first kept at schole by his uncle sir John Wilobie priest, was afterward treasurer of England, chancellor and bishop of Durham: to which place of chancellorship he was aduanced in the yeare that the second person in trinitie was brought into the world 1334, being the eight yeare of that king of England which first quartered the armes of England and France. Which office he receiued by the kings gift at Westminister, in which yeare he was inthronized (being first consecrated bishop in the yere of Christ 1333) in the bishoprike of Durham by William Cowton prior of Durham: he kept the see 11 yeares two moneths and 12 daies, & died in the yeare 1345, & was buried in the south angle of the church of Durham.

John Stratford the second time lord chancellor, being now archbishop of Canturburie, was installed therein at Poxke in the yeare of Christ 1335, being the ninth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the thirde.

Robert de Stratford or Strassford (as some haue written, but as I thinke corruptlie) being archdeacon of Canturburie (which office was first ordeined by Anselme archbishop of the said citie of Canturburie) was made chancellor of England on the foure and twentieth daie of March (being the daie of the annuntiation of the virgin Marie) at Westminister, in the yeare that the word of the father toke on him the forme of a seruant 1336, being the eleventh yeare of the gouernement of king Edward the thirde. He was after made bishop of Chichester, desiring to be remoued from that office of chancellorship, which was granted vnto him: wherupon he surrendered by the seale to the said king Edward the thirde in the twelue yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1338.

Richard de Bintonwath chosen bishop of London, and confirmed by John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie at Westford in the tenth kalends of June 1338, was at Waltham aduanced to the honour of lord chancellor in the moneth of Iulie, in the said yeare of Christ 1338, being the twelue yeare of that king which first ordeined the knights of the order of the garter.

John Stratford the thirde time lord chancellor of England, in which office he did not now long continue.

Robert bishop of Chichester, being the foresaid Robert Stratford, was againe made lord chancellor of England, in the yere of our redemption 1340, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, who was put out of that office, and should with the treasurer of England haue bene sent into France for a pledge for the payement of certeine summes of monie.

Robert de Bourchier, borne of the honourable house of the lord Bourchiers, was in the towne of London made lord chancellor of England in December, in the said fourteenth yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1340, though some saie he was made chancellor in the fiftenth yeare of the said king.

Robert Berning, Bernicke, or Bernwicke, also treasurer of England, was made chancellor of England,

Richard de
Burie or
Richard de
Angerulle.

Robert de
Stratford.

John Dho
or Wford.

John Stra-
ford archi-
shop of Can-
turburie.

Robert de
Stratford.

John Tho-
ma.

Richard de
Bintonwath
bishop of
London.

John Stra-
ford archi-
shop of Can-
turburie.

Robert bishop
of Chichester.

William de
Edington.

Simon
Langham.

Robert de
Bourchier.

Robert Bern-
ing, Bernicke,
or Bernwicke,
also treasurer
of England.

lie towne of white marble, set, and other rich stone, on the right side of the said chappell, the epitaphs of both which persons are hereafter recited: besides which in this chappell are the ancient records of all inrolments, confirmations of the pince, & of other states in the chancerie kept in chests and presses, built on each side about the middle part of the chappell, beneath the chaire or place of service. At the west end whereof (on certeine appointed daies therefore) the maister of the rolls doth in the afternoones sit in a place formed and railed in, after the manner of the courts of Westminster, to heare and determine matters depending in the chancerie: which maister of the rolls now living is Sir Gilbert Gerrard knight, sometime generall attorneie to the noble pzincesse queene Elisabeth. And here before I leaue this chappell, I thinke it not amisse to set downe the epitaphs of the two persons before named there buried, with these words.

The epitaph of maister doctor Yong maister of the rolls.

Io. Yong LL. doctoris sacror. scrinior. ac huius domus custodi decano olim E B O R. vita defuncto xxv Aprilis sui fideles executores hoc posuerunt M.D.XVI.

Dominus firmamentum meum.

Beside which in an old table hanging by are twitt-
ten in text hand these verses hereafter following:

*Hic iacet ille Iohannes Yong cognomine dignus,
Tali quod nunquam marcesceret utpote charus:
Omnibus apprimè summo testante dolore,
Quem neque celabant neque dissimulare valebant,
Dum sternit iuuenem mors immatura labentem,
Quis non deseret iuuenis miserabile fatum,
Ex quo multorum pendebat vita salisque:
Florum inquam inprimis, quos ille benignus aiebat
Impensis donec vitales carperet auras.
Nec satis illi erat hoc priuatis consuluisse
Rebus, quin etiam prudenter publica gessit
Munus sue forensis sue etiam extera summa
Cum laude, illa quidem dum sacra præsuit olim
Scrinijs, hac vero legati functus honore.*

The epitaph of maister Alington is in this sort.

*Hospes qui fueram quondam si quæris amice,
Nomen Alingtonus stirps generosa fuit:
Hac monumenta mihi conuix fidelissima struxit,
Quaque mihi struxit destinat illa sibi.
Charaque coniugy tres nata pignora nostri,
Sunt, vultus quarum marmora sculpta tenent,
Cum matre has omnes precor ut post funera summe
Caelica perducas in tua regna Deus.*

*Richardus Alington armiger qui hic sepultus est
obijt 23 die Nouembris 1561.*

Now (as you haue heard before that this house of
the rolls was first a house of conuerts) it shall not be
amisse also for the more profe thereof, to set downe
the grants of the princes and kings which conuerted
the same to those uses.

The grant of Henrie the third, for erecting of the house of conuerts.

Ex archiepiscopis, &c. Sciatis nos intuitu Dei, & pro salute anima nostra, & animarum antecessorum & heredum meorum concessisse, & hac charta nostra

confirmasse pro nobis & heredibus nostris, domum quam fundari fecimus in vico, qui vocatur Newstreet, inter vetus templum & nouum London, ad sustentationem fratrum conuersorum & conuertendorum de Iudaismo ad fidem catholicam, in auxilium sustentationis eorundem fratrum in eadem domo conuersantium, domos & terras qua fuere Iohannis Herbeton in London, & sunt in manu nostra tanquam eschata nostra, excepto gardino, quod fuit eiusdem Iohannis in vico prædicto de Newstreet, & quod prius per chartam nostram concessimus venerabili patri Radulpho Cicestrensi episcopo cancellario nostro, & omnes alias eschatas, qua tempore nostro per feloniam, vel quacunque ex causa nobis accident in ciuitate nostra, vel in suburbio infra libertatem ciuitatis nostre London. Quare volumus, & firmiter præcipimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris, quod prædicta domus habeat & teneat liberè & quietè, bene & in pace, ad sustentationem fratrum conuersorum & conuertendorum de Iudaismo ad fidem catholicam, in auxilium sustentationis eorundem fratrum in eadem domo conuersantium, domos & terras qua fuerunt Iohannis Herbeton in London, & sunt in manu nostra tanquam eschata nostra excepto gardino quod fuit eiusdem Iohannis in vico prædicto de Newstreet, & quod prius per chartam nostram concessimus venerabili patri R. Cicestrensi episcopo cancellario nostro, & omnes alias eschatas, qua tempore nostro per feloniam vel quacunque ex causa nobis accident in ciuitate nostra, vel in suburbio infra libertatem ciuitatis nostre London, sicut prædictum est. Hijs testibus venerabilibus patribus, W. Kaerl. & W. Exon. episcopis, H. de Burgo comite Kantie Radulpho filio Nicholai, Godfrido de Crancumbe, Iohanne filio Philip. Amaurico de sancto Aumundo, Will. de Picheford, Galfrido de Canz, & alijs. Dat. per manum Ve. P. R. Cicestren. episcop. cancellar. nostri apud Westmin. 19. die Aprilis.

The grant of Edward the third, where-
by the said house was in the one and fiftieth
and last yeare of the said Edward con-
uerted to the custodie of the rolls and
records of the chancerie.

REx omnib. ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod nos, considerantes qualiter domus conuersorum in suburbio ciuitatis nostre London, de patronatu nostro existens, & capella, edificia, & clausur. eiusdem, tempore quo dilectus noster Will. Burstall custodiam eiusdem domus ex collatione nostra primò habuit, per negligentiam & incuriam aliorum qui ante dictum Will. custodiam domus illius habuerunt & ibidem, morari seu inhabitari non curauerunt, multipliciter & quasi totaliter in ruina extiterunt, & quod prædictus Will. tempore suo de bonis suis proprijs grades costas & expensas super recuperatione & emendatione domus, capella, edificiorum, & clausur. prædict. ac etiam super factur. nouar. domorum ibidem. Nos ut domos conuersorum capella, edificia, clausur. & noua domus supradict. cōpetenter sustententur, & custodiantur in futurum, ad supplicationem prædicti Willielmi qui custos rotulorum cancellaria nostra existit, in præsentem concessimus de gratia nostra specialis pro nobis & heredibus nostris, quod post mortem eiusdem

dem Will. dicta domus conuerforum cum suis iuribus & pertinent. quibuscunque remaneat & moretur in perpetuum clerico custod. rotulorum cancellar. nostre & heredū nostrorū pro tempore existent. & similiter annex. eidē officio in perpetuum: & quod cancellarius Angliæ vel custos sue custodes magni sigilli nostri & heredum nostrorum Angliæ pro tempore existentium, post mortem ipsius Willielmi habeat & habeant potestatem ad quamlibet vacationem dicti officij custodis rotulorum per mortem, cessionē, vel mutationem, persona quocunque tempore futur. * institutum successue custodes rotulorum predictorum in dicta domo conuerforum, & custodes illos ponend. in possessionem eiusdem cum suis iuribus & pertinent. quibuscunque, in cuius, &c. T. R. apud Shene 11 Aprilis An. 51 Edw. 3.

But after the death of this king Edward, the said William Burfall master of the rolles (belike not supposing this to be a sufficient grant) procured this house by act of parlement, in the first yeare of king Richard the second, to be more strongly established, to the use of the master of the rolles for the time. After which John de Waltham, master of the rolles, after bishop of Salisbury and treasurer of England, procured R. Richard the second in the 6 yeare of his reigne, by his letters patents to confirme the said house to the said Waltham and his successors masters of the rolles. And whereas by the patent of Edward the third, the master of the rolles was appointed and installed in that house by the chancellor, it is to be noted, that the same manner of induction and instalment continued as long as the master of the rolles were of the clergy, as I haue sene set downe by others, and as the presidents of those instalments and the tofts themselves extant of record do well proue.

Sir Richard Scrope knight lord of Bolton, having bene lord treasurer in the time of the deceased king Edward the third, was now in October about the latter end of the yeare 1378, or the beginning of the yeare 1379, being the second yeare of the after deposed king Richard the second, made lord chancellor, and had the great seale deliuered unto him, who in the third yeare of the said king at a parlement did surrender by his office. Of this man is more set downe in the discourse of the treasurers.

Simon Sudburie, so surnamed of the place of his birth, but by descent called Thobold the sonne of Nicholas Thobold, descended of a gentlemanlike race dwelling at Sudburie in Suffolke. This Simon was archbishop of Canturburie, and made chancellor about the yeare of Christ 1380, in the third yeare of Richard the second, and was by the rebels beheaded at the towre of London, in the fourth yeare of the disquieted government of that vnfortunat, but valiant king Richard the second; after whom in the fifth yeare of the said king Richard, was R. B. of London, wherof I haue sene and taken a note: which bishop was (as I coniecture & haue some authoritie to proue) Robert Walsbyoke which followeth, & was made chancellor againe after Sir Richard Scrope.

Sir Richard Scrope knight lord of Bolton, made chancellor againe about the latter end of November, by the lords of the parlement (as I take it) in the fifth yeare of the reigne of king Richard last mentioned, and was the yeare following, being about the yeare of our Lord 1383; againe deposed from his office, and the king receiving the great seale, kept it a certeine time, and therewith sealed such grants and writings as it pleased him, and in the end deliuered the same to Robert Walsbyoke. Of this man see more in the treasurers before.

Robert Walsbyoke bishop of London made lord chancellor in September following the moneth of July, when Sir Richard Scrope was deposed, was advanced to that dignitie on saint Mattheus eue, in the first yeare of the reigne of the said king Richard the second, in which he continued not longer than the year following, as hath Anonymus M. S. he was consecrated bishop of London the first of January 1381, he died the seventeenth of August in the yeare 1404, being the fifth yeare of king Henrie the fourth.

Michael de la Pole, or at Pole (as hath Thomas Walsingham) was made chancellor in the moneth of March, in the first yeare of the said king Richard the second, and was made earle of Suffolke in the ninth yeare of the said king, being after deposed from his office of chancellorship at his owne and earnest request in the tenth yeare of the said king. This man having fled the realme, for that he was pursued by the nobilitie, died at Paris in the thirtieth yeare of the said Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1389, of whom that worthy poet Sir John Gower, living at that time, in his booke intituled *Poemata*, composed these verses:

*Est comes elatus fallax, cupidus, sceleratus,
Fraudes per mille stat cancellarius ille,
Hic proceres odit, & eorum nomina rodit
Morsibus à tergo, fit tandem profugus ergo:
Sic Deus in caelis mala de patre Michaelis
Acrius expurgat ne plus comes ille resurgat.*

Thomas Arundell, of the noble house of the earles of Arundell, was first bishop of Ely, and then of Poike, and lastlie of Canturburie, he was made lord chancellor of England in the tenth yeare of the reigne of the vnfortunat king Richard the second, being about the yeare of our redemption 1386, in which office he remained about two yeares, as farre as my search will giue leaue to vnderstand.

William Wickham was againe made lord chancellor of England, in the twelfth yeare of the said king Richard the second, but was in the end removed from thence in September, in the sixteenth yeare of the troublesome gouernement of the said king Richard.

Thomas Arundell aforesaid was the second time created lord chancellor of England (in the said sixteenth yeare of king Richard the second) in place of William Wickham, in which office he remained about five yeares, and was deposed and banished the realme in the twentieth yeare of the said king Richard.

John Scarle, Scirlæ, or Serle, master of the rolles, of the chancery, and keeper of the great seale: he was chancellor, or in place of the chancellor, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare in which the sonne of God descending from the bosome of his father, took flesh in the wombe of his mother, one thousand three hundred ninety and nine.

Edmund Stafford keeper of the private seale, bishop of Excester, and sometime bishop of Rochester, and lastlie bishop of Poike, keeper of the private seale, and bozne of the noble house of the Staffords, was made lord chancellor of England about the moneth of March, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and four hundred, being about the second yeare of the usurping king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued untill the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and three, being the fourth yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth. He being keeper of the private seale was made bishop of Excester the twentieth of June, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred ninety & five, being the daie before king Richard the second began the

Robert Walsbyoke bishop of London.

Michael de la Pole earle of Suffolke.

* Michael de puteaco, or of the Pole.

Thomas Arundell bishop of Ely.

William Wickham.

Thomas Arundell.

John Serle master of the rois.

Edmund Stafford.

Walle 32.

William.

Sir Richard Scrope.

Simon Sudburie.

Sir Richard Scrope lord of Bolton.

the one and twentieth yeare of his reigne. He was consecrated at Lambeth, and kept the see of Excester three and twentieth yeares. He increased two fellowships in Stapletons inne in Oxford, reformed the Statutes of the house, and called it Excester college: he died the fourth of September, in the seventh yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety. About the making of this Stafford chancellor (as farre as my memorie serueth) Ypodigma is much deceived, if I haue not for want of the booke mistaken his iudgement.

Henrie
Beauford.

Henrie Beauford, the sonne of John of Gaunt by Katharine Swineford, made bishop of Lincoln in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred ninety and eight (as hath Ypodigma) was advanced to the dignitie of chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred & three, being the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth his elder brother, by the daughter of the earle of Hereford, in which office he was in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, and first of the same king (as our chronicles doe remember.) He was made bishop of Winchester in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and four, being the first yeare of Henrie the fourth.

Thomas
Langley bis-
hop of Dur-
ham.

Thomas Langley priest, and bishop of Durham, was at Westminster made chancellor, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand four hundred and five, being the first yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued (as farre as I know) untill he was made bishop of Durham, which was on the seventh of spale, being the seventh yeare of the reigne of king Henrie last before named, being the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and six. He was bishop one and thirtie yeares, and died in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie and seven, being the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the first. See more following.

Thomas
Fitzalen.

Thomas Fitzalen, brother to Richard earle of Arundell, being returned out of exile with Henrie of Bollingbroke duke of Hereford and Lancaster, and after king of England by the name of Henrie the fourth, was the third time being bishop of Canturburie, made lord chancellor of England, the ninth yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth, and continued therein about two yeares, being removed from that place about September, in the eleventh yeare of the reigne of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred and ten.

Thomas
Beauford.

Thomas Beauford knight, the sonne of John of Gaunt son to king Edward the third, & brother to king Henrie the fourth, was made lord chancellor in the eleventh yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare that the sonne of God toke on him the forme of a servant one thousand four hundred and ten, in which office he remained not full three yeares, but left the same office together with his life, as I suppose, in the thirtenth yeare of the same king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred and twelve.

John Wake-
ring cleerke.

John Wakering cleerke, maister of the rolles, was made keeper of the great seale, when Thomas Beauford left the office of chancellor, which seale he kept about the space of a moneth. For in Januarie after that he receiued the seale, there was a chancellor created.

Thomas Be-
rard arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie.

Thomas Fitzalen or Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie, was the fourth time inuested with the chancellorship, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand four hundred and twelve, being the thirtenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued during the life of the said king Henrie the fourth, who died in the fourteenth yeare of his

kingdome, and in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and thirtene.

Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester, and after cardinal in the time of Henrie the first, being uncle to king Henrie the first then reigning, was the second time made chancellor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and thirtene, being the first yeare of the first king Henrie, in which place he remained untill the first yeare of the said king Henrie, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and seuentene.

Thomas
Langley bis-
hop of Dur-
ham.

Thomas Langley bishop of Durham was the second time made lord chancellor of England, in the said yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred and seuentene, being the first yeare of that worthy conqueror king Henrie the first, which office he receiued at Southwicke, and continued in that honour (as farre as I can learne) by the space of six yeares or more, whereof five yeares were fullie ended in the life and death of the said Henrie the first, and the first yeare ended in the last of the first or beginning of the second yeare of king Henrie the first.

Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester before named, was the third time made lord chancellor of England, in the second yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred twentieth and three, or one thousand four hundred twentieth and four. For the second yeare of that king fell part in the one and part in the other of the said yeares of our Lord, in which office he continued about four yeares, untill he was made cardinal, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred twentieth and six.

Henrie Beauford
lord bishop of
Winchester.

John Kempe, bishop of London, was made lord chancellor of England in the fourth yeare of that king Henrie, who in his youngest yeares was crowned first king of England, and then king of France in Paris; in which office he remained (as I suppose) about six yeares.

John Kempe
bishop of
London.

John Stafford deane of S. Martins & of Welles, prebend of Spilton in Lincoln church, bishop of Bath and Welles, lord chancellor and treasurer of England, and bishop of Canturburie, was made lord chancellor of England in the moneth of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie & one, falling in the tenth yeare of king Henrie the first: he remained in that office untill John Kempe was againe made lord chancellor, which was about the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first. And here I think it not vnnmet to remember that some haue noted William Wandet that was bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of Oxford, to be chancellor of England, when he built Magdalen college in Oxford, in the five and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first: which possible can not be, for this John Stafford held that office from the tenth of Henrie the first, untill the eight & twentieth of the same king, which was eightene yeares: during which time they place this Wandet to be chancellor of England. Which error (I suppose) they haue committed, in that they finding him chancellor at the time of the building of his college, in the said five and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, haue taken him to be chancellor of England, when he was then but chancellor of Oxford: although in deed afterward he was chancellor of England, in the five and thirtith yeare of the said king, as after shall appeare.

John Stafford
lord bishop of
Bath.

John Kempe bishop of Exeter and cardinal, was the second time made lord chancellor in the eighth and twentieth of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred and fiftie, in which office he died, being bishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our redemption (as said)

John Kempe
bishop of
Exeter.

Rich-
ard
Shali

Thom-
Beauford

John
Beauford
Cantuar

William
ten, or
did to
Wendel

George
arch-
bishop of

saith Matthew Parker, one thousand foure hundred fiftie and three, being the two & thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the simple king Henrie the first. This man was first bishop of Rochester, next of Chichester, thirddie of London, then of Exeter, where he sat eight and twentie yeares, and lastlie he was archbishop of Cantuarburie.

Richard Penill
earle of Salisburie.

Richard Penill earle of Salisburie, the sonne of Rafe Penill earle of Westmerland, and father to the balliant Richard Penill earle of Marthwike, was after the death of John Kempe by parlement made lord chancellor in the two & thirtieth yeare of H. Henrie the first: though others make it to be in the three & thirtieth yeare of the same king, in which place he continued not long. For in the yeare following another was substituted, and he remoued.

Thomas Bourchier
bishop of Ely.

Thomas Bourchier (brother to Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex) bishop of Ely, and bishop of Cantuarburie, was made chancellor in the three & thirtieth yeare of the gouernement of king Henrie the first, in which he remained much about two yeares. In those time, as saith Matthew Parker, about the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred thre & scoze and one, was the art of printing inuented at the citie of Argentorat in Germanie. About the which matter, and especiallie for the exact & certeine time thereof, manye wryters although their count about one time do disagree: yet at the inuention of that worthe thing were these verses composed in the commendation of the same most excellent art.

John Thomas
Bourchier episcopus
Lancaster.

*O felix nostris memoranda impressio textis,
Inuentore nitet utraque lingua tuo.
Deserit quasi totum quod fundis in orbe,
Nunc paruo doctus quilibet esse potest.
Omnes te homines igitur nunc laudibus ornent,
Te duce quando ars hac mira reperta fuit.*

William Paten
or Paten
earle of Marthwike.

William Paten or Paten, bozne of a gentle manlie familie, being commonlie called William Wandes of the place of his birth, and being prouost of Eaton, and bishop of Winchester, was lord chancellor in the five and thirtieth, six and thirtieth, and the seven and thirtieth yeare of the vnsfortunat king Henrie the first, as haue the records of the exchequer. By which appeareth the error of those, as I haue before noted, that mistaking the five and twentieth of king Henrie the first, in which time he was but chancellor of Oxford; for the five and thirtieth of the said king, in which he was chancellor of England.

George Penill
earle of Marthwike.

George Penill (the sonne of Richard Penill earle of Salisburie, and brother to Richard Penill earle of Marthwike) being made bishop of Exeter, came to that see in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fiftie and five; in which see he continued ten yeares, and was remoued to Exeter in the yeare that God became man one thousand foure hundred thre & scoze and five, he was made lord chancellor in the eight & thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the after deposed H. Henrie the first, in which office he remained about eight yeares, & then was remoued in the seventh yeare of the worthie H. Edward the fourth, being the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand foure hundred thre & scoze & seven. He was a great friend to saint Albons, & procured Edward the fourth in the fourth yeare of his reigne to giue & confirme to John Wethamsted, abbat of saint Albons, the priorie of Penbroke. This bishop Penill did after in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the fourth grow in such disgrace with the king, that he was spoiled at one time of twentie thousand pounds, as in his life shall be more at large declared. To this man did Hugh Meine giue the manour of Hener Cobham, and Hener Brokas in Kent, in the fourth yeare of king Edward the fourth. He died at

Wiltshire comming from Exeter, being almost fortye yeares old, and was buried at Exeter. And here I thinke it not amisse, to note the mistaking of time of such historiographers as haue set downe, that Edward the fourth did, in the fourth yeare of his reigne, take the chancellorship from the bishop of Exeter (brother to the earle of Marthwike, which must needs be this George Penill) & gaue the same to the bishop of Bath. For by that which I haue seene, this Penill liued vntill the seventh yeare of Edward the fourth, and that for this time I suppose to be the truest.

Robert Kirkeham maister of the rolles was made lord keeper of the great seale (vpon the removing of George Penill) in the moneth of Iulie in the said yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thre & scoze and seven, being the seventh yeare of king Edward the fourth.

Robert Kirkeham
maister of the rolles.

Robert Stillington doctor of the lawes, keeper of the priuie seale in the third yeare of Edward the fourth, bishop of Bath & Wells, being made chancellor in the seventh yeare of king Edward the fourth, did still so continue (as I gather) vntill the thirteenth yeare of the said king.

Robert Stillington
doctor of the lawes.

Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex, and first advanced to that title of honor by Edward the fourth, came in place of the last chancellor, about the fourteenth yeare (as some vntrulie haue noted) of Edward the fourth. But in my poze opinion, the same was in the thirteenth yeare of the said Edward the fourth: in which place he remained not much more than one Trinitie terme. For in the said thirteenth yeare, about the moneth of August, was both lord chancellor of England.

Henrie Bourchier
earle of Essex.

Laurence Both sometime maister of Penbroke hall bishop of Durham, and after of Exeter, was made lord chancellor about August or rather before, betwene that and Trinitie terme (after Henrie Bourchier) in the said thirteenth yeare of the balliant king Edward the fourth, after his redemption of the kingdome of England. This bishop (being brother to William Both sometime bishop of Exeter) did build the bishop of Exeters house at Batersels, which manour he before bought of Nicholas Stanleie, whome Leland the minster and refiner of all English names doth most curiously in Latine call *Nicholaum Stenelegium*. He continued in the see of Exeter thre yeares & nine moneths, and died at Southwell in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and foure scoze, being the twentieth yeare of king Edward the fourth.

Laurence Both
bishop of Durham.

Thomas Scot surnamed Kotheram, because of the towne of Kotheram in Exetshire where he was borne and bred vp, was bishop of Rochester, and then of Lincoln, where he sat nine yeares, and after that was bishop of Exeter: whereinto he installed first at Exeter, and then at Ripon, being prouost of Beverleie, he was made chancellor of England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred senentie and foure, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth. This bishop, in the sixteenth yeare of the said king, went over the sea (as I haue seene noted) with the said Edward the fourth, when he went to haue an interuiew with the French king: of which meeting monsieur de Argentine by name Philip Comineus (besides our English chronicles) doth make mention, as a person that bare a part in that pageant.

Thomas Scot
alias Kotheram.

John Alcot bishop of Rochester was made chancellor, during the absence of king Edward, as I haue found recorded.

John Alcot
bishop of Rochester.

Thomas Kotheram, being before lord keeper of the priuie seale, was after his returne out of France the second time made lord chancellor, about the time in

Thomas Kotheram.

in which the said king had gotten Berwick from the Scots, being about the twentieth yeare of the said Edward the fourth. For the first gaining of the towne was not much before his death; in which office this Kotheram continued all the life of king Edward the fourth, & in the time of the little or no reigne at all of the guiltlesse murdered yong prince king Edward the first; untill it was ascribed to him for overmuch lightnesse, that he had deliuered in the beginning of the rebellious gouernement of the protectorship of the bloudie and unnaturall Richard duke of Gloucester the seale to the queene, to whom it did not apperteyne, and from whom he receiued it not. He founded a college at Kotheram, dedicated, it to the name of Iesus, & indowd it with great possessions & ornaments, and annexed therto the churches of Langthton, and Almarburie.

John Russell
bishop of Lin-
colne.

John Russell bishop of Lincolne, a graue and learned man, had the seale deliuered to him by the said protector of England, during the time of the short reigne of the yong king Edward, when the same seale was taken from Kotheram: and so this Russell was made chancelor in the moneth of June, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred foure score and thre, being the first yeare of the vsurped gouernement of the bloudie tyrant the misshapen king Richard the third. This Russell is buried in the church of Lincolne, in a chappell cast out of the upper wall of the south part of the church.

Thomas
Barow mai-
ster of the
rolles.

Thomas Barow maiister of the rolles was made keeper of the great seale (as I haue seene recorde) which I suppose, was in the third and last yeare of the said king Richard the third: for in that yeare he was maiister of the rolles.

Thomas Ro-
theram.

Thomas Kotheram made againe lord chancelor, in the first entrance of king Henrie the seventh into the gouernement: but verie shortly after he was displaced, and the bishop of Worcester placed in that roome; he was archbishop of Yorke nineteene yeares & ten moneths; he was verie beneficiall to all his kindred, and advanced some with mariages, some with possessions, and some with spirituall livings. He died the nine and twentieth daie of December, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred, being the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the eighth, at Calood in Yorke shire the morrow after the Ascension, being of the age of thre score and sixteene yeares or more: he was buried in Yorke minster on the north side in our ladie chappell, in a tombe of marble which he caused to be made whilst he was liuing.

John Alcot
bishop of wor-
cester.

John Alcot bishop of Worcester, made in the yeare one thousand foure hundred thre score and sixteene, was lord chancelor of England in the first yeare of the said R. Henrie the seventh, the Salomon of England, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score & five: shortly after the entrance of the said Henrie into the gouernement of England. For though Kotheram were chancelor when he got the victorie, for that he had bene so before, & for that the king was neither prouided nor minded suddenly to haue a man not mete for that place to execute the same: yet this Kotheram kept not that roome manie moneths, but that Alcot came in place because the king found Alcot a meter person to execute the same office, answerable to the disposition of the kings humors. All which notwithstanding, whether for malice of others, or for his owne defects, or both, or for more especiall trust that king Henrie put in Morton bishop of Ely, who had bene the meane to bring him to the crowne, this Alcot fell shortly in the kings disgrace, was displaced of his office, and Morton came in his roome. So that in this first yeare of the said king Henrie the seventh, there seemed to

be thre chancelors in succession one after another, if I haue not misconceiued the matter: all which before Morton in this first yeare of king Henrie the seventh, may perhaps more properly be termed keepers of the great seale, than chancelors.

John Morton doctor of the ciuill law, an aduocate in the ciuill of the counsell to Henrie the first, and to Edward the fourth, to whom also he was maiister of the rolles, was made bishop of Ely in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred thre score and eighteene, and lord chancelor of England, (upon his returne from beyond the seas) in the first yeare of the twentieth prince R. Henrie the seventh, being the yeare that the word became flesh, one thousand foure hundred foure score and five: after which he was aduanced to the bishopricke of Canturburie; he died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and nineteene, in the fiftieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the seventh, as hath Matthew Parker.

John Morton
bishop of
Ely.

Thomas
Baker

William Warham aduocate in the arches, maiister of the rolles, bishop of London, and then bishop of Canturburie; was (before his aduancement to the see of Canturburie) made chancelor of England in the time of Henrie the seventh, in which office he continued untill about the latter end of the seventh yeare of king Henrie the eighth. At what time surrendring the seale by reason of his age and weakenesse, the same great seale was deliuered to Thomas Wolfeie.

William War-
ham arch-
bishop of Can-
turburie.

Thomas
Wolfeie

Thomas Wolfeie sometime chapleine to Henrie Deane archbishop of Canturburie, after the kings almoner and abbat of Saint Austins, who possessing manie other abbeyes and bishopricks, as in other places shall more largelie appeare, was aduanced to the gouernment of the great seale, about the beginning of the eighth yeare of the triumphant reigne of king Henrie the eighth, being the yeare of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ one thousand five hundred sixteene, to hold the same during his life (as I gather) in which office yet he continued not aboue thirtene yeares, untill the one and twentieth of the said king Henrie the eighth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred twentieth and nine. During which time of his chancelorship, in the nineteenth yeare of king Henrie the eighth, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentieth and seauen, he went into France, representing the king of Englands person, to set order for the deliuerie of pope Clement the seventh and Francis the French king, at what time he carried the great seale over the seas to Calis, which seale he left with doctor Talloz maiister of the rolles, to keepe the same at Calis untill the cardinals returne out of the French dominions. He died in Leicester abbeye (not without suspicion of poison as was thought, which he had prepared for himselfe, and giuen to his apothecarie to deliuer when he called for it) the two and twentieth of king Henrie the eighth, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie.

Thomas
Wolfeie

William
Baker

Thomas More knight, sometime vnderstricke of London, and chancelor of the dutchie of Lancaster, was aduanced to the honor of chancelorship of England, in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand five hundred twentieth and nine, being the one and twentieth yeare of that king Henrie which expelled pope Clement the seventh his authoritie out of his dominions, in which office this rare witted knight (to vse Erasmus his epitheon) and learned chancelor continued not full thre yeares; but in the foure and twentieth yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie the eighth, with much labor and earnest labe he left his office. Touching which it shall not graunte me to set downe the words of Matthew Parker

Thomas
More

Thomas
More

Thomas
More

ker of the liues of the bishops of Canturburie in the life of Thomas Cranmer writing after this maner: *Inter ea rex dum papa meditabatur excidium, singulorum de papali auctoritate sensus iudicij: haud obcuris collegis. Inter quos Thomas Morus, quia regis conatus pontificis valde suspectus fuit, cancellarij munere, venia regis agre impetrata, sese abdicauit.*

Thomas Audlete attorneie of the dutchie of Lancaster, sergeant at the law (as most affirme) and speaker of the parlement, was made knight and lord keeper of the great seale the fourth of June, in the four and twentieth yere of the reigne of the famous prince king Henrie the eight, being the yere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred thirtie and two, not long after which he was indued with the title and hono: of lord chancellor of England. This man in the tenth yere of his chancelorship, being the yere of our redemption one thousand five hundred fortie and two, and the five and thirtieth yere of king Henrie the eight, changing the name of Buckingham college in Cambridge, did name it the college of saint Marie Magdalen, and indued it with some possessions. He died on Maie euen in the yere of our saluation one thousand five hundred fortie and foure, being the five and thirtieth yere of Henrie the eight.

Thomas Wriotheslie knight of the garter, being created baron at Hampton court on the first of Januarie, in the five and thirtieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and three, was after aduanced to the hono: of the great seale and chancelorship of England, about the beginning of Maie, in the six and thirtieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, being the yere of grace one thousand five hundred fortie and foure, in which office he continued untill the death of the said king Henrie the eight, and in the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the first, untill for his obstinacie in the Romane religion he was the first of March removed, and the seale was deliuered to William Paulet lord Sent-John of Basing. This Wriotheslie (being created earle of Southampton by king Edward the first) died at his house of Lincolne place in Holborne the 30 of Iulie, in the fourth yere of the said king Edward, in the yere 1550, & was buried at saint Andrews in Holborne commonlie called Holborne.

William Paulet knight being first steward of the lands of the bishoprike of Winchester, then treasurer of the household, lord Sent-John of Basing, lord great master of the kings house, afterwards earle of Wiltshire, marquisse of Winchester, and treasurer of England, being of the priuie counsell to king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, quene Marie, and quene Elisabeth, had the keeping of the great seale committed vnto him the seventh daie of March, in the yere that the second person in trinitie descended from the bosome of the father into the wombe of the mother one thousand five hundred fortie and seven, being the first yere of the reigne of the young king Edward the first, which seale he had in custodie about seven moneths, untill the three and twentieth or foure and twentieth of October following, at which time sir Richard Rich was made lord chancellor.

Sir Richard Rich knight, lord Rich, was aduanced to the dignitie of lord chancellor of England about the 23 of October in the yere of our saluation one thousand five hundred fortie and seven, being the first yere of the reigne of the noble king Edward the first, in which place he remained about five yers.

Thomas Goderich or Goderike being bishop of Ely had the great seale deliuered to him, and was made lord chancellor of England the twentieth of December (as Iohn Scow hath noted in his chronicle) in

the yere of our redemption one thousand five hundred fiftie and one, being the six yere of the reigne of king Edward the first, in which office he continued all the life of the said king Edward, which died in Iulie one thousand five hundred fiftie and three, being the seventh yere of his reigne, and about one moneth after untill the thirtieth or fourtieth daie of August, in which quene Marie made Stephan Gardener his chancellor.

Sir Nicholas Hare, master of the rolles, had at the comming of quene Marie to the crowne the keeping of the great seale, after the death of king Edward, as lord keeper by the space of one fortnight, and shortly after was Stephan Gardener made chancellor.

Stephan Gardener bishop of Winchester was in August, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and three, being the first yere of the reigne of the vnsfortunat quene Marie, made chancellor of England. This man going in ambassage vnto Calis left the great seale in the custodie of William Paulet marquisse of Winchester, which bishop after his returne into England continued in that office all the time of his life, which he ended the 19 of Nouember, in the yere that the word became flesh one thousand five hundred fiftie and five, being the third yere of quene Marie. After which the great seale lieng in the custodie of the prince, the on the new yeres daie following made a new chancellor.

Nicholas Heath bishop of Rochester, almoner to the king, ambassado: into Germanie, bishop of Worcester, president of Wales, and archbishop of Yorke, was upon new yeres daie, in the yere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred fiftie and five, being the third yere of the reigne of quene Marie, aduanced to the honorable dignitie of the chancelorship. But quene Marie deceasing the twentieth daie of Nouember, in the yere of grace one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, and the first yere of his gouernement, this Heath vpon the placing of the worthie quene Elisabeth vpon the throne of the English gouernment, was removed from his office, and master Bacon aduanced.

Sir Nicholas Bacon cliquer, attourneie of the court of wards, was made knight, and lord keeper of the great seale the two and twentieth of December, in the yere of our redemption 1558, being the first yere of the now reigning Elisabeth the Sabie of England. Which name of lord keeper he still kept during his life, and the time of his office. In whose time there was an act of parlement established, to make the power of the keeper of the great seale equall with the authoritie of the chancellor. This man continued in this office, and worthilie executed the same, being a man of rare wit and deepe experience, during the time of his life, which continued untill the twentieth of Februarie, in the yere of our saluation 1578 after the account of England, being the one and twentieth yere of the rare and singular gouernement of the world wonder the famous quene Elisabeth, which place this man kept eightene yeres, being (as I suppose) double as long time as any other chancellor or keeper of the great seale possessed that place, except Rafe Penill bishop of Chichester, and John Stafford bishop of Bath and Wells, both which held it equallie eightene yeres with him: a strange thing, that in the course of almost 600 yeres, no such officer might possesse that place by twentie yeres together.

Thomas Bromfielde, the generall solicitor of quene Elisabeth, a counsellor of the law, and one of the inner temple, was aduanced to the dignitie of lord chancellor on the five and twentieth day of April, in the yere of our redemption 1579, being in the one & twentieth yere of the reigne of the said quene Elisabeth.

Elisabeth, which office at this date he beareth.

Thus (although I maie be a little weythod in passing our the deepe sea of this difficultie of the chancellors, in which I am sure I am not ouer head and eares) I haue at length brought my chancellors to end: a worke of some labour and difficultie, of some searce and charge, which I haue done onelie of my selfe without the furtherance or help of some others, who more inconsideratlie than trulie do disorderlie report, that I haue attained unto this in obtaining those names by some sinister means, from the priuat bookes of them who haue trauelled in the same matter. In which (as I said in the beginning, so I saie againe) if anie imperfection for hast, by reason of the printers speedie calling on me, haue now fallen out of my pen, it shall hereafter God willing be corrected in the large volume of their liues. Wherefore as I neither esteeme nor feare the secret reports of some others; so for their countries good it shall be well that they would deliuer something to the world to bring truth to perfection (if other men haue binwillinglie set downe error) and not as they do, for a little commoditie & gaine to themselves, neither benefit their countrie, nor speake well of such as would and doe helpe posteritie. Thus this much by Francis Thin, touching the chancellors of England.]

Ab. Fl. ex pub-
licis additio-
nibus B.G.
& T.C.

Here though somewhat out of place (for it should haue bene entered in 1578) it were better to record the receiuing of the queenes maiestie into Suffolke & Dorsette, than making no commemoration thereof at all, to let it perish in these halfe penie pamphlets, and so die in obliuion. It maie also serue for a rest of recreation, after so long an introduction of serious matters, as also (and that most worthilie) maie remaine in record, to signifie what well affected subiects the queens maiestie hath within hir dominions, to whome goods, lands, friends, kindred, or life, none of these seuerallie, nor all iointlie, are so pretious and dore, but for hir sake they can find in their hearts to esteeme them as dong. And now to the matter. The truth is (saith one that wrote the whole intertainment) that albeit they had but small warning certinlie to build vpon, of the coming of the queenes maiestie into both those shires, the gentlemen had made such readie provision, that all the beluets and silks were taken vp that might be laid hand on, and bought for ante monie, and some conuerted to such garments and suites of robes, that the shew thereof might haue beautified the greatest triumph that was in England these manie yeares. For (as it was said) there were two hundred yong gentlemen clad all in white beluet, and three hundred of the greater sort apparelled in blacke beluet cotes, and faire chaines, all readie at one instant and place, with fiftene hundred serving men more on horsebacke, well and brauelie mounted in good order, readie to receiue the queenes highnesse into Suffolke, which surelie was a comelie troupe, and a noble sight to behold: and all these waited on the shiriffe sir William Spring, during the queenes maiesties abode in those parties, and to the verie confines of Suffolke.

The recei-
uing of the
queene into
Suffolke and
Dorsette.

The number
of gentlemen
that receiued
the queene in-
to Suffolke.

Persons of
worth in
Suffolke that
feasted hir
highnesse du-
ring hir abode
amongst them.

But before hir highnesse passed to Dorsette, there was in Suffolke such sumptuous feasting and banquettes, as seldome in anie part of the world haue bene seene before. The maister of the rolles sir William Cordall, was one of the first that began this great feasting, and did light such a candle to the rest of the shire, that manie were glad bountifullie and frankelie to follow the same example, with such charges and costs, as the whole traine were in some sort pleased therewith. And neere Burie sir William Burie for his part at his house made the queenes highnesse a coslie and delicat dinner, and sir Robert Germaine of

Koesbyroke feasted the French ambassadors two seuerall times, with which charges and courtisie they stood maruellouslie contented. The shiriffe sir William Spring, sir Thomas Kidson, sir Arthur Higgham, and diuerse others of worthip, kept great houses, and sundrie either at the queenes coming, or returne, solemnlie feasted hir highnesse, yea and defracted the whole charges for a date or twaine, presented gifts, made such triumphs and deuises, as indeed was most noble to behold, and verie thankfullie accepted.

The Dorsette gentlemen hearing how dutifullie their neighbors had receiued the prince, prepared in like sort to shew themselves dutifull: and so in most gallant maner they assembled and set forward with five and twentie hundred horsemen, whereof (as some affirme) were six hundred gentlemen, so brauelie attired and mounted, as in deed was worthie the noting, which goodly companie waited on their shiriffe a long season. But in good sooth (as it was creditie spoken) the banquettes and feasts began here afresh, all kinds of triumphs that might be deuised were put in practise and puse. The earle of Surreie did shew most sumptuous cheare, in whose parke were speeches well set out, and a speciall deuise much commended: and the rest, as a number of iollie gentlemen, were no whit behind to the uttermost of their abilities, in all that might be done and deuised.

But when the queenes highnesse came to Dorsette, the substance of the whole triumph and feasting was in a maner there new to begin. For order was taken there, that euerie date for six daies together, a shew of some strange deuise should be seene. And the maiors and aldermen appointed among themselves and their brethren, that no one person reteining to the queene should be vnfasted, or vnbidden to dinner & supper, during the space of those six daies: which order was well & wiselie obserued, and gained their citie more fame and credit than they tooke of: for that courtisie of theirs shall remaine in perpetuall memorie whiles the walles of their citie standeth. Besides the monie they bestowed vpon diuerse of the traine, and those that toke paines for them, will be a witnesse of their well doing and good will, whiles the report of these things maie be called to remembrance. Now, who can (considering their great charges and discreet gouernement in these causes) but giue them due laud and reputation, as farre as either pen or report maie doe them good & stretch out their credit. For most assuredlie, they haue taught and learned all the towines and cities in England a lesson, how to behaue themselves in such like seruices and actions.

On saturday being the sixteenth of August 1578, and in the twentieth yeare of the reigne of our most gracions soueraigne ladie Elisabeth, by the grace of God queene of England, France & Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: the same our most dread and loued reigne ladie (continuing hir progresse in Dorsette) immediatlie after dinner set forward from Bokerly ath, where she had dined with the ladie Skille, being five miles distant from Dorsette, towards the same hir most dutifull citie. Sir Robert Wotton then esquier, now knight, maior of the same citie, at one of the clocke in the same happie date, set forward to meet with hir maiestie in this order. First there rode before him well and seemelie mounted, threescore of the most comelie yong men of the citie, as batchelliers apparelled all in blacke satten doublets, blacke hose, blacke tassata hats, and yelloe bands, and their vniuersall liuerie was a mandilion of purple tassata, laid about with siluer lace: so apparelled they marched forward two and two in a ranke. Then one

Dorsette in-
cited by the
example of
Suffolke to
giue the queene
total inter-
tainment.

what order
was taken in
Dorsette for
the receiuing
and recreating
of the queene.

The maiors of
Dorsette
with his or-
dendants for
to meet the
queene.

The build-
ing of Dorset
which recei-
ued the
queene.

The sound
of Blanch
floure sta-
ching perfo-
mat the
queene.

Persons pre-
siding, frat
Wolfebat

the founder
of Norwich
and the
city

which represented king Curgunt, sometime king of
England, which builded the castell of Norwich, called
Blanch Flowre, and laid the foundation of the cite.
He was mounted upon a braue courser, and was
thus furnished: his bodie armed, his bales of grene
and white silke: on his head a blacke velvet hat, with
a plume of white feathers. There attended upon him
three henchmen in white and grene: one of them did
beare his helmet, the second his target, the third his
staffe: after him a noble companie of gentlemen
and wealthie citizens in velvet coats and other cost-
ly furniture, brauelie mounted. Then followed the
officers of the cite euerie one in his place. Then the
sword-bearer, with the sword & hat of maintenance.
Then the maior and foure and twentie aldermen,
and the recorder all in scarlet gownes, whereof so
manie as had bene maiors of the cite, and were iu-
stices, did weare their scarlet clothes: then followed
so manie as had bene shiriffs, and were no alder-
men, in violet gownes and satin tippets. Then follo-
wed diuerse others, to keepe the people from distur-
bing the arate aforesaid.

the founder
of Norwich
and the
city

Thus euerie thing in due and comelie order, they
all (except Curgunt, which staid hir maiesties com-
ming within a sight shot or two of the cite, where
the castell of Blanch Flowre was in most beautifull
prospect) marched forwards to a bridge, called Hart-
ford bridge, the uttermost limit that waie, distant
from the cite two miles or there abouts, to meet
with hir maiestie; who within one houre or little
more after their attendance, came in such gracious
and princelie wise, as raniished the hearts of all hir
louing subiects, and might haue terrified the stoutest
heart of ante enemie to behold. Whether the maie-
stie of the prince, which is incomparable; or ioie of hir
subiects, which exceeded measure, were the greater, I
thinke would haue appalled the iudgement of Apollo
to define. The acclamations and cries of the people
to the almighty God for the preservation of hir ma-
iestie rattled so lowd, as hardly for a great time could
anie thing be heard. But at last, as euerie thing hath
an end, the noise appeased: and the maior saluted hir
highnesse with the oration following, and yielded to
hir maiestie therewith the sword of the cite, and a
faire standing cup of siluer and gilt, with a coner,
and in the cup one hundred pounds in gold. The or-
ation was in these words.

Prætoris Nordouicensis ad se-
renissimam Reginam, &c.

SI nobis ab Opt. Max. concederetur
optio quid rerū humanarū nunc potissi-
mum uellemus: nihil duceremus anti-
quius (augustissima princeps) quam ut
tuus ille, qui ita nos recreat, castissimi oculi radius
posset in abditiſsimos cordium nostrorū angulos se
conferre. Cernereres profecto quanta sint hilaritate
perſuſa, quam in ipsis arterijs & uenulis spiritus
& sanguis gessant: dum intuemur te huius regni
lumen (ut Dauid olim fuit Israelitici) in hys tan-
dem finibus post longam spem, & ardentissima vo-
ta exoriri. Equidem ut pro me, qui tua ex autori-
tate & clementia (quod humillimis gratijs profite-
or) celeberrima huic ciuitati præsum, & pro hys
meis fratribus, atq; omni hoc populo quem tuus au-
spicijs regimus, ex illorum sensu loquar, quod &
ipse sentio: sic nos demum supplicibus uotis expo-
ſcimus, ut maiestatem tuam beneuolam nobis, &
propitiam experiamur: ut nunquam cuiquam po-
pulo aduenisti gratior quam nobis. In illius rei lucu-
lentissimi indicium, insignia hæc honoris, & offi-

cij nostri, quæ nobis clementissimus princeps Hen-
ricus quartus quinto sui regni anno cum prætoribus, se-
natoribus, & vicecomitibus coëssit: (cum antea
balliis (ut vocant) ultra annalium nostrorum
memoriam regecerunt) perpetuis deinde regum
priuilegijs, & corroborata nobis, & aucta magni-
ficè, maiestati tuæ omnia exhibemus, quæ per tu-
am unius clementiam (quam cum immortalibus
gratijs prædicare nunquam cessabimus) vicesimo
iam anno tenuimus: atq; unâ cum illis, hunc the-
saurum, quasi pignus nostrarum & voluntatum
& facultatum. Quas omnes, quantæ, quantulæ-
sint, ad tuum arbitrium deuotimus: ut si quid om-
ni hoc felicissimi tui temporis decursu admisimus,
quod amantissimos, obsequentissimos, amplitudinis
tuæ salutis, coronæ, emolumento deuotissimos non
deceat: statuas de nobis, & nostris omnibus, pro
tua clementissima voluntate. Sin ita clauum huius
ciuitatis (Deo duce) reximus: ut eam in portu
saluam maiestati tuæ conseruauerimus, & popu-
lum primum gloriæ Dei, & veræ religionis, dein-
de salutis, honoris, & voluntatis tuæ studiosissi-
mum, quantum in nobis est, effecerimus: tum non
libet nobis id à te petere, quod insita tibi singularis
clementia facillimè à te ipsa impetrabit. Tantum
obsecramus, ut amplitudinem tuam Deus omni-
bus & animi & corporis bonis cunctatissime bea-
re velit, Amen.

The maiors oration to the
queene Englished.



Four wish should be granted vnto vs by
the almightie, what humane thing wee
would chieflie desire: we would account
nothing more pretious (most roial prince)
than that the bright beame of your most chaste
which doth so cheare vs, might pearse the secret and
strait corners of our hearts. Then surelie should you
see how great ioies are disperſed there, and how the
spirits and liuelie blood tickle in our arteries & small
veines, in beholding you the light of this realme (as
Dauid was of Israel) now at length, after long hope
and earnest petitions, to appeare in these coats. True-
lie on mine owne part, which by your highnesse au-
thoritie and clemencie (with humble thanks bee
spoken) doo gouerne this famous cite, and on the
part of these my brethren, and all these people which
by your authoritie we rule (speaking as they meane,
and as I my selfe doo thinke) this onelie with all our
hearts and humble praiers we desire, that we maie so
find your maiestie gracious and fauourable vnto vs,
as you for your part neuer came to anie subiects bet-
ter welcome than to vs your poore subiects here. For
most manifest token whereof, we present vnto your
maiestie here, these signes of honor and office, which
we receiued of the most mightie prince Henrie the
fourth, in the fift yere of his reigne, then to vs granted
in the name of maior, aldermen and shiriffs; whereas
before time out of mind or mention, we were gouer-
ned by bailiffs (as they tearme them) which euer since
haue bene both established and increased with con-
tinuall priuileges of kings: and which by your onelie
clemencie (which with immortall thanks we shall
neuer cease to declare) we haue now these twentie
yeres inioied: and together with those signes, this
treasure is a pledge of our good willes and abilitie:
which all how great or litte so euer they be, wee
powre downe at your pleasure, that if we haue neg-
lected anie thing in all this course of your most hap-
pie reigne, which becommeth most louing, obedient
and well willing subiects to performe, for the prefer-
uation of your crowne, and aduancement of your
highnesse,

Henricus quar-
tus quintus
Nordouicensi
princeps uni-
uersificatus

Prætoris pro-
fuitq; trauis-
bus quā signi-
ficauer
facta oratio.

The maior
speakes in
his owne and
his brethren
the aldermen
behalf.

Henric the
fourth a most
bountifull
prince to the
cite of Nor-
wich.

A most enti-
full submis-
sion.

folke (as
by the
ple of
folke t,
& queene
inter-
ment,

at order
is taken in
Norwich
receiving
recreating
the queene.

The maior of
Norwich
with his al-
dermen set
forth the
re queene.

Prætoris pro-
fuitq; trauis-
bus quā signi-
ficauer

wherein the
dutie of sub-
iects chiefe
consisteth.

highnesse, you maie then determine of vs and all ours
at your most gracious pleasure. But if we haue (God
being our guide) so ordered the gouernance of this
citic, that we haue kept the same in safetie to your
maiesties vse, and made the people therein (as much
as in vs lieth) first most studious of Gods glorie and
true religion, and next of your maiesties health, ho-
nour, and pleasure; then aske we nothing of you: for
that the singular clemencie ingrafted in your high-
nesse, will easilie of it selfe grant that which is requi-
sit for vs to obtaine. We onelie therefore desire, that
God would abundantly blesse your highnesse with
all good gifts of mind and bodie.

The queens
maiesties ac-
ceptable an-
swer uttered
by hir owne
mouth in per-
son.

Which oration ended, hir maiestie accepting in
good part euerie thing deliuered by the maior, did
thankfullie answer him in these words, or verie like
in effect: We hartlie thanke you maister maior,
and all the rest, for these tokens of goodwill; neuer-
thelesse, princes haue no need of monie: God hath
indued vs abundantly, we come not therefore, but
for that which in right is our owne, the hearts and
true allegiance of our subiects, which are the grea-
test riches of a kingdom; whereof as we assure our
selues in you, so do you assure your selues in vs of
a louing and gracious soueraine. Wherewith was
deliuered to the maior, a mace or scepter, which he
carried before hir to hir lodging, which was in the
bishop of Norwich his palace, two miles distant
from that place. The cup and monie was deliuered
to a gentleman, one of hir maiesties footmen to car-
rie. The maior said to hir, *Sunt hic centum libra pari-
auri.* The couer of the cup listd vp, hir maiestie said
to the footmen; *Loke to it, there is 100 pounds.*
With that hir highnesse, with the whole companie,
marched towards Norwich, till they came to a place
called the Towne close, distant from the citie a good
flightshot, where the partie which represented Gur-
gunt came forth, as in due maner is exprest, and
was readie to haue declared to hir maiestie this
speech following; but by reason of a shewre of raine
which came, hir maiestie hastid awaie, the speech
not uttered. But thus it was as here followeth.

Gurguntius
his speech cut
off by a shewre
of raine.

Gurguntius
the eldest son
of Belinus.

Leane off to muse most gracious prince of English soile,
What sudden wight in martiall wise approacheth neere:
King Gurgunt I am hight, king Belins eldest sonne,
Whose five Dunwallo first, the British crowne did weare.
Whom truthlesse Ourlacke sought to passe the surging seas,
Hie fallshod to reuenge, and Denmarke land to spoile.
And finding in returne, this place a gallant vent,
This castle faire I built, a fort from foyren soile:
To win a conquest, get renoume and glorious name,
So keepe and vie it well, deserues eternall fame.
When hute through cities, townes, the woods & dales did sound:
Elizabeth this countie peerelesse queene dicte neere:
I was found out, my selfe in person noble queene
Did haue, before thy face in presence to appeare.
Two thousand yeares belme in silence lurking still:
Heere, why to thee alone this seruice I doo pcell.
Besides that, at my citie site their founder first
Should gratular most this ioyfull sight in open field,
Foure speciall points and rare concurring in vs both
This speciall seruice haue refered to thee alone:
The glorie though of each in thee dooth far surmount,
Yet great with small compar'd, will like appeare anon.
When doubtfull warres the British princes long had waging,
My grandfide first uniting all did weare the crowne.
Of York and Lancaster, who did conclude those brollies:
Thy grandfide Henrie seventh, a king of great renoume.
Whose uncle Brennus eke, my father joining hands,
Did Rome did rule and sake, and halfe consume with fire:
Thy puissant father so, new Rome that glittering fire
Did sake and spoile hir neere, of all his glittering fire.
Lo Cambridge schooles by mine assignement founded first,
By thee my Cambridge schooles are famous through the world,
Thy thirtie wandring ships of banthe men returned.
The throngs of banthe soules that in this citie dwell,
Do weepe for ioy: and praye for thee with teares untold:
In all these things thou noble queene doost far excell.
But lo to thee I pcell as dutie dooth me bind
In open field my selfe, my citie, castle, keie,
Doost happy fathers kings in such a daughter queene,
Doost happy England were, if thou shouldst neuer die.
So on most noble prince, for I must haue awaie
My citie gates doo long, their soueraine to receaue:
Whose true thou neuer couldst, no loiall subiects find,
Whose harts full fast with perfect loue to thee doo cleane.

The ancient-
nesse of Nor-
wich citie by
the founders
age may be
gathered.

King Henrie
the seventh,
a king Hen-
rie the eight.

Gurguntius
paleth his
estate to the
queene.

Then hir maiestie drew neere the gates of the citie

called saint Stephens gates, which with the walls
there were both gallantie and stronglie repaired. *S. Stephens*
The gate it selfe was thus enriched and beautified. *Gates in Paris*
First the portcullis was new made both timber &
iron. Then the outward side of the gate was thus
beautified. The queenes armes were most richlie
and beautifullie set forth in the chiefe front of the
gate. On the one side thereof, but somewhat lower,
was placed the scutcheon of saint George his crosse;
on the other side, the armes of the citie: and dirallie
under the queenes maiesties armes, was placed the
falcon, hir highnesse badge, in due forme, and vn-
der the same were written these words, God and the
queene we serue. The inner side of the gate was
thus beautified. On the right side was gorgeouslie
set forth the red rose, signifieng the house of York;
on the left side the white rose, representing the house
of Lancaster; in the midst was the white and red
rose united, expresting the union, under the which
was placed by descent the armes of the queene, and
under that were written these verses following.

Diuision kindled strife,
Bliss vnion quendit the flame:
Thence sprang our noble Phenix deare,
The pearelesse prince of fame.

And besides that, at this gate, the walls of the ci-
tie were placed with lowd musicke, who cherefullie
& melodiouslie welcomed hir maiestie into the citie,
this song being song by the best voices in the same.

*The dew of heauen drops this dew
on drie and barren ground,
Wherefore let fruitfull heares I saie
at drum and trumpets sound
Tells what is due, shew what is meet,
to make our ioy the more,
In our good hope, and hir great praise,
we neuer saw before.
The sun dooth shine where shade hath bene,
long darkenesse brought vs daie,
The star of comfort now comes in,
and here a while will staie,
Ring out the bells, plucke vp your speets,
and dyssell your houses gate,
Run in for floures to strewe the streets,
and make what ioy you maie.*

*The dew of heauen, &c.
Full manie a winter haue we seene,
and manie stormes withall,
Since here we saw a king or queene
in pompe and princelie pall,
Wherefore make feast and banquet still,
and now to triumph fall,
With dutie let vs shew good will,
to glad both great and small.
The dew of heauen, &c.
The realme throughout will ring of this,
and sundrie regions mo
Will say, full great our fortune is,
when our good hap they knoe,
O Norwich, heere the wellying runs,
whose vertue still dooth flow,
And to this day dooth shine two suns
within thy walls also.
The dew of heauen, &c.*

This song ended, hir highnesse passed towards hir
lodging, & by the waie in a church-yard, ouer against
maister Decks doze (a worthy alderman) was a
scaffold set vp & by auelie trimmed. On this scaffold
was placed an excellent boy, well and gallantie de-
ked, in a long white robe of cassata, a crimson scarfe
wrought with gold, folded on the Turkish fashion a-
bout his bwowes, and a gate garland of white flow-
ers on his head, which boie was not sene, till the queene
had a good season marked the musicke, which was
marvellous sweet and good, albeit the rudenesse of
some ringers of bells did somewhat hinder the noise
and harmonie: and as sone as the musike ended,
the boy stepped reuerendlie before the queene, and
spake these words that follow in comelie order.

Great things were meant to welcome thee (O queene)
If want of time had not cut off the same:
Great was our wish, but small is that was seene,
For vs to shew before to great a name.
Great hope we haue it pleads our princes etc.
Great were the harmes that elle our paines should reape:
Our grace or softe dooth in your indgement lie,
If you mislike, our griefs doo grow on heape:
If for small things we doo great fauour find,

Great

The boies
speech at ma-
ster Decks
doze.

The queene
heard this
dew.

The first pa-
gent was in
St. Stephens
parish in this
maner.

How the pa-
gent was
beautified
with repre-
sentation of
the mysteries
at the citie.

1. Pointing to
the spinnars.
2. Pointing to
the loomes,
3. Pointing to
the woollers.

The second
pagent with
the generation
of the same,
and so far re-
presentation
of the same.

ephana
in Ro-
chlie
ied.

The queene
used this
maile.

The first pa-
geant was in
St. Stephens
parish in this
maile.

tion of
the role
red.

How the pa-
geant was
beautified
with repre-
sentation of
the mysteries
of the citie.

Pointing to
the spinners.
Pointing to
the loomes.
Pointing to
the woikes.

boles
h at ma-
decks

The second
pageant with
the representa-
tion of the same,
and what re-
presentations
were.

Great is the joy that Roibich feels this date:
If well we maid the greatnesse of your mind,
Ten words would serve, we had but small to saie.
But knowing that your goodnesse takes things well
That well are meant, we boldie did proceed:
And so good queene, both welcome and farewell,
Thine owne we are in heart, in word, and deed.

The boy thereupon sang up his garland, and the
queenes highnes said, This deuise is fine. Then the
noise of musike began againe, to heare the which the
queene said a good while, and after departed to the ca-
thedrall church, which was not far from thence. Then
passed the forwarde through saint Stephens street,
where the first pageant was placed in forme follow-
ing. It was builded somewhat in maner like a stage
of 40 foot long, & in breadth eight foot. From the stan-
ding place upward was a bank framed in maner of
a free stone wall, & in the height therof were witten
sentences, that is to saie: The causes of this common
wealth are, God trulie preached, Justice dolie execu-
ted, The people obedient, Idleness expelled, Labour
cherished, Intemperance conuicted, preferred.

From the standing place downward it was
beautified with painters worke, artificiallie expre-
sing to sight the portraiture of these seuerall loomes,
and the weauers in them (as it were working) and
ouer euerie loome the name thereof, that is to saie.
ouer the first loome was witten, the weauing of
woolled: ouer the second, the weauing of ruffels: o-
uer the third, the weauing of darning: ouer the fourth,
the weauing of tuff mockado: the fifth, the weauing
of lace: the sixt, the weauing of cassa: the seuenth,
the weauing of fringe. And then was there the portra-
ture of a matrone, and two of thre chyliden, and ouer
hir head was witten these words: God nurture
changeth qualities. Upon the stage there stood at the
one end eight small women chyliden spinning woofed
parne, and at the other end as manie knitting of
woofed parne hole: and in the midst of the said
stage stood a pretie boy richlie apparelled, which repre-
sented the common wealth of the citie. And all the
rest of the stage was furnished with men, which
made the said seuerall woikes, and before euerie man
the worke in deed. Euerie thing thus readie, and hir
maiestie come, the child representing the common
wealth, spake to hir highnesse these words following.

Most gracious prince, vndoubted soueraigne queene,
Our onelie ioy next God, and chiefe defense:
In this small towne, our whole estate is scene,
The wealth we haue, we find proceed from thence,
The idle hand hath here no place to feed,
The painfull wight hath still to serue his need.
Again, our seat denies our traffike here,
The sea too neare decides us from the reere,
So weake we were within this doozen yeare,
As care did quench the courage of the best:
But good aduise hath taught these little hands,
To send in twaine the force of pining bands.
From combed wooll we draw this slender threed,
From thence the loomes haue dealing with the same,
And then se againe in order doo proceed,
These seuerall woikes which skilfull art dooth frame:
And all to drine dame need into hir caue,
Our heads and hands together labour haue.
We bought before the things that now we sell,
These slender lynes, their woiks doo passe the waues,
Goes peace and thine, we hold and prosper well,
Of euerie mouth the hands the charges saues.
Thus through thy helpe and aid of power diuine,
Dooth Roibich liue, whose hearts and goods are thine.

This shew pleased hir maiestie so greatlie, as the
particularlie viewed the knitting & spinning of the
chyliden, perused the loomes, and noted the seuerall
woikes and commodities which were made by these
means: and then after great thanks by hir given to
the people, marched towards the market place, where
was the second pageant shewarting the street at the
enterance of the market, betwene master Skinner
& master Quash, being in breadth two and fiftie foot of
assise, and was diuided into three gates, in the midst
a maine gate, on either side a posterne: the maine
gate in breadth fourteen foot, each posterne eight foot,
their heights equall to their proportion: ouer each po-

sterne was as it were a chamber, which chambers
were replenished with musike.ouer all the gates
passed a stage of eight foot brode, in maner of a page-
ant, curious, rich, & delitefull. The whole worke, from
the pageant downewards, seemed to be iasper & mar-
ble. In the forefront towards hir maiestie was the
armes of England on the one side the gate, & on the
other side the falcon with crowne and scepter. The
other side was beautified with the arms of England
on the one side of the gate, & the cross of England on
the other. The pageant was furnisht with six persons
nages apparelled like women. The first was the citie
of Roibich; the second Deboia; the third Iudith; the
fourth Hester; the fifth Spartia, sometime queene of
England. At the first sight of the prince, & till hir ma-
iesties comming to the pageant, the musicians used
their lowd musike, and then ceased: where with hir
highnesse staled, to whome the personage represen-
ting the citie of Roibich, did speake in these words.

Whom fame rebounds with thundring trump, that rends the
And perleth to the haute heauens, and thence descending flies
Through flickering aire: and so conioines the sea & shore together,
In admiration of thy grace, good queene that welcome hither:
Thou welcome than Cerusioe was to the towne of Troie.
So faring men by Gemint conceit not halfe my ioye.
Strong Hercules to Chelous was neuer such delight,
No: Atlas to Curialus as I haue in this fight.
Penelope did neuer thirst Ulysses moie to see,
Than I poore Roibich hungred haue to gaue the sight of thee.
And now that these my happie eyes behold thy heauenlie face,
The Lord of Iudas I humbly praie, to blisse thy noble grace
With Hesters life, with Sibils helth, with Cerusioe stocke & store,
With all good gifts of Salomon, and twice as manie moie.
What shuld I laie? Thou art my ioy next God, I haue none other,
My princesse & my peerlesse queene, my louing nurse and mother.
My goods & lands, my hands and hart, my liues and life are thine;
What is mine owne in right of thought, to thee I doo resigne.
Grant then (oh gracious soueraigne queene) this onlie my request,
That that which shall be doone in me, be contriued to the best.
And take in part my slender thowes, wherein my whole pretense
Is for to please your maiestie, and end without offense.
So shall I clap my hands for ioy, and hold my selfe as rich
As if I had the gold of Indre, and double twice as much.

Where princes sitting in their thrones set God before their sight
And liue according to his law, and guide their people right,
There doth his blessed gifts abound, there kingdoms firme stand
Where force of foes cannot preuaile, nor furie let the land.
My selfe (oh peerlesse prince) doo speake by prooffe of matter past,
Which prooffe by practice I performe, and foild his foes at last.
For Iabin king of Canaan, poore Israel did spire,
And meant by force of furious rage to ouerrun us quite.
Nine hundred iron chariots, he brought into the field,
With cruell captaine Siser a by force to make vs peell.
His force was great, his fraud was moie, he fought, we did defend,
And twentie winters long did last this warre without an end.
But he that neither sleeps nor slackes such furies to correct,
Appointed me Deboia for the iudge of his elect:
And did deliuer Siser into a womans hand,
I lue them all, and so in rest his people held the land.
So mightie prince, that puliant Lord, hath plait thee here to be,
The rule of this triumphant realme alone belongs to thee.
Continue as thou hast begun, weed out the wicked rout,
Uphold the simple, meeke and good, pull downe the proud & stout.
Thus shalt thou liue and reigne in rest, & mightie God shall please,
Thy state be sure, thy subjects safe, thy commonwealth at ease.
Thy God shall grant thee length of life, to glorifie his name,
Thy deeds shall be recorded in the booke of lasting fame.

Oh floure of grace, oh prime of Gods elect,
Oh mightie queene and finger of the Lord,
Did God sometime by me poore wight correct
The champion stout, that him and his abhorred?
Then be thou sure thou art his mightie hand,
To conquer those which him and thee withstand.
The rage of foes Bethulia did oppresse,
The people faint were readie for to yeeld:
God aided me poore widow nerthelesse,
To enter into Iholofernes field,
And with this sword by his directing hand,
To slay his fo, and quiet so the land.
If this his grace were given to me poore wight,
Thy dowry hand could vanquish such a fo:
Then to a prince of thy surpassing might,
What tyrant lues but thou maist ouerthow?
Perseure then his seruant as thou art,
And hold for aie a noble victors part.

The fretting heads of furious foes haue skill,
As well by fraud as force to find their prey,
In smiling looks dooth lurke a lot as ill,
As where both sterne and sturdie streams doo waie,
Thy selfe oh queene, a prooffe hast scene of this,
So well as I poore Hester haue Ioue.
As Iabins force did Israel perplee,
And Iholofernes fierce Bethulia beleage,
So Hamans flights sought me and mine to der,
Per theud a face of subject to his liege.
But force no fraud, nor tyrant strong can trap,
Those whom the Lord in his defense dooth wrap.

which is his
owne badge.

The musici-
ans
were inclosed
in the cham-
bers of the
said pageant.

How Ro-
ibich is affec-
ted to the
queenes high-
nesse.

Then spake
Deboia the
second person.

The applica-
tion of the
former exam-
ples.

Then spake
Iudith the
third person.

The applica-
tion of the for-
mer examples

Then Hester
spake the
fourth person.

The

The applica-
tion of the for-
mer epistles.

The proofes I speake by vs haue erst bin seene,
The proofes I speake, to the are not vnknewne.
O God thou knowest mozt dead and soueraigne queene,
A world of ioies of thine hath enerthowne,
And hither now triumphantlie dooth call
Thy noble grace, the comfort of vs all.
Dooest thou not see the toie of all this flocke?
Touchsafe to view their passing gladsome cheare,
Be still (good queene) their refuge and their rocke,
As they are thine to serue in loue and care:
So fraid, no force, no force to may stand
Against the strength of thy mozt puissant hand.

When
these
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son.

With long discourse (oh puissant prince) some tract of time we spend,
Touchsafe yet now a little more, and then we make an end.
The sounding blast of fame, whereof dame Dorothy first did speake,
Not onlie shooke the aire and kies, but all the earth did breake,
It rent up graues, and bodies raised, ech spirit took his place,
And this almightie word was heard: Here comes the pearle of grace,
Here comes the iewel of the world, his peoples whole delight,
The paragon of present time, and prince of earthlie might.
The voice was strange, the wonder more: for when we viewd the earth
Ech prince that earth had reigned here, receiued againe his breath,
And with his breath, a libertie to hold againe his place,
I thanke one amongst vs all exceed your noble grace.
Some comfort euerie one conceiued to catch againe his owne,
His vniuersall skill was trinitie of de, to haue his vertues knowne.
The plaides surpasse my skill to tell. But when ech one had said,
Apoll, did himselfe appeare and made vs all disdaind.
Still you contend with him (quoth he) within whose sacred brest
Dance Dailas and my wife haue framed our soueraigne seat of rest?
Whose skill directes the mules nine, whose grace dooth Venus chaine:
His eloquence like Mercurie: like Iuno in his traine?
Whose God is that eternall Ioue which holds vs all in awe?
Selecue me, you exceed the bounds of equitie and lawe.
Therewith they shooke themselves aside, not one I could espie,
They couche them in their causes againe and that full quietlie.
Yet I that shew light, which sometime ruld this land,
As queene for thirtie three yeares space, gat licence at his hand,
And to Ouranius did, my husbands father deere,
Which built this towne and castled both, to make our homage here,
Which homage mightie queene accept: the realme and right is thine,
The crowne, the scepter, and the sword to thee we doe resigne,
And with to God, that thou maist reigne, twise fiftie yeares in peace,
Triumphing ouer all thy foes, to all our ioies increate, Amen.

Herewith she passed vnder the gate, with such
Thanks as plainelie expressed hir noble nature: and
the musicians within the gate vpon their soft instru-
ments vsed broken musike, and one sang this dittie.

A little song
to soft musike
at the queenes
entrance vnder
the gate.

From slumber soft as I fell fast asleepe,
From sleepe to dreame, from dreame to deepe delight,
Ech gem the gods had giuen the world to keepe
In princelie wife came present to my sight:
Such solace then did sinke into my mind,
As moztall man on mould could neuer find.
The gods did strine, and yet their strifes were sweet,
Ech one would haue a vertue of hir owne.
Dance Iuno thought the highest place mozt meet
For hir, because of riches was hir throne.
Dance Venus thought by reason of hir loue
That she might claime the high st place aboue.
The virgins state Diana fill did prate,
And Ceres praide the fruit of fertile soile:
And Pudente did dame Dailas chieftie raise,
Wherena all for eloquence did straine,
They smild to see their quarrelling estate,
And Ioue himselfe decided their debate.
My sweets (quoth he) leaue off your sugred strife,
In equall place I haue assignd you all:
A soueraigne wight there is that beareth life,
In whose sweet hart I haue inlovd you all.
If England faile she is the soueraigne queene,
Purp bigons there doo forth fresh and greene.
They knipt for ioy, and gane thir franke consent,
The noile rebounded to the hauncie like:
Ech one loud voice they cried all content,
They clapt their hands, and therewith waked I.
The world and they concluded with a breath,
And with long reigne to queene Elisabeth.

The place of
the queenes a-
bode during
the time of his
tardance in
Dorwich.

Herewith she passed through the market place,
which was goodlie garnished, and thence through the
other streets which were trimlie decked, directlie to
the cathedrall church, where *Te Deum* was song, and
after seruice she went to the bishops palace, where
hir maiestie kept the time she continued in Dor-
wich. All this was on saturdaye the firste of Aug-
ust 1578. On the next daie after, which was sun-
daie, when princes commonlie come not abroad (and
time is occupied with sermons and laudable exerci-
ses) T. C. was to watch a convenient season, where
and how might be uttered the things that were pre-
pared for pastime. And so vpon mondaie before sup-
per, he made a deuise, as though Mercurie had bene
sent from the gods, to request the queene to come a-
broad, & behold what was deuised for hir welcome,
the whole matter whereof doth follow.

The manner

The coch that Mercurie came in vnto the queene,

was closelie kept in secret a long season, and when
the time came it must passe towards the court, it had
a trumpetter with it, and the cochman was made
to drue so fast, as the horses should seme to flie,
which was so well obserued, as the people wondered
at the swiftnesse therof, and followed it in such flocks
and multitudes, that scarce in a great greene (where
the preaching place is) might be found come for anie
more people. And when the coch approached in the
hearing of a trumpet, the trumpetter sounded, and
so came in to the greene sounding, untill the coch
was full placed before a window at the which the
queene stood, and might be plainelie seene and open-
lie viewed. When Mercurie had espied hir highnesse,
he skipped out of the coch, and being on the ground,
gaue a lumpe or two, and advanced himselfe in such
a sort, that the queene smiled at the boldnesse of the
boie. Thus Mercurie beholding the queene with
great courage and audacitie, at the length bowed
downe his head, and immediatlie stood bolt upright,
and shaked his rod, and so began his speech with a
mozt assured countenance, and brauelie pronounced
it in ded, to his great liking and commendation.

10 Ouse not good queene at me that messenge brings
From Ioue our iust Iehoua Lord of might,
As earthlie god, yet gouerns moztall things,
And spites diuine, and humning angels bright.
This Ioue of face to shew his mightie power,
Hath wonders wrought when world lookt least therfore:
For at his becke, this daie and present hower,
The heauens haile, the thunderbolts did rore.
The earth did moue, the dead therein did rise,
And out of graue the ghosts of men are gone,
The wandring spites that howled in the kies
Drope downe from aire, for world to wonder on.
The faires themselves that sat in glorie great,
Were sent in haile to Ioue Iehouas will.
And I that oft my restless wings doo beat,
Was said to vse my wings and office still.
A common post is Mercurie you know,
When he commands that made the world of nought.
And flies as fast as arrow out of bow,
When messenge may expresse Iehouas thought.
Whose power diuine full long yet this hath seene,
That in this place should lodge a sacred queene.
And weighing well, the place whereof I speake,
Wight waite war of common pastimes here,
(For that he knowes his iudgement is not weaky)
Deuils about, below there should appeere
(To welcome hir) some lightes that rare should seme,
And carelesse stood, what world thereof did deeme,
So that good queene, you take them well in worth.
No sooner had Iehoua meant these things,
But clouds clapt hands, and soules of men came forth
Of heauen gates, yea goodlie crowned kings
Were shewn abroad from blessed Abymes brest:
Some in the aire, and tops of trees did rest,
Some fell on towres and statelie houses high,
And some did light on land where euerie eie
May them behold, and note their manners thote.
And therewithall the blacke infernal spites
Ran out of hell, the earth to trembling thote,
And like young lads they hopt about the streets,
The satyres wild, in forme and shape of man,
Crept through the woods, and thickets full of beeres,
The water nymphs, and ferres straight appeere
In uncouth formes and fashion strange to view:
The hags of hell that hatefull are of kind,
To please the time had leard a nature new.
And all houle things that man can call to mind,
Were glad to come and doo their dutie throw.
I seeing this, said for my coch in haile,
Abide sir boie, then said Iehoua nob,
Thou goest not yet untill a prince be plaid,
Where I appoint, thou hast nothing to late.
Then still I stood, to know what should be done,
Ech that a swarme of people euerie waie
Like little ants about the fields gan run,
Some to prouide for pompe and triumph great,
Some for good fare, yea household cates and meat,
And some they ran to seeke where poets dwell,
To pen forth shewes and paint out trifles well.
Some haile and puld to bring the carrege in,
Some ran to gaze on triumph neere at hand,
And some stood mute, as they amas had bin
To see a court and princelie noble hand
Come marching on, and make heere their abode.
But when I saw the carrege heere vniode,
And well had weid the wonders I haue told,
O mightie God (quoth I) now giue me leane
To go from thee some messenge to unfold.
That by my speech the hearers may conelue.
Thy godhead great hath brought this princelie here.
It shall be so (quoth he) dispatch and part,
And tell hir that he is to me so deere.
That I appoint by mans deuile and art,
That euerie daie she shall see sundrie shewes,

of Mercurie
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it that she please to walke and take the aire,
And that so loone as out of doore she goes
(The time doo leue and weather watch faire)
Some od deuise shall meet her highnesse faire,
To make her smile, and ease her burthens dreight,
And take away the cares and things of weight
That pines feel, that findeth greatest rest,
Which I had thus receiued my charge at full,
My golden rod in swiftest hand I tooke,
And bad in hast my flying horses pull.
But yet I past, I gan about me looke,
To see that coch, and each thing gallant were:
So downe I came all winged as you see.
And forth I haue chide that princesse there,
That greatest kings doo sue to by degree,
And manie mo that lues no whie, doo feare
I kill her steps, and shew my maisters will,
And leane with hir such graces from aboue,
As alwaies shall command her peoples loue,
(I hold her reigne, mainteine her regal state,
Find out false hearts, and make of iudicets true,
Plant perfect peace, and root vp all debate)
So with this grace good queene now heere adue,
For I may now on earth no longer staie,
Thus seruants must to maisters will obaie.

Mercurie hauing thus spoken to the queene,
whose gracious inclination is such, as will not haue
anie thing dutifullie offered to passe vntegarded,
was well heard, hir highnesse standing at a window,
and the speech verie well taken and vnderstood. Mer-
curie as he came passed awaie, at whose coch the peo-
ple that had seldome scene such a deuise maruelled,
and gazed verie much; for it had horses to draw it
finelie painted and winged, to as great shew and or-
der of that it presented, as wit might imagine: the
cochman futable to the same, and a trumpetter in
sight god garments, as decent for that purpose as
could be deuised. But the coch was made and fra-
med on such a fashion as few men haue scene: the
whole whereof was couered with birds and naked
spirits, hanging by the heeles in the aire and clouds,
cunningly painted out, as though by some thunder
cracke they had bene shaken and tormented: yet
staied by power diuine in their places, to make the
more wonder and miraculous shew. And on the
middle of that coch stood a high compassed tower be-
decked with golden and gaie telwels, in the top wher-
of was placed a faire plume of white feathers, all to
belpanged and trimmed to the most bauerie: Mer-
curie himselfe in blew satin lined with cloth of gold,
his garments cut and slashed on the finest maner, a
peaked hat of the same colour, as though it should
cut and seuer the wind asunder; and on the same a
paire of wings, and wings on his heeles likewise.
And on his golden rod were little wings also, about
the which rod were two twigling or scrolling ser-
pents, which seemed to haue life when the rod was
moued or shaken. So in this sort and forme was
Mercurie and his coch set forth, and indeed at such a
season as a great sort looked not for anie shew, nor
things were readie, as some thought, to performe
that was necessarie and expected: yet hap was so
good, and the gracions fauour of the pince, that all
was well taken, and construed to the best meaning
of the deuise. So ended that daies deuise, which of-
fered occasion to further matter.

On tuesdaye following (for before that daie by
meanes of the weather the queene went not abroad)
a verie pretie and pleasant shew was performed be-
fore hir highnesse without saint Benets gates, as she
went towards Colles parke to hunt. At which sea-
son, although the deuise was not well provided of
things necessarie for a shew (by meane of some cro-
ssing causes in the citie) yet hearing the queene rode
abrode, determined as he might (and yet by helpe of
friends and hap) verie well to venture the hazard of
a shew, and to be full in the waie where hir highnesse
should passe towards hir dinner. In which determina-
tion manie doubts were to be cast, and manie per-
suaded him to tarrie a better time. But considering
how time rolled on, and daies and houres did wast
(without doing anie thing promised and not perfo-

med) he had stille prepared his boies and men with all
their furnitures, and so set forward with two coches
handsomly trimmed. The common people beholding
the maner thereof, and greedie to gaze on that should
be done, followed as their fancies did lead them: so
that when the deuise, and his retinue came into the o-
pen field, there was as great a traine and preste a-
bout the shew, as came with the court at that in-
stant, which graced much the matter, and gaue it
some expected hope of good successe.

First, there was a fained deuise, that Venus and
Cupid were thrust out of heauen, and walking on
the earth, met a philosopher, who demanded from
whence they came. They told the philosopher what they
were, and he replied, and began with truth & fants
to tickle them to noere, that Venus fell in a great an-
ger, and Cupid ran awaie, and left his mother and
the philosopher disputing together. But Cupid because
he would be nourished somewhere, ran to the court,
and there sought for succor, & encountering the queene
began to compleine his state and his mothers, and
told how the philosopher had handled them both. But
finding neither answer nor aid, he returned againe,
but not to his mother, for she was fallen mad vpon a
concept that she was not made of. And Cupid wan-
dering in the world, met with dame Chastitie & hir
maids, called Modestie, Temperance, Good exercise,
and Shamefastnes: and the with hir foure maids in-
countering Cupid in a godlie coch, and without anie
honell gard waiting on him, set vpon him, threw
him out of his golden seat, trod on his pompe, spoil-
ed him of his counterfeited godhead and cloke, & toke
awate his bow and quiner of arrowes, the one headed
with lead, and the other with gold, and so sent him
like a fugitiue awaie, and mounted by into the coch
hir selfe and hir maids, and so came to the queene, and
reherced what had hapned. Although this was done
in hir view, & because (said Chastitie) that the queene
had chosen the best life, she gaue the queene Cupids
bow, to learne to shoot at whom she pleased, with none
could wound hir highnesse heart, it was met (said
Chastitie) that she should do with Cupids bow & ar-
rowes what she pleased; and so did Chastitie depart as
she said to the powers diuine. Cupid in the meane
while wandering in the world had found out Wan-
tonnesse and Riot, who some fell into beggerie and
ruine (a spectacle to be looked into) and felt such dar-
lie miserie with Wantonnesse and Riot, that Cupid
was forced to fling awaie once againe, and hazard
himselfe to fall into the hands of naughtie people, or
where fortune assigned: and coming abroad, hap-
pened vpon the philosopher, who talked with him a-
gaine, told him his errors, and other points of pride
and presumption; declaring it was a great blasphe-
mie & abuse, to report & beleue that in heauen were
anie other gods but one, who had the onelie rule of
all, & that made all of naught. In which reasoning &
discourse Cupid waxed warme, & yet in his greatest
heat knew not how nor where to cole himselfe, at
which time came Wantonnesse & Riot, & perswaded
Cupid to plaie no longer the sole in strining with
philosophers, and go awate with them. So Cupid de-
parted, & went awaie with Wantonnesse and Riot,
& the philosopher remained, & declared that all abuses
& follies should come to no better end than presentlie
was expressed by the miserie of Wantonnesse, Riot,
and Cupid. Then Modestie and hir fellows, leaving
their mistresse dame Chastitie with the powers di-
uine, came soft and faire in their mistresse coch, sing-
ing a song of chaste life, as here vnder followeth.

Chastitie liues long and looke
on world and wicked waies,
Chastitie liues for losse of pleasures short,
dooth win immortall praise.
Chastitie hath merrie moods,
and soundly raketh rest.

The whole
manner of
the deuise of
shew.Dame Chastitie
& hir maids
incounter
with Cupid.what affor-
ts Cupid
found out to
keepe him
company.Chastitie and
hir maids
matched toge-
ther, &c.

Chast life is pure as babe new borne,
 that hugs in mothers brest.
 Leud life cuts off his daies,
 and loone it out his date,
 Confounds good wit, breeds naughtie bloud,
 and weakens mans estate.
 Leud life the Lord both loth,
 the law and land mistakes,
 The witte will him, fond foolcs doo seeke,
 and God soe plagues and strikes.
 Chast life may dwell alone,
 and find few fellows now,
 And sit in regal throne,
 and searh lewd manners throw.
 Chast life feares no mishap,
 the whole account is made,
 When soule from worldlie cares is crept,
 and sits in sacred shade.
 Leud life is laught to scorne,
 and put to great disgrace,
 In hollow canes it hides the head,
 and walks with muffled face,
 found out and pointed at,
 a monster of the mind,
 A rankred worme that conscience eates,
 and strikes cleere senses blind.
 Chast life a pretious pearle,
 dooth shine as bright as sun,
 The faire houre glasse of daies and yeeres,
 that neuer out will run.
 The beantie of the soule,
 the bodies blisse and ease,
 A thing that least is looke vnto,
 yet most the mind shall please.

And then the song was ended, modestie sent (as she said she was) from hir maiestie, spake to the queene a good season, and so the matter ended. For this shew the deuiler had gracious words of the queene openlie and often pronounced by hir highnesse. On the same daie the minister of the Dutch church, pronouncing to hir maiestie at hir being a brode the oration following, presented the cup there in mentioned, which was esteemed to be worth fiftie pounds, vertie curtonlie and artificiallie wrought.

Oratio ad serenissimam Angliæ reginam habita 19. Augusti 1578 à ministro ecclesiæ Belgogermanicæ Nordouici in loco publico.

Quinam oratores antiqua etate preclarissima laudatissimi existerunt.

Bene sciorum à regia maiestate collatum agnitione cum obsequio etc.

Monumentum antiquum regie maiestati exhibuim.

Magna oratoribus, qui percelebratorum atate vixerunt fuit laus, serenissima regina, quod indicum animos partim suauiloquentia, partim posita rei personæque ante ipsorum oculos calamitate, in quemcunque vellet animi habitum transformarent. Primum membrum non vulgare nobis ob oculos ponit hominum facilitatem, quod adeo sequaces dictoque audientes fuerint, ut si linguis duci paterentur. Posterius magnam ubique apud gentes, quarum respublica optabili ordine fuit constituta, obtinuit gratiam: longè autem maiorem apud eos, qui Christi nomen dederunt: omnium verò maximam apud te (o serenissima regina) ecclesiæ Christi nutrix, cuius animum verbo Dei obsequerem instruxit, non fucatus hic sermo, sed Christi spiritus, pietatisque zelus. Ipsissima piorum calamitas afflictiorumque lachryma, lachryma inquam Christi fidelium te commouerunt, misera differaque Christi membra quibuscum iniurijs obiecta, mille iam mortibus territa, in tutelam salutemque animi iuxta ac corporis recipere ac protegere. Ob hac singularia tua in nos pietatis beneficia, quod sub tutore optimo magistratu in hac tua Nordouicensi urbe (quam maiestas tua nobis ob Christi religionem exulantes domicilij loco clementer concessit) vivimus, adde quod populi in nos animum favorabilem experimus, imprimis Deo patri, et Domino unico servatori nostro Iesu Christo, deinde et tibi serenissima regina immortales non quas debemus sed quas possumus agimus gratias. Porro humile quidem et vnicum tamen nostrum est votum, animi nostri gratitudinem maiestati tue ostendere. Ecce igitur nullum munus, sed animum nostrum: nullum regum splendorem, sed pietatis posteritatisque monumentum serenissime tue maiestati consecratum. Hoc autem eo gratius maiestati tue fore confidimus, quod ex inculpati pssimig, Iosephi historia, Dei erga maiestatem tuam bonitas, ad vivum sit delineata, quem nulla astutia, nullum robur, nulla denique regnandi libido, sed fides constans, christiani peccatoris pietas, celestisque virtus singulari

Dei favore ex sanguinaria fratrum consirratione, mortificemetur, ad summam dignitatem, regnique decus exierunt. In huius fratres non aliena videtur promeritalis illa apud Hebræos sententia, Invidia malarum rerum appetitus, et studium vana gloria hominibus sepius occasu sunt sui interitus. Tamen quod Iosephi animum attinet, ea fuit præditus Iosephus infans, temperantia et fortitudine, ut nimis iniquis simul et pravis censori posset, qui eum vel minimo vindicandi affectu accusare vellet; adeo Dei providentia et se et omne vita sua studium, vitæ inquam in alieno regno periclitantis, commisit, ut non aliunde quam a solo Dei nutu pendere visus sit. Sed quorsum ista? In te ne hæc ipsa aliæque consimilia (o serenissima regina) et regni tui ratione omnium oculis conspecta sunt? Hæc inquam esse ecclesiæ Christi felicissimum gaudium, spirituale diadema, et summum decus, huius vero regni verè regium splendorem, atque perennem gloriam, quis mismente captus inficias ire potest? Pssimè tu quidem singulari Dei bonitate animum Iosephi tum in regni tui conseruatione, tum in regno Christi amplificando imitata es (o nutrix ecclesiæ Dei fidelissima) solius enim Dei est hunc per res (prout hominum oculis sunt subiectæ) secundas disperdere illum autem per quas tetationum genera rerumque discrimina extollere. Quos ut vasa sua misericordia agnoscat, ita etiam et bonitate et spiritus sui tum consolatione, tum fortitudine ad æterna vite felicitatem prosequitur. Quod nostrum votum ratum esse maiestatem tuam regnique ordinem spirituali prudentia ac sapientia stabilire, eamque in longam ætatem servare, tua item maiestatis subditos vera sui cognitione magis ac magis imbuiere, dignetur bonus ille et clemens Deus, per merita filij sui Domini nostri Iesu Christi, Amen.

Regia maiestati post orationem oblatum est monumentum aliquod, in cuius superficie artificiosè sculpta erat historia Iosephi: ex lib. Genesis.

In circumferentia verò hoc carmen.

Innocentium pietas ad regia sceptrum Iosephum,
 Ex manibus fratrum, carnificisque rapit:
 Carcere et insidijs sic te regina tuorum
 Ereptam duxit culmina ad ista Deus.

Inscriptio erat in ipsius capacitate scripta in orbem hoc modo.

Serenissimæ Angliæ reginæ Elisabethæ, ecclesiæ Belgicæ Nordouici ob religionem exulantes, hoc monumentum & pietatis & posteritatis ergo consecrabant, Anno salutis humanæ, 1578.

In interiore ipsius parte erat insigne serpentis in gyrum conuoluti, cui media infidebat columba, cum hoc Christi elogio: Prudens ut serpens, simplex ut columba.

The minister of the Dutch church his oration in English.

THe oratours (most grations queene) which lived in the age of them that woone greatest renowne, were highlie commended for that they could transforme the iudges minds, partlie by eloquence, and partlie by setting downe before their eies the calamitie of the thing and person they spake of, into what disposition them lifted. The first part declareth vnto vs no common felicitie of men, in that they were so willing in following, and attentue in hearing, as they would suffer themselves to be lead by eloquence. The last obtained great fauour amongst all nations, whose common weale was gouerned in good order, and farre greater amongst the christians: but greatest of all with thee (o most excellent queene) the nurse of Christ his church, whose mind obedient to Gods word, the spirit of Christ, and zeale of godlinesse, and not this prophane kind of speech hath instructed. The verie calamitie of godlie men and teares of the afflicted, the teares I saie of faithfull christians haue thoroughlie moued thee to defend and protect the miserable

Monument of antiqua presentia hic mai

Ioseph singulari commentum et notis suis aut causis

The que maiestie e pared to luy, &c.

terable and deperished members of Christ obiect to euerie kind of iniurie, before beaten in peeces by a thousand deaths, with the sfectie and perseruation as well of mind as bodie. For these thy singular benefites of godlinesse towards vs, and that we lise vnder so god a tutor, being magistrate in this thy citie of Norwich, which thy maiestie had of clemencie granted vnto vs for a mansion place, which were banished for Christ his religion; and moreouer that we find the minds of the people fauourable towards vs, first wee giue immortall thanks, not such as wee ought, but such as we are able vnto God the father, and the Lord our onelie sauour Iesus Christ; and then vnto thee most mercifull queene. Moreouer, it is our humble and yet our onelie petition, to shew vnto your maiestie the thankfulness of our mind. Behold therefore dedicated to your most excellent maiestie, not anie gift but our mind, no princelie iewel but a monument of godlinesse and posteritie. The which we hope will be so much the more acceptable to your maiestie; for bicause the goodness of God towards your maiestie is liuelie drawne out of the historie of the innocent and most godlie Ioseph, whom neither policie, strength nor desire of bearing rule, but constant faith, godlinesse of a christian heat, and heauenlie vertue by Gods singular mercie deliuered from the bloudie conspiracie of his brethren and feare of death, and brought vnto high dignitie & roiall kingdome. To whose brethren that prouerbiall sentence of the Hebrewes is verie ficke alluded: Eneie being the desire of euill things, and couetousnesse of transitorie renowne, is oftentimes the occasion of mans destruction. But touching the mind of Ioseph, the same was indued with such temperance and fortitude, that he might be thought no lesse vnjust than wicked, that would accuse him so much as with the least affection of reuengement: so wholie did he commit himselfe and all the gouernement of his life, his life I say put in hazard in a strange kingdome vnto the prouidence of God, that he seemed to hang of no other thing than the onelie will of God. But to what end speake I this? Are not these selfe same things, and others their like (o most excellent queene) by the eies of all men clearlie beheld in thee and the order of thy kingdome? What man (I saie) hauing his wits, can denie these things to be the most happie ioy, spirituall crowne, & chiefest ornament of Christes church, & trulie of this kingdome the princelie beautie and perpetuall renowne? Thou surelie dost folow most holilie the mind of Ioseph, by the singular goodnesse of God, as well in preferring thy kingdome, as in amplifying the kingdome of Christ (o thou most faithfull nurse of the church of God.) For it is in God onelie to destroe this man by prosperitie (as the world seeth) and aduance another by all kinds of aduersities, tentations, & dangers. Whom as he acknowledged the vessels of his mercie, so by his goodnesse together with the consolation and strength of his spirit, he dooth bring them to the happinesse of eternall life. Which our petition that good and mercifull God grant may be ratified, in establishing your maiestie and gouernance of your kingdome with spirituall wisdom and vnderstanding, in preserving the same full manie years, and in diuing your maiesties subiects more and more with true knowledge of him, for his sonnes sake our Lord Iesus Christ, Amen.

The oration ended, there was a certeine monument presented to hir maiestie, in the upper part thereof was artificiallie grauen the historie of Ioseph out of Genesis. In the inner part of the same there was the figure of a serpent, interfolding it selfe: in the middle thereof did sit a doue with this

sentence of Christ, *Math. 10, 16.* Wise as the serpent, and meeke as the doue. In the circumference of compass thereof was these verses to be read.

To roiall keeper, godlinesse,
Ioseph the innocent,
Dooth take from brothers bloudie hands,
and murderers intent.
So thee, O queene, the Lord hath led
from prison and deceit
Of thine, vnto these highest tops
of your princelie estate.

On wednesdaye hir highnesse dined at my lord of Surreis, where were the French ambassadoys also, at a most rare and delicate dinner and banquet. At which season the deuiler did watch with his shew (called Spanbow & Desert) at my lord of Surreis backe doze, going to the quenes barge: but the rowe was so little, that neither the shot, the armed men, nor the plaiers could haue place conuenient. Whereupon he and his assistants toke boats, and conueied their people downe the water, towards a landing place that they hoped the quene would come vnto. And there hauing althings in readinesse, they howered on the water three long houres, by which meanes the night came on, and so they were faine to withdraw themselves and go homeward, trusting for a better time and occasion, which in deed was offered the next daie after by the quenes maiesties olone god motion, who told the deuiler she would see what parties were prepared, as hereafter you shall perceiue by the discourse of these matters, and by this shew of Spanbow, and the shew of the Pymphes.

Peuerthelesse, as hir maiestie returned homeward; within Bishops gate at the hospitall doze, master Stephan Lambert, master of the grammar schole in Norwich stood readie to render hir an oration. Hir maiestie drew neare vnto him, & thinking him fearefull, said grationlie vnto him: Be not afraid. He answered hir againe in English: I thanke your maiestie for your good encouragement: & then with god courage entered into this oration following.

The quenes maiestie is banketted at the carle of Surreis.

A singular affabilitie of a pounce to put awaie a subiects bashfulness.

Ad illustrissimam principem Elisabetham, Anglie, Francie, & Hibernie reginam &c: ante fores $\omega\lambda\chi\alpha\delta\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$ Nordouicensis oratio Stephani Lamberti ludimagistri publici.



*A*gyptum fama est inundante Nilo (serenissima regina) & aureo Pactoli flumine quotannis Lidiā irrigari, quæ res in ijs agris maxima fecunditas causa putatur. In nos autem atq; adeo vniuersam Angliam, quæ latè patet, non è Tmolò aut alijs nescio quibus montibus, sed ex illo perenni & uberissimo fonte bonitatis tuæ, multi maximiq; pietatis, iusticiæ, mansuetudinis, aliorumq; innumerabilium bonorum, præ quibus iam viluit aurum & obsoleuit, copiosissimi riuus profluxerunt. Atq; ut ex infinitis vel vnum leuiter attingam, propterea quod de pluribus dicere nec est huius loci & temporis nec facultatis meæ. Insignem illam misericordiam celsitudinis tuæ, nobilissima regina, & ad leuandum pauperum hominum inopiam incredibilem propensionem, quæ de plurimis virtutibus nulla Deo gratior ($\pi\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \delta\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \pi\lambda\chi\alpha\iota$ ut canit Homerus) in summa principe nulla mortalibus admirabilior esse potest, quibus tandem laudibus efferemus? Quam honorificis verbis prosequemur? $\omega\lambda\chi\alpha\delta\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$, hoc est, hospitium pauperum celeberrimum est apud omnes posteros regia virtutis atq; beneficentiæ monumentum futurum, institutum quidem ab illustrissimo Henrico patre celsitudinis tuæ, à nobilissimo Edouardo fra-

Egredie necnon impares Angliæ doctes.

Henricus & Edouardus reges, necnon Elisabetha regina prædicta beneficiatores agnoscuntur.

I would to God you could pearse these our breasts with your eyes, and throughlie view the hidden and couered creeks of our minds! Then vndoubtedlie should you behold an infinit heape of goodwill close-lie shut vp within, which cannot breake out of so narrow straits. All the faith, studie, and obedience, which are due to so great a prince, as hitherto we haue most willinglie imployed, so will we alwaies most diligentlie performe the same: and if at anie time anie chance shall happen (which fortune God turne from vs) that the state of thy blessed maiestie, or of this flourishing realme should come in danger, or the worthinesse thereof be in hazard, we do not onlie protect the effusion of all our goods and substance, but also the putting forth and brunt of our strengths and bodies therein. Finally, we desire and beseech thy excellencie (most renowned queene) well to accept of this our dutie, howsoever it be, proceeding from a singular good will, and a most thankfull mind, and so to thinke of vs citizens of Norwich, that perhaps you haue manie times come to people more wealthie, but to more iofull neuer.

Immediatlie after the beginning of the oration hir maiestie called to hir the French ambassadoys, whereof there were three, and diuerse English lords, and willed them to harken, and he hirselfe was verie attentue, euen untill the end thereof. And the oration ended, after he had giuen great thanks therefore to maister Limbert, he said to him; It is the best that euer I heard; you shall haue my hand: and pulled off hir gloue, and gaue him hir hand to kisse, which before kneeling on his knees, he arose and kissed; and then he departed to the court without a nie other shew that night, but that she sent backe to know his name. The next night being thursdaie there was an excellent princelie maske brought before hir after supper by maister Goldingham in the priuie chamber, it was of gods and goddesses both strangelie and richlie apparellled. The first that entered was Mercurie, then entered two torchbearers in purple tassata mandillions laced with silver lace, as all other the torchbearers were; then entered a consort of musike, to wit, six musicians, all in long vestures of white farsenet girded about them, and garlands on their heads, plaieng verie cunninglie; then two torchbearers more; then Jupiter and Juno, then two torchbearers more; then Mars and Venus, then two torchbearers more; then Apollo and Pallas, then two torchbearers more; then Neptune and Diana; and lastly Cupid concluding the matter.

Thus when they had once marched about the chamber, Mercurie discharged his message in these words to the queene: The good meaning maior and all his brethren, with the rest, haue not rested from praiering vnto the gods to prosper thy comming hither; and the gods themselves moued by their vnfaired praers, are ready in person to bid thee worthilie welcome; and I Mercurie the god of merchants and merchandise, and therefore a fauourer of the citizens, being thought meetest am chosen fittest to signifie the same. Gods there be also which cannot come, being tied by the time of the yeare, as Ceres in haruest, Bacchus in wines, Pomona in orchards. Onelie Hyminus denieth his good will, either in presence or in person: notwithstanding Diana hath so counterchecked him therfore, as he shall hereafter be at your comming. For my part, as I am a reioicer at your comming, so am I a furtherer of your welcome hither; and for this time I bid you farewell.

Fear not oh queene, thou art beloued so,
As subiects true will truite thee defend:
Fear not my power to ouerthrow thy wo,
I am the God that can each misse amend.
Thou dost know great Jupiter am I,
That gaue thee first thy happie ouermentie.
I giue thee still as euer thou hast had,
A peerlesse power vnto thy diene daie:
I giue thee rule to ouercome the bad,
And loue to loue thy louing subiects aie.

I giue thee heere this small and slender wand,
To shew thou wast in quiet rule the land.

Is Iuno rich? No sure she is not so,
She wants that wealth that is not wanting heere,
Thy goods get friends, my wealth wins manie a fo,
By riches rust, but thine shine palling cleere.
Thou art beloued of subiects faire and nie,
Which is such wealth as monie cannot buie.
Farewell faire queene, I cannot giue thee ought,
Nor take a waie thy good that is so bound:
Thou canst not giue that I so long haue sought,
He can I hold the riches thou hast found.
Yet take this gift, though poore I seeme to be,
That thou thy selfe shalt neuer poorer be.

Where force dooth fiercelie seeke to foster wrong,
There Mars dooth make him make a quicke recolle,
Nor can indure that he should harbor long,
Where naughtie wights manure in goodlie soile.
This is the vie that aids the force of warre,
That Mars dooth mend, that force dooth seeke to marre.
And though oh queene thou best a prince of peace,
Yet shalt thou haue me fastlie sure at need:
The stormes of strife and blustering boyles to cease,
Which foren foes or faithlesse friends may breed.
To conquer, kill, to vanquish and subdue,
Such fauied folke, as loues to liue vntue.

These words were ingratien vpon the kniues:

To hurt your fo and helpe your friend,
These kniues are made vnto that end:
Both blunt and sharpe you shall vs find,
As pleasest best your princelie mind.

In vaine (faire queene) from heauen my comming was,
To seeke to mend that is no waie amis:
For now I see thy fauour so dooth passe,
That none but thou, thou onelie she it is,
Whose beaute bids ech wight to looke on thee,
By view they may another Venus see.
Where beaute boasts, and fauour dooth not faile,
That may I giue to thee I wot this wight:
This is my gift, there shall no wo peneale,
That seeks thy will against thy wiles delight,
Not where they will, but where it likes thy mind,
Accept that friend if loall thou him find.

The doue being cast off, ran directlie to the queene, and being taken vp and set vpon the table before hir maiestie, sate so quietlie as if it had bene tied. Then after they had marched againe about, Apollo presented his gift, which was an instrument called a bandonet, and did sing to the said instrument this short and pithie dittie, as he was plaieng there vpon:

It seemeth strange to see such strangers heere,
Yet not so strange but strangers knowes you well:
Your vertuous thoughts to gods doo plaine appeere,
Your acts on earth betraies how you excell:
You cannot die, Ioue here hath made your lease,
Which gods haue sent, and God faith shall not cease.
Vertuous desire desired me to sing,
As subiects true, though sisters they were all,
Appolos gifts are subiect to no king,
Rare are thy gifts that did Apollo call,
Then still reioice, for God and man saie so,
This is my gift, thou neuer shalt haue wo.

Soft wot this wight, what wotst thou haue of me?
Thou hast so much, thou canst not want no more:
I cannot giue that once I gaue to thee,
Nor take a waie the good I gaue before.
I robbed was by natures good content,
Against my will, and yet I was content.
Pallas thou, a princelie I will be:
A queene of loffe, thou goddes which hast got:
I sometime was, thou onelie now art she:
I take, thou gauest that iucke that was my lot.
I giue not thee this booke to leane thee aught,
For that I know already thou art taught.

What art thou (queene) that gods do loue thee so?
Who wooon their wils to bel o at thy will?
How can the world become thy cruell fo?
How can Diuaine or Dalice seeke to kill?
Can sea or earth deuile to hurt thy hap?
Sith thou by gods doost sit in fortunes lap.
As heauen and earth haue vowed to be thine,
So Neptunes seas haue sworn to driech thy foes,
As I am god, and all the waters mine,
Still shalt thou get, but neuer shalt thou lose:
And sith on earth my wealth is nought at all,
Accept good will, the gift is verie small.

Who euer found on earth a constant friend,
That may compare with this my virgin queene?
Who euer found a bodie and a mind
So free from staine, so perfect to be seene?
Oh heauentie bew, that aptest is to soile,
And yet doost liue from blot of anie soile.
Rare is thy gift, and giuen to few or none,
Wast thou therfore of some that dare not lay,
Where shines thy light, for that I know but one,
That antie such shew, to follow on their waie.
Thou thou art shee, take thou the onelie praise,
For chastest dame in these our happie daies.

Then Juno
spake, whose
gift was a
purse curious
the wrought.

Then after
they had mar-
ched againe
about, Mars
gaue his gift,
which was a
faire paire of
knives, and
said:

Then spake
Venus whose
gift was a
white dove.

The song of
Apollo to the
queene.

Pallas then
spaketh and
presenteth his
gift, which
was a booke
of wisdom.

Then Neptu-
ne spake:
his gift was
a great artifi-
ciall fish, and
in the bellie
of it a pike,
which he
threw out be-
fore hir ma-
iestie.

Diana pre-
sented a bow
and arrowes
nooked and
headed with
silver; hir
speech was
this.

Accept

The queene's
high commen-
dation of ma-
ster Limbert's
oration.

The descrip-
tion of an ex-
cellent and
princelie
maske.

Mercuries
message to the
queene.

Then march-
ing they about
againe, and
there Juno
spake to
the queene in
this sort, and
then gaue her
a ring and
a purse of
gold.

frig-
ing

Cupido his
speech, his
gave an arrow
of gold.

Accept my bowe, fith best thou dost deserue,
Though well I know by mind can thee preferue.

Al ha, I see my mother out of sight,
Then let the boy now plaie the was a while,
I seeme but wake, yet wake is not my might,
My boies wit can oldest folke beguile.
Altho so dooth thinke, I speake this but in iest,
Let me but shoot, and I shall quench his rest,
Marke here my shafts: this all is made of wood,
Which is but soft, and breeds but soft good will,
Now this is gilt, yet seemes it gold full good,
And dooth deceive blind loving people still.
But here is one is feldome felt or seene:
This is of gold, meet for the noblest queene.
Therefore dame faire, take thou this gift of me,
Though some deserue, yet none deserue like you,
Shoot but this shaft at king or Cesar: he,
And he is thine, and if thou wilt allow,
It is a gift that manie here doo craue.
Yet none but thou this golden shaft maie haue.

There was written upon the shaft:

My colour, joy, my substance pure,
My vertue such as shall indure.

The queenes
behaviour af-
ter all this
welcoming.

Her maiestie receiued these gifts verie thankes-
lie, the gods and goddesses with the rest of the make
marched about the chamber againe, and then depar-
ted in like maner as they came in. Then the queene
called vnto hir master Robert Wood, the maior of
Dorwich, whom first she heartlie thanked, and toke
by the hand, and bled secret conference: but what I
know not. And thus this delightfull night passed,
to the joy of all that saw hir grace in so pleasant plight.

The deuifoy
is commanded
to be readie
with his
shewes to de-
light the
queene.

On thursdate in the morning, my lord chamber-
laine gaue the deuifoy warning the queene would
ride abrode in the after none, and he commanded
him to be readie, buttsallie to present hir with some
shew. Then knowing which waie the queene would
ride (by coniecture and instructions giuen) the deu-
foi caused a place to be made and digged for the
nymphes of the water, the maner and proportion
whereof was in this forme and fashon. First there
was measure taken for the scope foot of ground eue-
rie waie, the hole to be made depe and foure square,
which ground was all couered with canuas painted
greene like the grasse, and at euerie side on the can-
uas ran a string through curteine rings, which string
might easilie be drawne anie kind of waie, by reason
of two great poales that lay along in the ground,
and answered the curteine or canuas on each side, so
that drawing a small cord in the middle of the can-
uas, the earth would seeme to open, & so that againe
as the other end of the cord was drawne backward.
And in the same caue was a noble noise of musike
of all kind of instruments, scuerallie to be sounded
and plaied vpon, and at one time they should be foun-
ded all together, that might serue for a comfort of bo-
ken musike. And in the same caue also was placed
twelue water nymphes, disguised or dyessed most
strangelie, each of them had either vpon white like, or
fine linnen, greene sedgees stitched cunninglie on a
long garment, so well wrought and also set on, as
scarce anie whit might be perceiued. And euerie
nymph had in hir hand a great bundle of bulrushes,
and had on hir head a garland of lute, vnder the which
lute was a colfe of mosse, and vnder the mosse was
there long goodlie beare like golden tresses that coue-
red hir shoulders, and in a maner caught downe vnto
hir middle.

A proper de-
uise and verie
delectable of a
caue & twelue
water nym-
phes, &c.

What was de-
uised to be
done by the
nymphes at the

Now touching the beaultie of the nymphes, they se-
med to be the chosen childe of the world, and be-
came their attire so well, that their beaultie might
haue abused a right god iudgement. For diuerse of
those that knew them before (albeit they were bare-
faced) could scarce know them in their garments,
and sundrie toke them to be yong girles and wen-
ches, prepared for the nonce, to procure a laughter.
These nymphes thus appareled, and all things in good
plight and readinesse, there was deuised, that at the
queenes comming nere the water side (as this caue
stood at the bym of the river) one nymph should pop

py out of the caue first, and salute the queene with a
speech, and then another: and so till foure of them
had finished their speeches, there they should re-
maine; and when they retired into their caue, the mu-
like should begin: which sure had bene a noble hea-
ring, and the more melodious for the varietie there-
of, and because it should come secretlie and strange-
lie out of the earth. And when the musike was done,
then should all the twelue nymphs haue issued toge-
ther, & dancd a danse with timbrels that were trim-
med with belles, and other tangling things, which
timbrels were as bryde as a sue, hauing bottoms
of fine parchment, and being sounded, made such a
confused noise and pastime, that it was to be won-
dered at: besides the strangenesse of the timbrels
(yet knowne to our forefathers) was a matter of ad-
miration vnto such as were ignorant of that new
found toy, gathered and borrowed from our elders.
So in order and readinesse stood that shew for the
time.

And to keepe that shew companie (but yet farre
off stood the shew of Spanhob and Desert, as first to
be presented, and that shew was as well furnished
as the other; men all, saue one boy called Beaultie;
for the which, Spanhob, Faunour, and Desert, did
strive (or should haue contended) but god fortune
(as victor of all conquests) was to come in, and ouer-
throw Spanhob, Faunour, Desert, & all their powers,
and onelie by fine force (vpon a watchword spoken)
should late hand on Beaultie, and carrie or lead hir a-
way. The other lutois troubled with this kind of dea-
ling, should talke together, and sweare to be in one
mind for an open reuenge: and vpon that fortune
should cry Arme, arme. The other side called for their
friends, at the which strre should appeare both their
strengthes: but god fortune should farre in power
exceed his enemies. And yet to shew that Deslinie
(and who best can conquer) shall gouerne all, for-
tune should make an offer, that fir to fir with sword
and target should end the byall and businesse. Then fir
gentlemen on either side with rebated swords and
targets (onelie in dublet and hose, and murrion on
head) approached and would claime the combat, and
deale together twelue blowes apiece, and in the end
fortune should be victor: and then the shot and ar-
med men should fall at variance so shapellie (vpon
mistaking of the matter) that fortunes side should
triumph and march ouer the bellies of their enemies:
in which time were legs and armes of men (well and
liuelie wrought) to be let fall in numbers on the
ground, as blonde as might be. Fortune, regarding
nothing but victorie, marcheth so awaite in great tri-
umph: and then should haue come into the place a
song for the death of Spanhob, Faunour, and Desert,
and so the shew should haue ended.

But now note that befell after this great busi-
nesse and preparation. For as the queenes highnesse
was appointed to come vnto hir coach, and the lords
and courtiers were readie to mount on horsebacke,
there fell such a holwe of raine (& in the necke there-
of came such a terrible thunder) that euerie one of
vs were dyuen to seke for couert and most comfort,
inso much that some of vs in bote stood vnder a bylge
and were all so dached & washed, that it was a grea-
ter pastime to see vs loke like drowned rats, than to
haue beheld the vttermost of the shewes rehearsed.
Thus you see, a shew in the open field is allwaies sub-
iect to the sudden change of weather, and a number
of more inconueniences. But what should be said of
that which the citie lost by this cause; beluets, silkes,
tinsels, and some cloth of gold being cut out for these
purposes, that could not serue to anie great effect af-
ter: Well, there was no more to saie, but an old ad-
age, that Span doth purpose, but God doth dispose,
so

queens com-
ming nere the
water side,

The shew of
Spanhob and
Desert with
the furniture
declared.

The que-
departur
from the
alle take

Note the i-
beats of i
citizens on
people,

A little lo-
in a verie
lowe voice,

fridates de-
uise vpon th
remouing of
the court.

All the people
ration dilap-
pointed by
chander and
raine.

The citie
loste by occa-
sion of this
tempest.

A pleasant de-
uise to make
the queene
laugh.

to whole disposition and pleasure the grabe of greater matters is committed. So this thursdaie toke his leave from the actors, and left them looking one upon another, & he that thought he had received most min-
re kept greatest silence, and laying up (among a bundle of other misfortunes) this cruel chance, cue-
re person quietlie passed to his lodging.

The next daie being fridaie, in which daie the court removed, the streets towards saint Benets gates were hanged, from the one side to the other, with cords made of beards and flowers, with garlands, coronets, pictures, rich cloths, and a thousand devices. At the gates themselves there was a stage made verie richlie apparellled with cloth of gold and crimson velvet, whereupon in a close place made there-
an for the purpose, was placed verie sweet musick: & one ready to render him this speech following. The dolefull haire of his departure came, he passed from the court, to those gates, with such countenances, both of his maiesties part, and his subjects now dolorous, now cheerful, as plainlie showed the loving hearts of both sides. When he came there the speech was thus uttered unto him in verie pleasant sort:

Terrestriall ioyes are like the wither floure,
Each happy day full hath the dooth floure,
As summer season lasteth but a while.
The winter stormes doe longer time abide:
Howe much blisse can any time endure?
Our sunshine daie is dappled with sudden shewre.
Couldst thou expect our secret ioyes of heart,
Or in our pines, when thou didst come in place?
Our God wot, nor can expect the same
The subjects feele in this departing case.
Our gracious queene, let here thy grace remaine
In gracious will, till thy returne againe.
In her wherof, because thy subjects hartes,
In their faith continually thine owne:
The ready self to loose their vitall partes
In thy defense, when ante blast is blowne.
Thou art our queene, our rocke and our true state,
We see thine owne to seeke by night and daie.
Farewell, oh queene, farewell, oh mother deare,
Let Jacobs God thy sacred bodie guard:
All is thine owne that is possessed here,
And all in all is but a small reward
For thy great grace, God length thy life like Roy,
To governe us, and the thy realm in Roy. Amen.

These words were dealed by B. Goldingham, and spoken by himselfe, to whom his maiestie said: Well thank you hartlie. Then with the musick in the same place was sung this short dittie following, in a verie sweet voice, to the great delight of the hearers;

What wretched life, where sorrow takes the hart?
The fearefull death that is in deepe distress?
Relieve of life dooth best adare the hart.
O him, whose woes are quite without redress.
Lend me your teares, resigne your lightes to me,
Helpe all to watie the dolor, which you see.
What haue we done, for will no longer staie?
What may we doe to hold him with us still?
Where is our queene, we subjects must obey,
Grant, though with griefe, to his departing will.
Conclude we then, and sing with sobbing breath,
God length thy life (oh queene Elisabeth.)

On fridaie, the court upon removal, the citie from hitherto with manie causes, and some seeking to do service like the deuil, moved him to do somewhat of himselfe, because his aids (as manie times they were before) were drawn from him, each one about his owne businesse, and he left to his owne inventions and policie, at which erigent or casuall things of fortune, he drew his boies unto him, that were the symphes on the water, and so departed the citie, with such garments and stuffe necessarie as fitted his purpose and the matter he went about. Then he chose a ground, by the which the queene must passe, inclosing his companie in the corner of a field, being defended with high and thicke bushes, and there some parts he made, which the boies might nisse, because the time was short for the learning of those parts. But he being resolved to do somewhat might make the queene laugh, appointed that seauen boies of twelve should passe through a hedge from the place of abode which was gallantlie trimmed, and deliver seauen speeches. And these boies (you must under-

stand) were dressed like symphes of the water, and were to plaine by a deale and degress the searies, and to dance (as nere as could be imagined) like the searies. Their attire and coming so stranglie out, made the queenes highnesse smile and laugh withall. And the deuil hearing this good hope, being apparelled like a water sprite, began to sound a timbrell, & the rest with him, all the timbrell symphes together (when the seauen had repaired in) sounded timbrells likewise. And although the deuil had no great harting, yet as he durst, he led the young folish searies a dance, which boldnesse of his bred no disgrace, but as he heard, was well taken. The queene upon their retire in, hastied to his highnes lodging, which was seuen miles off, and at that present, when the shew ended, it was past five of the clocke.

All these shewes finished, his maiestie in princelie maner marched toward the confines of the liberties of the citie of Dorwich, which was supposed almost two miles. Before she came there, maister maior brake to my lord chamberlaine, that he was to utter to his maiestie another oration, wherof my lord seemed to haue good liking: but before they came to the said confines, maister maior was called to for-
beare the betterance of the same his oration, because it was about seauen of the clocke, and his maiestie had then five miles to ride. Nevertheless he gave to his maiestie both his orations in writing, which she thanked him for. She also thanked the maior, currier alderman, and the commons, not onely for the great charge they had made her, but also for the open households they kept to his highnesse servants, and all others. Then she called maister maior and made him knight: and so departing, said: I haue left up in my breast such good will, as I shall neuer forget Dorwich, and proceeding onward did she take her riding rood and said: Farewell Dorwich, with the water standing in his eyes. In which great god will towards us all, I beseech God to continue his maiestie with long and triumphant reign over us, Amen.

Now to come to the returne of the queenes maiestie from Dorsethe and Suffolke, in which two counties his highnesse knighted certaine gentle-
men, as namelie in Suffolke George Colt, Philip Parker, Robert Jermin, William Spring, Thomas Barnardiston, Thomas Lidon, Arthur Goldingham: In Dorsethe, Thomas Inceart, Nicholas Bacon, William Passons, Edward Clare, Rafe Shelton, Henrie Woodhouse, Thomas Gaudie, Robert Wood maior, Roger Woodhouse. These gentlemen his maiestie knighted, for that they should all their life time after haue the greater regard to God and their prince. Now the queenes maiestie passing from Dorwich, she came to sir Roger Woodhouses that night, where she was well received, and noblely entertained. From thence to Wood rising at sir Edward Clares. From thence to sir Thomas Kidsons, where in verie deed the face and bankets did so exceed a number of other places, that it is wor-
the mention. A shew representing the searies (as well as might be) was there scene, in the which shew a rich ietwell was presented to the queenes highnesse. From thence to maister Keuts, where all things were well and in verie good order, and meat liberallic spent.

But now to speake a little by the waie of Gods mightie hand and power, that framed mens hearts so well in manie parts, before the queenes highnesse came to Cambridgeshire, and to tell how blessedlie our great and good God did deale with our deere soveraigne ladie, in causing everie person to shew their dutie, is a matter of great discourse, and of no little weight and comfort to all good minds that shall consider of the same, Such a Lord is our great God, that

The deuil
housings well
taken of the
queene, &c.

Maister maior
uttering
to his maiestie
another oration,
is called to
forbear it,
and kept it.

The maior of
Dorwich
knighted.

The queenes
words at her
departing.

Gentlemen
of Suffolke
& Dorsethe
knighted.

The queenes
maiestie de-
parting from
Dorwich and
is now inter-
tained by the
waie.

The brui-
er of Cam-
bridge present
a faire and
statelie cup to
the queene.

T.C.

The lord of
Leicesters
bountifull in-
tertainment.

Ad solem nubi-
bus obduſtum
die lune 18.
Augusti, 1578.

Eiusdem in
eandem.

that can frame all things to the best, and such a so-
uerigne ladie we haue, that can make the crooked
paths streight where she commeth, & draw the hartes
of the people after hir wherfoeuer she traueleth. So
from master Keuets hir highnesse came to my lord
poorhs, who was no whit behind anie of the best for
a fraike house, a noble heart, and well ordered inter-
tainment. And there was an oration made by a
gentleman of Cambridge, with a statelie and a faire
cup presented from the vniuersitie, all the ambassa-
dors of France beholding the same. And the gentle-
men of the shire (as in manie other places) did beare
the queenes meat to the table, which was a grea-
ting & gladnesse to the gentlemen, & a solemne sight
for strangers & subiects to looke vpon. From my lord
poorhs to sir Giles Allingtons, where things were
well, and well liked. From thence to sir John Cuts.
From thence to M. Kapels, where was excellent
good chere & intertainment. From thence to Wode
hall, where I heard of no great chere nor banquet-
ting. From thence to Rockwood hall, but how the
traine was there intertained, I am ignorant of.
From thence to master Stonars, and from thence
to my lord of Leicesters house, where the progresse
ended, & (to knit vp all) the god chere was reuiued,
not onelie with making a great feast to the queene
and the french ambassadoz, but also in feasting so-
lemnelie (at seuerall times) the whole garrd, on sun-
daie and mondaie before the queene came, at his
owne table, vsing such courtesie vnto them for the
space of two daies, as was and is woorthie of perpe-
tuall memorie. Thus much of the queenes highnesse
returne, whom God hath so well preferred, that he
like a woorthie prince to our great comfort & prospe-
reth in peace, to the great disgrace of the enemies of
God, and aduersaries of our common weale and
countrie, wherein God continue hir maiestie. Amen.

The queenes maiestie, now gone from poorhs,
carried alwaie with hir all the gladnesse of the citie,
which sprang from hir presence; in place whereof suc-
ceeded melancholie sadness: in so much that the verie
aier altered with the change of the countrie chere
proceeding from the departure of hir highnesse ro-
all person: which he meant that made these verses,
wherewith the description of this progresse shall end.

*Splendide Phæbe redi, cur te sub nube recondis?
Innuba Pallas adest, splendide Phæbe redi.
Hæstæ minax procul est, non Gorgonis ora videbis,
Pallas inermis adest, splendide Phæbe redi.
Scilicet à tanto metui tibi lumine forsan:
Ne superet radios fœmina Phæbe tuos.
Pulcher Apollo tibi ne sis regina rubori:
Ipse decore tuo vincis, & illa suo.
Euge redux reducem qui a pulsa nocte reducis
Phæbe diem: toto est gratius orbe nihil.
Hæc pepulit tetri tenebras noctemque papismi,
Et liquidum retulit religionem diem.
Euge nigras nebulas radijs quas æpe repellis
Phæbe tuis: pene est gratius orbe nihil.
Texuerant remoras discrimina mille papiste:
Ne ceptum princeps continuaret iter:
Nec tamen hunc nebula potuerunt condere solem:
Quamuis tu nebulis cedis Apollo tuus.
Ergo iubar nostrum repulisse obstaculo cernis:
Sic age, sol nebulas lumine pelle tuo.
Splendide Phæbe redi, cur te sub nube recondis?
Innuba Pallas adest, splendide Phæbe redi.*

*Sustinet, ornat, habet, regnum, literaria formam,
Provida, docta, decens, Iuno, Minerva, Penus.
Singula dona trium simul Elizabethæ deorum
Provida, docta, decens, sustinet, ornat, habet.
Esse deas lusi: diuinam dicimus istam:
Quamuis nec licet nec libet esse deam.*

In shadowing clouds why art thou close? Phæbus bright retire:
Unpossed Pallas present is, Phæbus bright retire.
The threatening speare is flung far off, doubt not of Gorgons ire:
Unarmed Pallas present is, Phæbus bright retire.
Perhaps thou art afraid: And why? at this to large a light:
Least that a woman should excell, thy beams Phæbus bright retire:
Yet not a queene, a virgin pure, which is, and euer was.
O faire Apollo, make thee blush: you both in beautes passe.
O Phæbus late and lound returne, which, banishing the night,
Bringst backe the daie: in all the world nothing of like delight:
She, onelie she, the darknesse dreame of poperie quite auaile:
And by religion hath restored the bright and lightsome daie.
O Phæbus with thy beams, which soile the clouds both blind &
The world, in manner all, a thing of like delight doth lacke. (blacke,
A thousand dangers and delates the papists had denith,
To send our princesse should abridge hir progresse enterprize:
Yet this our bright & shining sun, call light through euery cloud:
Although in clouds thou art content, Apollo oft to shroud.
Thou seest our sunne in comelie court, cutt off each stop and staine:
Do thou the like, and by thy light diue euery cloud auaile.
In shadowing clouds why art thou close? Phæbus bright retire:
Unpossed Pallas present is: Phæbus bright retire.

Hir kingdom all by providence, queene Iuno doth uphold:
And of Minerva ladie learned, is learned lore extold:
And Ceres faire of countenance, hath beautes uncontold.
These sundrie gifts of goddesses thre, Elizabeth possideth:
By providence hir peoples peace, and comfort: the increaseth:
Hir learning, learning amplifies: hir beautes neuer ceaseth.
I did but least, of goddesses to giue them thre the name:
This ladie maist thou goddess call, for she deserves the fame:
Although she will not undertake, a title of such fame.

Matthew Hamont, by his trade a ploughwaite of
Wharfedale three miles from poorhs, was conuer-
ted before the bishop of poorhs, for that he denied
Christ our sauour. At the time of his appearance it
was objected that he had published these heresies
following. That the new testament and gospel of
Christ are but mere foolishnesse, a storie of man, or
rather a mere fable. Item, that man is restored to
grace by Gods mere mercie, without the meane
of Christs blood, death and passion. Item, that Christ
is not God nor the sauour of the world, but a mere
man, a sinfull man, and an abhominable idoll. Item,
that all they that worship him are abhominable ido-
laters, & that Christ did not rise againe from death
to life by the power of his godhead, neither that he
ascended into heauen. Item, that the holie ghost is
not God, neither that there is anie such holie ghost.
Item, that baptisme is not necessarie in the church
of God, neither the vse of the sacrament of the bo-
die and blood of Christ. For the which heresies he
was condemned in the consistorie, and sentence was
pronounced against him by the bishop of poorhs
on the thirteenth daie of Aprill, and therupon deliue-
red to the shiriffes of poorhs. And because he spake
words of blasphemie (not to be recited) against the
queenes maiestie and others of hir counsell, he was
by the recorder, master sergeant Winshaw, and
the maiors sir Robert Wood of poorhs condemned
to lose both his eares, which were cut off on the thir-
teenth of Maie in the market place of poorhs, and
afterwards, to wit on the twentieth of Maie, he was
burned in the castell ditch of poorhs.

This yeare in the moneth of Maie, Marke Seare, an English
hot blacke smith citizen of London, borne in the pa-
rish of saint Clements Dane without Temple bar,
and now dwelling in Cornhill nere vnto Leaden
hall, for trial of workmanship, made one hanging
locke of iron, steels and brasse, of eleuen seuerall pec-
ces, a pipe keie filed three square with a pot vpon the
shaft, & the bow with two elles, all cleane wrought,
which weighed but one graine of gold or wheat corne.
He also at the same time made a chaine of gold of
three and forty linkes, to the which chaine the locke
and keie being fastened, and put about a fleas necke,
he drew the same with ease. All which, locke, keie,
chaine, and flea, weighed but one graine and a halfe.
A thing almost incredible, but that my selfe (amongst
manie others) haue seene it, & therefore must affirme
it to be true.

The first of Iune deceased Robert Horne doctor
of diuinitie, bishop of Winchester, and prelat of the
garter, at Winchester place in Southwiche, was

By the same
concerning
the queene.

John Wo-
bth of 4
garter.

Matthew Ha-
mont burnt at
poorhs.
The heresies
that he held.

Wharfedale

Putta.

Cambridge

Chilgarn

Winch.

Winchester

The bishop
of Winchester

1579.

the same
red south
deceypon
the 15 of
july 1579.

was buried at Winchester. ¶ This man was learned and eloquent, of a round and ready utterance, sound in religion and zealous in the truth; in testimony whereof he chose rather to forsake his native soile, and to live a stranger in a forren land, than with offense of conscience to tarrie at home within the sight and hearing of the manifold abominations which supported poperie: so that although death have benighted his mortall bodie, yet in respect of his vertue and godlinesse, his name shall be immortal; according to the truth of this sentence:

*Corporis depositum vivit virtute superfluo,
De virtute nihil mors violenta rapit.*

John Wolton
b. p. of Ex-
gilt.

John Wolton now living, was called to be bishop of Excester, & consecrated at Lambeth by Edmund Grindall archbishop of Canturburie, in August 1579. He is a professor of divinitie, and a preacher of the gospel, and universall scene in all good letters. This William Wolton, being in succession order the eight and fortieth that occupied the said see, from the first that enjoyed the same episcopall advancement, unadvisedly in this occasion to insert a catalog of all the bishops of Excester as they followed one after another in that see, being an apt collection, and verie answerable to the description of Excester, and the ancient foundation of saint Peters church there; mentioned in the third yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, page 1007, and continued to page 1028.

A catalog of the bishops of Excester
collected by Iohn Vowell alias
Hooker, gentleman.

Wulfstan.

1 Wulfstan, at a provincial synod holden in Winchester, in the yeare 905, was consecrated bishop of Deuon, and had his see at bishops Taunton: and in the yeare following 906 he died, and was buried in his owne church.

Beda.

2 Beda, after the death of Wulfstan, was elected and consecrated bishop, and had his see at Taunton: and taking his tourneie towards Crediton, to see and visit the king (as some saie, Alsa the kings lieutenant) was by the said Alsa men slaine, and then upon his death the see was removed to Crediton.

Cadulphus.

3 Cadulphus, brother to Alsius duke of Deuon and Cornewall, and founder of Lancelston, was consecrated bishop of Deuon, but installed at Crediton, where he had his see, and continued bishop two and twentie yeares, and then dieng about the yeare 932, he was buried in his owne church.

Æthelgarus.

4 Æthelgarus, in the yeare 932, succeeded Cadulphus, and in his time king Athelstane subdued the Cornish people, reedified this citie, and compassed the same with a stone wall: he founded the monasterie of saint Peters for monks of saint Benets order. This Æthelgarus, after he had bene bishop ten yeares, died, and was buried in his owne church.

Algarus.

5 Algarus, in the yeare 942 after Æthelgarus, was constituted & installed bishop at Crediton, and having bene bishop about ten yeares, died and was buried in his owne church.

Alfwulfus.

6 Alfwulfus, as Matthew Westminster writeth, was next bishop after Algarus, and consecrated by the aduise of Dunstane, in the yeare 952. In this time Godgarus earle of Deuon, and father in law to king Edgar, builded the abbete of Taunton: and king Edgar called home all the monks of saint Peters which were dispersed, and without arie abbat, and made Sidemannus abbat, who was afterwards bishop. This Alfwulfus after thirtene

yeares that he was consecrated, died and was buried in his owne church.

7 Alfwulfus, as Dicetus affirmeth, was consecrated bishop in the yeare of our Lord 969, and after nine yeares died, and was buried in his owne church.

Sidemannus.

8 Sidemannus of an abbat was made a bishop, in the yeare 978. In this mans time the Danes ouerran and spoiled the whole countries of Deuon and Cornewall, burned the towne of Bodmen, and the cathedrall church of saint Petros, with the bishops house. Whereupon the bishops see was removed from thence to saint Germans, where the same continued, untill the removing and uniting thereof into Crediton. Sidemannus in the twelue yeare after his consecration died, and was buried at Crediton in his owne church 990.

Alfredus.

9 Alfredus, whome Dicetus calleth Alfricus, abbat of Palmesburie, was consecrated bishop, and installed at Crediton: he was taken for a learned man, because he wrote two booke, the one intitled *De rebus canonicis suis*, and the other *De rebus naturalibus*. In this bishops time, king Ethelred endowed the bishopricke of saint Germans with lands, liberties, and priuileges. The Danes made a fresh invasion in and upon all Deuon and Cornewall, burned and spoiled the abbete of Wodolus at Taunton: they besieged Excester, and being removed from thence, were fought withall at Penneho, about thre miles from the citie, and ouerthrowne. Alfredus, after he had bene bishop about nine yeares, died in the yeare 999, and was buried in his owne church.

10 Alfwulfus (as Dicetus writeth) was the next Alfwulfus. In his time Sweno king of Denmarke, by intisement of one Hugh then earle of Deuon, came with a great host and besieged the citie of Excester, took it and burned it, and with great cruelty bled the people, untill in the end Almarus then earle of Deuon, and the gentlemen did yield and submit themselves, and so obtained peace. This Alfwulfus about the fiftieth yeare of his bishopricke, in the yeare 1014 died, and was buried in his owne church.

Arnoldus.

11 Arnoldus, by the report of the archdeacon of London, succeeded Alfwulfus, and was installed at Crediton. In this mans time, king Canutus gaue to Athelwold abbat of S. Peters of this citie great gifts, and sundrie priuileges, in recompense of his fathers great iniuries. Arnoldus in the fiftieth yeare of his bishopricke 1030 died, and was buried in his owne church.

Leuigus, or Leuingus.

12 Leuigus or Leuingus abbat of Taunton, and nephew to Wifwaldus bishop of Cornewall, was chosen the next bishop, and according to the orders then bled, consecrated and installed. He was in great fauour and credit with king Canutus, upon whome he attended in pilgrimage to Rome; and after his uncle the bishop of saint Germans being dead, obtained of the king that the bishops see was removed from saint Germans into Crediton, and both were thereby reduced and united into one bishopricke, and so hath ever since continued. He was after the death of Wiftheus bishop of Worcester, removed to that church, and there died, and was buried as some suppose: but some affirme, that in the time of Hardicanutus the king, at the accusation of Alfredeus then archbishop of Poike, for that he should be consenting to the death of Alfredeus the sonne of Ethelred, that he should be deposed of his bishopricke there, and so did returne into Taunton, where he died. But Dicetus affirmeth, that he purged himselfe of this crime, and by that meanes was restored, both to the fauour of the king, and to his bishopricke.

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shoppe againe, and died bishop of Worcester. It is recorded that he was bishop of Crediton sixteene yeares.

Leofricus.

13 Leofricus, a man descended of the blood and line of Brutus, but brought up in the land of Lotharinga or Lozeine, was so well commended for his nobilitie, wisdome, and learning, that king Edward the Confessor had him in great fauour, and made him first one of his priue counsell; then lord chancellor of all England: and lastlie the bishoppe of this prouince being void, he was made, consecrated, and installed bishop of the same. By him and by his meanes, the bishops see was remoued from Crediton vnto this citie of Excester: for at his request, king Edward together with queene Edith his wife came to Excester, & remouing the monkes from hence to Westminster, did also remoue the bishops see from Crediton vnto his citie, and did put the bishop in possession. For he conducting the bishop on the right hand, and the queene on the left hand, brought him to the high altar of his new church, and there placed him in a seat appointed for him. He suppressed sundrie houses or cels of religion within his sanctuarie, and appropriated and vnitied them to his owne church; as also by the good liberalitie of the king obtained great reuenues, possessions, priuileges, and liberties to be giuen vnto the church. In this mans time, William duke of Normandie made a conquest of this whole realme, as also in the yeare 1068 besieged this citie of Excester; which after by composition he restored to his former estate againe. Also in his time, Richard de Biron, a noble man of Normandie, the sonne of Baldwin of Biron, & of Albez the neece to the Conqueror, was made baron of Okehampton, warden of the castell of Excester, and vicount of Denon. This Leofricus, after that he had well and worthilie ruled his church and diocesse by the space of thre and twentie yeares, he ended his daies in peace, and died in the yeare 1073, and was buried in the cemeterie or churchyard of his owne church, vnder a simple and a broken marble stone, which place by the since enlarging of his church is now within the tower of the same, where of late, in the yeare 1568, a new monument was erected in the memorie of so good, worshipful, and noble a personage, by the industrie of the writer hereof, but at the charges of the deane and chapter.

Osbertus or Osbernus.

14 Osbertus or Osbernus, a Norman boine, and brother to an earle named William, was preferred to this bishoppe, and in the yeare 1074 was consecrated and installed to the same. Polydorus writeth, that one Galfred who joined with Odo, earle of Kent and bishop of Baion, against William Rufus, should be bishop of Eron: but it was not, nor could not so be. In this mans time, William the Conqueror, and William Rufus his sonne died. This Osbertus or Osbernus, after he had bene bishop thirtie yeares, was blind, and died, and lieth buried in his owne church.

William Warlewast.

15 William Warlewast a Norman boine, and chapleine both to the Conqueror and his two sons, William and Henrie: he was a graue and a wise man, and for the same was preferred by Henrie the king to this bishoppe, in the yere one thousand one hundred and seuen, and was consecrated by Anselmus archbishop of Canturburie, in the moneth of August the same yeare. He first began to enlarge his church, which at that time was no bigger than that which is now called the ladie chapell. He founded and builded the monasterie of Plimpton, and placed therein regular canons: in his latter daies he waxed and became blind. And yet notwithstanding for his wisdom the king sent him in ambassage

vnto pope Paschalis the second, wherein he so wisely dealed, and so discretly behaued himselfe in his message, that he made a reconciliation betwene the pope and the king, and returned with great praise and commendation. Not long after his returne, and having small ioye of the world, he gaue ouer his bishoppe, and became one of the religious canons in his owne house of Plimpton, where he died and was buried, he was bishop about twentie yeares.

16 Robert Chichester, deane of Sarisburie, was consecrated bishop vnder Anselmus archbishop of Canturburie, Anno 1128; and the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first. He was a gentleman boine, and therefore esteemed for his zeale in religion, wherein he was deuout according to those daies; and thinking his labours to be best imployed that waste, did efforts go in pilgrimage, sometime to Rome, sometime to one place, sometime to another; and euer he would bring with him some one relike or other. He was a liberall contributor to the buildings of his church. In his time was founded and builded the monasterie of S. Stephens in Lancesson, and furthered by Reinold erle of Cornewall; but vnto it this bishop was an aduersarie, not for misliking the worke, but for feare of an intrusion vpon his liberties. Likewise at this time was builded the priorie of saint Nicholas in Excester; by the abbat of Battell, vnto which abbacie this priorie was a cell. In this mans time also king Henrie made William Kideuers a Norman (and his kinsman) earle of Denon; and therewith the lordship of Twisfordon, and the honoz of Plimpton, together with the third pennie of his reuenues in Denon, which in the whole was then thirtie marks, whereof this earle had ten. Also in this mans time king Henrie died, and king Stephan entred, and toke vpon him the crowne, whereof ensued great warres. This bishop, after that he had occupied the place two and twentie yeares, died, and was buried in his owne church. But the monke of Westminster writeth that he should be bishop seuen and twentie yeares, and died in the yere one thousand one hundred fiftie and siue, but he neuer saw the records of this church which are to the contrarie.

17 Robert Warlewast, nephew to William the bishop of this church, deane of Sarisburie, was consecrated bishop by Theobaldus archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare one thousand one hundred and fiftie, he nothing degenerated from the steps of his predecessors, but was altogether of the same bent and disposition. In his time king Stephan died, and Henrie the second was crowned king. This Robert after that he had occupied this see nine yers or there about, died, & was buried at Plimpton by his vnkle.

18 Bartholomeus Iteanus, otherwise Bartholomeus of Excester, was consecrated bishop of Excester vnder Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare a thousand one hundred fiftie nine, he was called Iteanus of Itea, which is one of the ancientest names of this citie. He was a meane citizens son, but being verie apt vnto learning, his parents and friends kept him to schoule; and he so well profited therein, that he came and proued to be a verie well learned man: and being bishop he wrote sundrie bookes, as of predestination, freewill, penance, and others. Of all men he could not brooke nor fauor Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie for his contempt and disobedience against the king, for the which he sharplie improued, rebuked, and inuigibed against him openlie in the parlement house holden at Portsmouth; and with such effectual reasons, and plie arguments, he did so temper the same, that the whole parlement relied vnto his indgement and opinion herein against Thomas Becket. And after

John Iteanus

Henrie Warlewast

Bartholomeus Iteanus

after his death, such was the grauntie, modestie, and wisdom of the man, that he was speciallie chosen to be ambassadoꝝ for the king vnto pope Alexander the third; and so wisely, and with such discretion vsed the same, that notwithstanding his cause and message had many aduersaries, yet he reconciled the pope and the king, obtained the goodwill and fauour of the pope, and brought his message to good effect. This bishop was in great familiaritie and acquaintance with Baldwin of Excester his countreiman, now archbishop of Canturburie, who was a more mans sonne in this citie; but for his learning advanced to this estate. In this bishops time, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred thre score and eight, William Fitzralse a citizen of this citie founded a cell for monks within this citie, and dedicated the same to saint Alexius, which not long after was vnted to saint Johns within the east gate of the same citie. In his time also Reinold of Court, a nobleman of Normandie, the son of Clozus the son of Lewes, named Lewes le Grosse king of France came into this land, and married Hawise daughter and heire to Mathe the daughter and heire to Abells, sister and heire to Richard de Blyono the first vicount of Deuon, and in his right was vicount of Deuon. This Bartholomew, after he had bene bishop about fouretene yeares, in the yere one thousand one hundred eightie and foure, died: but where he died, and where he was buried it doth not appeere. In this bishops time about the yeare one thousand one hundred and seuentie, one Johannes Coziniensis a Cornish man borne, was a famous learned diuine, he was a student at Rome and other places in Italie, and by that meanes grew into great acquaintance with pope Alexander the third: he wrote diuerse bookes, and namelie one *De incarnatione Christi*, against Peter Lombard, who affirmed, *Quod Christus secundum quod homo est, aliquid non est*; and this he dedicated to pope Alexander.

John the chanter.

19 John the chanter of the cathedrall church of this citie was consecrated and installed bishop of this church, in the yeare one thousand one hundred eightie and foure, he was well reported of for his liberalitie in continuing the buildings of this church, wherein he was nothing inferior to his predecessors. In his time king Henrie Fitzempresse died, and he himselfe, hauing bene bishop about six yeares, died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred ninetie and one.

Henrie Parshall.

20 Henrie Parshall archdeacon of Stafford, the brother to Walter earle marshall of England, was consecrated bishop by Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare one thousand one hundred ninetie and one; he finished the building of his church, according to the plot and foundation which his predecessors had laid; and that done, he purchased the patronage and lordship of Wobburie of one Albemarle, which he gaue and impropriated vnto the vicars chorall of his church. In this mans time, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred and one, one Simon Thurnais a Cornish man borne, brought vp in learning, did by diligence and studie so prosper therein, that he became excellent in all the liberall sciences, and in his daies none thought to be like him. He left Drenford, where he had bene a student, and went to Paris, and there became a priest, and studied diuinitie, and therein became so excellent, and of so deepe a iudgement, that he was made chiefe of the Sorbonists; at length he became so prouid of his learning, and did glorie so much therein, that he would be singular, & thought himselfe to be another Aristotle: and so much he was therein blinded, and ward so farre in loue with Aristotle, that he preferred him before spotes and Christ. But behold Gods

lust iudgement. For suddenly his memoire faileth him, and he ward so forgetfull, that he could neither call to remembrance anie thing that he had done, neither could he discern, read, or know a letter of the booke. This Henrie, after that he had spent and liued twelue yeares in his bishoprike, he died, and lieth buried in the north side of the chancell of his church, in a verie faire towe of marble, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and six.

21 Simon de Apulia, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and six was installed bishop of this see, of him there remaineth no memoꝝfall at all. In his time were famous Joseph Escantius, and Alexander Beccan; the one was verie well learned in the Latine and Greke tong, and in the liberall sciences; the other was prioz of saint Nicholas, and was an vniuersall man, being a profound philosopher, an eloquent orator, a pleasant poet, and a deepe diuine. In this bishops time the doctrine of eleuation, adoration, reseruation, and praieng for the dead, being established by pope Honorius the third, the parish churches within this citie were limited, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie & two. In this mans time, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and twelue, one Johannes Denonius, so surnamed, because he was borne in Deuon, being well bent to good studies, was much commended for his learning and modestie. He was familiar and of great acquaintance with Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, and being made abbat of fford, was in such fauor with king John, that he chose him to be his confessor and chapleine: he was a wyiter, and compiled diuerse bookes which were then accounted of. Being dead, he was buried in his abbey, the people much lamenting the want of so good a man. This bishop hauing spent eightene yeares, died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie and foure, & was buried in his owne church.

22 William Brelwer, verie shortly after the death of the foresaid Simon, was elected bishop, and consecrated by Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie and foure. He was borne and descended of a noble house and parentage, being brother to sir William Brelwer knight, the husband of the eldest daughter, & one of the heirs to William de Verona, erle of Denon; and who also was founder of the abbeies of Toz, of Hartland, and other monasteries. This bishop so wisely and discretly behaued himselfe, that he was had in great reputation among all men, and in speciall fauour with the king. For king Henrie, hauing giuen his sister ladie Isabel to wife vnto Frederike the emperoz, did commend and betake hir to this bishop, to be conueied and conducted to the emperoz. And such was the fame and good report spred of him, that as he passed through the countries, they were from place to place receiued with great honoz; and being come to the citie of Coleine, the archbishop there did not onelie berie honozable receiue them, but also accompanied them vnto the citie of Wormes, where the marriage was solemnized. When this bishop had sene the marriage, and all things performed, he toke his leaue, and was dismissed with great presents, and honozable accompanied homewards by the archbishop and others. At his returne he was so fully receiued of all the noble men about the king, and most thankfullie by the king himselfe, and whome the king vsed as his speciall and most trustie counsellor in all his weightie causes. This bishop being come home to his owne house, and minding (as his predecessors had done) to leaue some good memoꝝfall behind him, he made a deane, and constituted twentie foure prebendaries within his church. To the one he impropriated

Simon de Apulia.

William Brelwer.

related Hampton and Colton Keteleie: for the o-
thers he purchased so much land, as out thereof he
assigned to euerie prebendarie foure pounds by the
yeare, and of these he ordeined his chapter. Also in
this mans tyme, in the yeare one thousand two hun-
dred and fortie, Gilbert Long and Robert his bro-
ther citizens of this cite builded and founded the ho-
spitall of saint Johns, within the east gate of this ci-
tie, for the sustenance of certeine poore folks, called
afterwards the poore children of saint Johns, & gaue
all their lands and tenements to the same, which was
sufficient. The yeare following, the cell of Alerius
was removed and adioined to saint Johns; and then
the founders being dead, the charge and gouerne-
ment of that house was by those founders commen-
ded to the maior of this cite, & they thenceforth were
founders and patrons thereof. In the yeare of our
Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and foure,
there grew a contention concerning the poore laze-
rlike people of the Magdalen without the south gate
of this cite, whose maner and vsage was then, with
a clappish vpon euerie market daie to resort and
come to the market, and there to beg euerie mans
deuotion: but by reason of their sicknesse, which was
lothsome and abhorred, the peoples deuotion wared
short and scant against them: as also euerie man
murmured against their going & begging at large.
Whereupon the matter being brought into question
betwene the bishop and this cite, it was concluded
that a permutation should be made: and that there-
fore the bishops should be patrones, and haue the
gouernement of saint Johns, and the maior and his
successors to be gardians and founders of the hospi-
tall of the Magdalen; with a promise, that the protoz
of the hospitall of the Magdalen should on one daie
in euerie moneth come with his boy to saint Peters
church at the time of seruice, and there receiue and
gather the deuotion of the canons, which is vsed at
these presents. This poore house remaineth still, but
the other for want of good friends was suppressed and
dissolued. This bishop, after he had continued in his
church about nineteene yeares, he died, in the yeare
of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and
foure, and lieth buried in the middle of his owne
church vnder a plaine marble stone.

Richard
Blondie.

23 Richard Blondie, in the yeare of our Lord
one thousand two hundred fortie and foue, was conse-
crated and installed bishop, Bonifacius then being
archbishop of Canturburie. This Richard was a
man of a mild spirit, but verie stout against such as
in his time did offer anie iniurie to the church. And
in his old yeares being but a weake man, he was
much carried and ruled by such as were his officers
and about him, who taking the oportunitie of the
time, vsed all the meanes they might to enrich them-
selues. His chiefe officers were one Lodeswell his
chancellor, Sutton his register, Fitzherbert his of-
ficiall, and Ermefflow the keeper of his seale. These
with others of the chiefe seruants of his household
compacted among themselves, that whilst the bi-
shop was yet liuing, who then laie sicke and verie
weake in his bed, to make and conuene vnto them-
selues conuiances of such liuelihoods as then laie
in the bishops disposition; and accordingly made
out aduousons and other such conuiances as to
them seemed best, all which were forthwith sealed and
deliuered according to the orders among them con-
cluded. But these their subtil dealinges were not so
closelie conueied, but that the next bishop follow-
ing bolted and found the same out; and did not on-
lie reuerse all their doings, but also did ercommuni-
cat them, and who were not absolued untill they had
done their penance for the same: which was done
at saint Peters church openlie, vpon Palmesun-

day, being the nineteenth daie of March, in the yeare
of our Lord one thousand two hundred threescore and
seuen. This bishop Richard in the twelue yeare of
his bishoprike, died, and was buried in his owne
church.

24 Walter Bonnesome, archdeacon of Sur-
reie, was consecrated bishop of Exeter vpon
Paskion Sunday, in the yeare of our Lord one thou-
sand two hundred foure score and six vnder Bonifa-
cius then archbishop. He was borne in this cite of
Exon, and was the sonne of poore parents; but he be-
ing of a verie towardnesse and good disposition, and
verie apt to learning, they partlie of themselves, and
partlie by helpe of their friends, did put him to schule
and kept him to his booke, wherein he proued and pro-
spered so well that he was verie well learned. At the
time of his election he was no priest, and therefore
not capeable of anie such dignitie: but immediatlie
he took that order vpon him, and forthwith was con-
secrated bishop. All which being done within fixe ene
daies, it was counted as for a miracle; namelie, that
he should be elected bishop, then made priest, and at
last to be consecrated within that space. For so ma-
nie dignities (as they termed it) to be cast vpon one
man in so short a time, had not borne lightlie scene.
He founded the college of Glafesie in Perrin in
Cornwall, and indowed the same with faire posses-
sions and reuenues. He purchased the Barton of
Kokelton and Clift, and gaue it to the hospitall of
S. Johns within the east gate of the cite of Exe-
ter. He instituted in his owne church the feast cal-
led Gabriels feast; and gaue a peece of land for the
maintenance thereof. He also did by a policie pur-
chase the lordship and house of Clift Sachifield, and
by a deuise did enlarge the Barton thereof, by gain-
ing of Cornish wood from his deane and chapter:
and builded then a verie faire & sumptuous house,
and called it bishops Clift, which he left to his succes-
sors. Likewise he got the patronage of Clift Fo-
meson, now called Sowton, and annexed the same
to his new lordship, which (as it was said) was in this
order. He had a frier to be his chapleine and confes-
sor, which died in his said house of Clift, and should
haue bin buried at the parish church of Faringdon,
because the said house was and is in that parish: but
because the parish church was somewhat far off, the
waies foule, and the weather rainie, or for some other
causes; the bishop willed and commanded the corps
to be carried to the parish church of Sowton, then
called Clift Fomeson, which is verie nere and boy-
dereth vpon the bishops lordship: the two parishes
there being diuided by a little lake called Clift. At
this time one Fomeson a gentleman was lord and
patrone of Clift Fomeson, and he being aduertised
of such a buriall towards in his parish, and a lech
waie to be made ouer his land, without his leaue or
consent, required therein, calleth his tenants toge-
ther, and goeth to the bridge ouer the lake, betwene
the bishops land and his, and there meeteth the bi-
shops men bringing the said corps, and forbiddeth
them to come ouer the water. But the bishops men
nothing regarding the same, doe presse forwards to
come ouer the water; and the others doe withstand
and fall at strife about the matter, so long, that in the
end my lords frier is fallen into the water. The bi-
shop taketh this matter in such griefe, that a holie
frier, a religious man, and his owne chapleine and
confessor, should so vnreuerentlie be cast into the wa-
ter, that he falleth out with the gentleman, and (vpon
that occasion I know not) he saeth him in the law,
and so bereth and tormenteth him, that in the end he
was faine to yeld himselfe to the bishops deuotion,
and sealeth all waies he could to currie the bishops
good will, which he could not obtaine, untill for his re-
punction

Brte
mll

alter 23rd
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Peter Quis
will

demption he had giuen and surrendered by his patronage of Soloton with a peece of land, all which the said bishop annexeth to his new lordship. Thus by policy he purchased the manor of bishops Clift, by a deuis gaineth Cornith wood, and by power wresteth the patronage of Soloton. This bishop after he had occupied this see about thre and twentie years, died and was buried in his owne church, in a sumptuous tombe of alabastr.

25 Peter Quisill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred four score and one, was consecrated bishop of this church, under John archbishop of Canturburie. He first instituted a chanter and a subdeane in his church. To the one he impropriated Pownton and Chidleigh, and to the other the rectorie of Glosehale in Cornewall, he was a liberal and a special benefactor to the hospitall of saint Johns in Excester as well in gods as in liuelihoods, he first began to enlarge & increase his church from the chancell downewards, and laid the foundation thereof. In his time in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred four score and five, Walter Richlade the first chanter was slaine in a morning as he came from the morning seruice, then called the Matins, which was then wont to be said shortly after midnight. Upon which occasion the king came vnto this citie, and kept his Christmasse in the same, and thereupon a composition was made betwene the bishop and the citie for inclosing of the churchyard, and building of certeine gates there, as appereth by the said composition bearing date in *Festo annuntiationis beate Marie* 1286. The king at the sute of the earle of Hereford, who at his being here was lodged in the house of the Greie friers, which then was nere the house of S. Nicholas, obtained of the bishop, that they should be removed from thence to a more wholesome place, which was to the place without the south gate: wherof after the kings departure grew some controuersie, because the bishop refused to performe his promise made to the king. This man also impropriated the parish of S. Petroleine, and the parish of Stoke Cabzill, and vntied the same to the office of the chancelor of the cathedrall church; & vnder condition, that the said chancelor should continually read a lecture within the said citie, of diuinitie or of the decretals: and if he should faile to do this, that then it might and should be lawfull to the bishop to resigne the said parsonages impropriated, and to bestow it at his pleasure, as appereth by the said grant vnder the seales of the said bishop, deane and chapter, dated the twelue of the calendrs of Maie 1287. This bishop not long after, and in the eleuenth yeare of his bishoprike, died, being choked in drinke of a sirrup, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and two, & was buried in his owne church. The Franciscans or Greie friers of this citie imputed his death to his hard dealing with them. For whereas he had promised the king to provide a conuenient place for them to build their house in, and had willed their warden named Deodatus, to seeke out and make inquirie for the same: yet notwithstanding when he had so done, because the same was in his see, he did swarne from his said promise, and did vtterlie denie to performe the same, by the persuation of one Peter Benefeld, a Dominican or Blacke frier, and Confessor vnto the said bishop. For he enuiling the good successe of the Franciscans, perswadeth with the bishop, that in no wise he should permit them to intop the place which they had gotten, nor to build therein, because it was within his see: for saith he, as vnder colour of simplicitie they creepe into the hearts of the people, and hinder vs poore preachers from our games and liuinge; so be ye sure, that if the canons put foot within your libertie, they

will in time so intrench vpon the same, as that they will be cleane exempted from out of your libertie, and iurisdiction. The bishop being some perswaded and contented contrarie to his promise to yeld therunto, denieth the Franciscans; and vtterlie forbiddeth them to build or to do anie thing within his see or libertie. About two yeares after, the bishop kept a great feast vpon the sundaie next before saint Francis daie, and among others was present with him one Walter Winborne one of the kings chiefe iustices of the bench; and who was present when the bishop at the request of the king made promise to further and to helpe the Franciscans, and who in their behalfe did now put the bishop in mind thereof, and requested him to haue consideration both of his owne promise and of their distresse. The bishop misliking these speeches, waxed somewhat warme and offended, and in open termes did not onelie denie to yeld herevnto, but wished himselfe to be choked what daie soeuer he did consent or yeld vnto it. It fortuned that the same weeke, and vpon the daie of saint Francis eue, the bishop toke a certeine sirrup to drinke, and in too haste swallowing thereof his breath was stopped, and he forthwith died. The Franciscans hearing thereof, made no little ado about this matter, but blazed it abroad that saint Francis wrought this miracle vpon the bishop, because he was so hard against them.

26 Thomas Bitton the yeare following was elected bishop, & the see of Canturburie being void, he was consecrated by John Roman archbishop of Yorke. He left no memoiall of anie great things done by him, sauing that he continued in the building of his church; as also was a fauourer of such learned men as were in his diocesse in his time: namely Robert Plimpton a regular canon of Plimpton, and professor of diuinitie, and who wrote two booke, Walter of Cron a Franciscane frier of Carocus in Cornewall, who at the request of one Baldwin of Excester wrote the historie of Cuse of Hartwolke; William of Excester doctor of diuinitie and warden of the Franciscane friers of this citie; Godfrie surnamed Cornewall, a subtil scholeman, and a reader of diuinitie sometimes in Paris. This bishop, after fouretene yeares that he had occupied this see, died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thre hundred and six, and was buried in his owne church.

27 Walter Stapledon, in the yere of our Lord one thousand thre hundred and seauen, being elected bishop of this citie, was consecrated by Robert Winchelsie archbishop of Canturburie. He descended of a most noble parentage, which ioined with his learning, wisdom, & politike head, did him great credit and fauour with the king, who had him not onelie one of his priue counsell, but also made him lord tresuroz of England. At his inthronization or installing he kept a solemne obseruation. For being come first to the citie, immediatlie after his consecration, as soone as he came to the east gate, he alighted from his horse, and went in on foot, all the street being covered and laied with blacke cloth; he was led on both sides with two men of worship: and sir Hugh Courtneie knight, who claimed to be steward of his feast, went next before him. The feast it selfe was vertie sumptuous and liberall. A controuersie was betwene him & the said sir Hugh Courtneie, concerning his challenge to be his steward, but it was compounded and ended. This bishop as he grew and increased in wealth, so he was carefull in the well disposing of part therof. For the increase of learning he builded and erected two houses in Excester, the one named Stapledons inne, but since Excester college, the other Hart hall. He was also a special

et all benefactor vnto the hospitall of saint Johns in
 Crester, vnto the which, for the relieuing of certein
 poore children therein, he impropriated the rectorie of
 personage of Ernescome. In the controuersie be-
 twene his maister king Edward the second, and
 Charles the French king, he was sent ambassadour
 to the French king, and ioined in commission with
 the queene, for the treatie of a peace and reconcilia-
 tion: which though it were obtained, yet he ioining
 with the Spencers, who fauoured not the queene, he
 returned into England; leaving the queene behind
 him. And whereas they praidesed what they could, to
 put enimitie betwene the king and hir; and to set
 hir besides the cushion, they themselves fell into the
 same snares, which they had laid for others. For not
 long after, the queene, by the helpe of the earle of He-
 nauld, and of sir John his brother, came into Eng-
 land with a great armie. Whereof the king and the
 Spencers, being affraied, departed from London
 to Wilsow, leaving the bishop at London, and made
 him custos of the same; who requiring the keyes of
 the gates of the citie of the mayor, the commoners
 toke him and beheaded him, as also his brother sir
 Richard Stapledon, in Cheapside, and carried his
 bodie to his house without Templebar, & there bu-
 ried it in a sandhill; namelie the fifteenth of October
 in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred
 twentie and nine. But the queene forgetting all dis-
 courtesies, and reuerencing his calling, commanded
 his corpes to some more honourable buriall: where-
 upon the same was taken vp, and brought to this ci-
 tie, and with great solemnitie was buried in his
 owne church, vpon the eight and twentieth of March,
 where his epitaph by the writer thereof is set. Thus
 after that he had bene bishop about twentie yeares,
 he ended his daies.

James
 Warklele.

28 James Warklele, vpon the six and twentieth
 of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three
 hundred twentie and seauen, before the buriall of his
 predecessor in his owne church, was consecrated bi-
 shop of this citie. He descended of the noble house of
 the lord Warklele, and albeit he were reputed to be
 a verie goodlie and a wise man, yet he had no time to
 yeld the trial thereof. For he died in the fourth mo-
 neth after his consecration, vpon the foure & twen-
 tith daie of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord one thou-
 sand three hundred twentie and seauen, and was bu-
 ried in his owne church as some say, but some thinke
 he neuer came hither at all.

John Gran-
 derson.

29 John Granderson, being in Italie with pope
 John the two & twentieth. After the death of James
 Warklele, the king presented him vnto the pope, who
 accepted the presentation, & consecrated him bishop
 of this diocese on the eight of October, Anno 1327.
 He was borne and descended of the ancient house of
 the Grandersons, dukes of Burgognie, his father
 was named Gilbert, the brother of who the great
 lord Granderson. Which Gilbert comming into this
 land, was well interteined by the king and nobilitie,
 and had a good liking of the countrie, that by meanes
 of Henrie earle of Lancaster, with whome he came
 into England, he married ladie Sibill, daughter
 and one of the heires to John Regos, lord of the cas-
 tle of Ewas, nere Hereford cast, and by hir had is-
 sue three sonnes, and foure daughters; of which this
 bishop was one, and was borne in the parish of Ash-
 perton, in the diocese of Hereford. He was from
 his childhood verie well affected to learning, and be-
 came a good scholar and professor of diuinitie, of which
 method he wrote two books, the one intituled *Pontifi-
 cales maiores*, and the other *Pontificales minores*. He was
 also verie graue, wise, and politike, and thereby grew
 into such credit with pope John the two and twen-
 tith, that he was not onelie of his priue councill,

but also *Nuntius apostolicus sedis*; and in all matters of
 weight and importance an ambassadour for him to
 the emperour, to the kings of Spaine, of France,
 of England, and of all others the mightiest princes
 of christendome. And being on a time sent in an
 ambassage to king Edward the third, he did with
 such wisdom and grauitie behaue himselfe, that
 the king was rauished in loue with him; and did so
 tenderlie loue and fauour him, that he neuer ceased,
 untill he had procured him from the pope, and then he
 gaue him the archdeaconrie of Bottingham, and be-
 stowed great livings on him. He made him one of
 his priue councill, and in the end preferred him to
 this bishoprike. After this, there being some disliking
 betwene pope Clement the first, and the king; he for
 his approued wisdom was sent in an ambassage
 to the pope, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand
 three hundred fortie and three, for an intreatie of a
 peace and an amitie betwene them to be had; and
 with such wisdom he did his message, that he obtai-
 ned his purpose, and made a reconciliation. After
 his returne home to his bishoprike, he was altoge-
 ther giuen in doing some good things. He builded &
 founded the college of saint Marie Otreie, and in-
 dowed the same with great and goodlie liuelihoods,
 he was a liberall benefactor to the vicars cho:all of
 his owne church, as also to the college of Glasneie in
 Perrin; he builded the two last arches in the west
 end of his church, vaulted the rofe of all the church,
 and fullie performed and ended the buildings of the
 same, and then intriched his said church with plate,
 ornaments, and great riches. Also he builded a verie
 faire house in his sanctuarie at bishops Zeington,
 which he gaue and left full furnished vnto his succe-
 ssors, and did impropriate vnto the same the par-
 nage of Radwate, to the end as he setteth downe in
 his testament, *Et habere locum unde caput suum reclina-
 rent, si forte in manum regis eorum temporalia caperentur*:
 and which his halkening in the end came partlie to
 effect. For not onelie the most part of the temporal-
 ties of this bishoprike, but this new builded house
 and impropriation are come to be the possessions
 and inheritances of temporall men. This bishop was
 red old, and feeling in himselfe a decate of nature,
 made his last will and testament, wherein he made
 such large and bountious legacies to the pope, em-
 perour, king, queene, archbishop, bishops, colleges,
 churches, and to sundrie persons of high estates and
 callings; that a man would maruell, considering
 his great and chargeable buildings & works other-
 wise, how and by what meanes he could haue attai-
 ned to such a masse of wealth and riches; but his wis-
 dome and policie considered, it was easie. For first,
 he sequestereth from himselfe and out of his house
 the trope of mantle men and hories, reteining and
 keeping no more than to serue his reasonable estate;
 his diet was frugall, his receipts great, his expenses
 no more than necessarie. Moreover, he had taken
 and set an order with all the ecclesiasticall persons of
 his diocese, that at the time of their deaths, they
 should leaue and bequeath all their goods to him or to
 some other in trust, *In pios usus*, & towards his charge-
 able buildings; and so well he was beloued, and his
 doings liked, that they all accepted this his order: by
 meanes whereof he grew within the course of fortie
 yeares to infinite wealth and riches. He was in all
 his life time a plaine man, and void of all vaine glo-
 rie and pompe; and preuenting that none should be
 vled at his buriall, commanded the same to be done
 plainelie & simple; and that none of his executors,
 chapleins, seruants, nor none of his household should
 weare ante mourning blacke cloths at the same, but
 onelie their accustomable & common apparel, which
 then was commonlie greie coloured cloths, & his
 1 shop

John
 Gran-
 derson.

bishop was no lesse graue and wise, than stout and of courage, if occasion did so require. And amongst other things this is reported of him; that about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, Simon Epesham, then archbishop of Canturburie, sent his mandatum to this bishop, that he would visit his church & diocese upon mondaie next after Ascension daie then following. This bishop (upon that occasion it is not written) did refuse this mandatum, and appealed from the same, aduertising the archbishop that he should not visit his church nor diocese. Notwithstanding, the archbishop at the time appointed came to this citie, and went to St. Peters church, nothing thinking that anie durst to withstand him. But the bishop knowing of his coming, goeth to the church doore, meeteth the archbishop, and forbiddeth him to enter into his church; but the archbishop pressing forward, as with force to enter, the bishop being then well garbed, denied and resisted him: wherupon the archbishop departed, and after at a prouinciall counsell holden at London, the archbishop complained hereof, but by meanes of the like discord betwene him & his suffragans, he prevailed not. In this bishops time one William of Excester, a verie well learned man, was a canon of this church; and he joining with Nicholas de Cesena, Dieham, Wallingham, and others, did openlie preach, that Christ and his apostles were but poe men, and had no temporall possessions: neither was anie emperor or late man subiect to the pope, but onlie in matters of religion. But when he heard that pope John the thirde and twentieth had excommunicated, and would condemne them all for heretikes; this William, to save his livings, secretlie thronke a waie from his old companions, and changed his copie, and writeth certeine conclusions against them and his owne preachings. Also in this bishops time, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fortie, one John of Hampton, so named, because he was bozne at Hampton, in this diocese, and a monke of the order of the Carmelites, was a verie good scholar, and first did openlie read Aristotle in the vniuersitie of Cambridge; where he was a scholar; and afterwards he studied diuinitie, and was made doctor: he wrote certeine booke, which are not extant. This bishop, after that he had occupied this church about two and fortie yeares, he died upon St. Swithins daie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred fiftie and nine, and was buried in a chappell which he builded in the west wall of his owne church.

Thomas
Brentingham.

30 Thomas Brentingham, after the death of this John Grandisson, was at one instant chosen bishop of Excester and bishop of Hereford, who refusing the one toke the other, and was consecrated bishop of Excester upon the tenth daie of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and seauentie, being the feast daie of Perceus and Achilles, William of Worcester then archbishop of Canturburie. This Thomas was a man verie well learned, and experted both in ecclesiasticall matters, and in politike gouernement, and in both these respects greatlie reuerenced and esteemed; and for that cause, at the parlement holden at Westminster, in the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, was chosen one of the twelue peers of the realme vnder the king. He was a benefactor to the Calenderhale of the vicars chorall of his owne church, and performed and supplied in buildings and otherwise, what his predecessors had left undone. And hauing bene bishop foure and twentie yeares, he died the third of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1394, and was buried in the north side of the bodie of his owne church.

31 Edmund Stafford upon the twentieth daie of June, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and nine, was consecrated at Lambeth by William Courtnaie archbishop of Canturburie. He was bozne and descended of noble parentage, being brother to Ralfe lord Stafford created earle of Stafford by king Edward the third; he was both wise and learned, and for his wisdom grew into great credit with the king, and was both of his priue counsell, as also lord chancellor of England. At the parlement holden at Westminster, the one and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, he being then speaker of the higher house, made a verie learned and pithie oration, to proue the absolute authoritie of a king: his theme was, *Res vna erit omnibus*. And hauing discoursed at large of the authoritie of a king, he did conclude; *Quod potestas regis esset sui sola, unita, annexa, solida*; and whosoever did by anie meanes impeach the same, *Pana legis merito esset peccandum*. And for the furtherance of good letters, he did increase two fellowships in the college of Stapledons inne in Orford, reformed the statutes of the house, and altered the name of it, and called it Excester college. After that he had continued bishop in much honor about three and twentie yeares, he died the fourth of September, being the seuenth yeare of king Henrie the fift, and lieth buried in his owne church in a verie faire towe of alabaster.

32 James Carie bishop of Chester, then being at Florence when news was brought to pope Martin the fift of the said late bishop Staffords death, was there made bishop of this church, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and ninetene, and also consecrated; but long he inioied not his office, for there he died, and was buried.

James
Carie.

33 Edmund Lacie bishop of Hereford was translated from thence vnto this church in the feast of Easter, and in the eight yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fift, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred and twentie. He was a man verie deuout and religious, but subiect to flatterers, who carried him to their pleasure; he was a liberall benefactor vnto the vicar of Calenderhale. Great contentions were betwene him and the citis for liberties, which by arbitrement were compounded. He founded the chapter house in his owne church. He was a professor of diuinitie, and verie well learned. For in the second yeare of his bishops like, being the ninth yeare of the kings reigne, there was a parlement holden at Westminster, in which great complaints were made against the lose and dissolute life of the religious men, and especiallie the blake monks. And this matter being brought to the conuocation house, this bishop as chiefe prologuist of that assemblie, did make a verie learned and a pithie oration before the king, then of purpose present, and the whole cleargie, much lamenting that the religious men were so far strated from the rules of their professions, and the holiness of their predecessors. And when he had at large discoursed the same, he deliuered by certeine articles in writing, praying for reformation. Which his speeches were so effectualle vttered, and his articles so pithilie penned, that both the king and the clergie did not onelie with great liking and allowance praise and commend the same; but also toke order that there should be a prouinciall counsell called out of hand for a reformation. Which was then promised, but not performed, by reason of the kings death, which not long after followed. But yet in the waie of good speed, it was then concluded and agreed, that euerie third benefice, being of the gift of anie of the prelates, or of anie monasterie, should from thenceforth for seauen yeares

Edmund
Lacie.

be given to some scholar of Exford of Cambridge. This bishop, after he had lived thus and thirtie yeares in this bishopricke, died and was buried in the north wall of the quere in his owne church. After whose death manie miracles were said and deuised to be done at his tombe, whereupon great pilgrimages were made by the common people to the same.

George Penill.

34 George Penill succeeded Edmund Lacie, and was consecrated in the feast of saint Katharine, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and siue, he was of a noble parentage, being the second son of Richard Penill earle of Sarisburie, he finished and ended the chapter house which his predecessor had begun. And after that he had bene bishop about ten yeares, he was remoued to Pothe, and made archbishop there, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thre score and siue.

John Both.

35 John Both, after the translation of George Penill to Pothe, was consecrated bishop vnder Thomas Warcher archbishop of Canturburie, vpon the two and twentieth date of februarye, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred thre score and six. He was by profession a ciuillian, and a bachelor of the same, he gouerned his church verie well, and builded (as some suppose) the bishops see in the quere. But being werie of the great troubles which were in this countrie betwene king Edward the fourth and the earle of Marwike, he remoued from hence to his house of Worleigh in Hamshire, where in the twelue yere of his bishopricke he died, vpon the first of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred seuentie and eight, and lieth buried at saint Clements in London.

Peter Courtneie.

36 Peter Courtneie, immediatlie after the death of John Both, was presented to this bishopricke, and consecrated by Thomas archbishop of Canturburie in November, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred seuentie and seuen at saint Stephens in Westminster; he was the son of sir Philip Courtneie of Wotwetherham, his mother was named Elisabeth, daughter to Walter lord Hungerford. He for his wisdom and good behauiour was in great fauor & credit with king Henrie the seauenth, by whose means he was translated from this church to Winchester, in the ninth yeare of his being bishop here, and in the first yeare of his being there he died, vpon the twentieth date of December, in the yere one thousand foure hundred ninetie and one, and lieth buried in his owne church. He finished the north tower of saint Peters, and gave the cloke bell which is in the same, and which beareth the name Peter.

Richard For.

37 Richard For, vpon the remouing of Peter Courtneie, was consecrated bishop of this church, vnder Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred thre score and six. He was a verie wise man, and in great credit and estimation with king Henrie the seuenth, vnto whome he was a faithfull counsellor, and of his counsell; with whom he acquainted himselfe at Paris, when he was there a student. For king Henrie then erle of Richmond, being at Venice, and aduertised how the nobilitie of England was bent to haue him for their king, came from thence to Paris, and sought vnto Charles then king of France for aid and helpe: in which the earle his sutes this For was a speciall traveller and counsellor; and in the end, God giuing the success, the erle obtained the crowne, and hauing had due triall of the fidelitie, wisdom, & trust of this bishop, he made him lord priue seale; and kept and used him & his aduise in all his weightie matters as well at home as abroad. He being ambassador sundrie times to the kings of France and Scotland, and of a verie hartie good will and loue, the king made him godfather to his second son king

Henrie the eight. There was a kind of emulation, betwene this bishop and the earle of Surreie, both of them being verie wise and of great seruice to the king and commonwealth: howbeit, in some diuersitie of respects, the one hauing no issue to care for, did deale without anie priuate affection or singular gaine; and the other hauing issue, was desirous to aduance his house and honor. These affections did breed some dislike betwene them two, yet the king finding a fault vnto himselfe, and a commoditie to the commonwealth, misliked it not, if the same exceeded his measure: and they more warne than commendable for their callings and estates. The king then of the counsell would deale betwene them for the appeasing and pacifying of them, and to them he was both friendlie, louing, and liberall. The one he deliuered out of the tower, pardoned him of his offenses, restored him to his lands, reuelued him into speciall fauor, made him of his priue counsell, as also lord treasurer of England, and his generall into Scotland, & augmented his liuelihoods. The other he first made bishop to this church, then remoued him to Bath, and from thence vnto Durham, and lastlie vnto Winchester. Erasmus, in his booke intituled The preacher or Ecclesiastes, declareth both that the king vpon a time, wanting some peece of monie, was to borrow the same of the commons, and of the clergie. And for the dealings with the clergie, the matter was by commission committed to this bishop. Who when they came before him, used all the excuses that they could, to shift the miselues from lending of anie monie. Some came verie semelie and well apparelled, and awaited vpon by their men, according to their liuelihoods; and these alledged, that they were greatlie charged in hospitalitie and house keeping, with other charges incident to the same, so that they had no monie, & therefore could paie none. Some came porrelie and barelie apparelled, and they alledged that their liuelihoods were but small, and yet their charges were great, and by that meanes the world was so hard with them that they had it not to spare. This bishop, hauing heard all these excuses, bled this dilemme. To the richer sort he said; For so much as you are so well and semelie apparelled, and doe keepe so great houses, and haue all things necessarie about you; it is a manifest argument, that you haue some store about you, or else you would not be as ye doe: and therefore ye must needs lend. To the other, who pretended excuse of their pouertie, he thus replied vnto them; that for so much as they were so bare in their apparell, and so sparing of their expenses, it must needs be that they saued their purses and had monie, and therefore they must needs paie, and so adiudged them to lend vnto the princes. Now as he arose by learning, so he was a great fauor and furtherer of learning: and for the good increase of the same he builded and founded Corpus Christi college in Orenford. In his latter daies he waied and was blind, and dieng in Winchester, he was there buried in his owne church, after that he had bene bishop of Excester six yeres, he was remoued to Bath, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred ninetie and two.

38 Oliver King, immediatlie vpon the transferring of bishop For, was consecrated bishop of this church, in februarye, one thousand foure hundred ninetie and two, John Porton then archbishop of Canturburie. This Oliver was chapleine to king Henrie the seuenth, and deane of Winchester, and regisler of the order of the garter. In his time were the rebellions of Ioseph the blacke smith in Cornwell, and of Perken Warbecke. This bishop after that he had occupied this see about siue yeares, he died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred

Richard
Gresman.

John W.
man. cl.

Hugh W.
lan.

Oliver King

died ninetie and seven, and (as some suppose) he was buried at Windsor.

Richard
Medman.

39 Richard Medman, immediately upon the death of bishop Oliver King, was translated from his bishopricke in Wales to this citie: but after five yeares he was removed unto the bishopricke of Ely, and installed there in September in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and one. He was a gentleman borne, and descended of a verie worshipfull house, which joined with his wisdom and learning, did much increase his credit and good report.

John
Arundell.

40 John Arundell, next after the translation of bishop Medman, was removed from Countreie and Lichfield unto this citie, and was installed the fiftenth of March, one thousand five hundred and one. Wherein he sought not the preferment for any likelihoods, but rather desirous to be a dweller and resident in his countreie where he was borne: for he was descended of the Arundells of Lanherne in Cornewall, a house of great antiquitie and worship. He long enjoyed not his new bishopricke, for after two yeares after his installing, he had occasion to ride unto London, and there died, and was buried in S. Clements church without Templebar, in the yeare one thousand five hundred and three.

Hugh
Oldham.

41 Hugh Oldham, upon the death of Arundell, by the preferment of the countesse of Richmond and Derby, unto whom he was chapleine, was preferred unto this bishopricke, and installed in the same. He was a man having more zeale than knowledge, and more deuotion than learning; somewhat rough in speeches, but friendly in doings. He was careful in the saving and defending of his liberties, for which continuall suites was betwene him and the abbat of Cantuoke: he was liberall to the vicars chorall of his church, and reduced them to the keeping of commons, and towards the maintenance thereof he gaue them certaine reuenues, and impropriated vnto them the rectorie of Cornewood. He albeit (of himselfe) he were not learned; yet a great fauourer and a furtherer of learning and of learned men. Notwithstanding, he was sometime crossed in his honest attempt therein. He first was minded to haue enlarged Excester college in Oxford, as well in buildings as in fellowships: but after being a requester to the fellows for one Atkins to be a fellow, in whose fauour he had written his letters and was denied, he changed his mind, and his good will was alienated. About the same time doctor Smith bishop of Lincoln was building of the college named Walsenose, and was verie willing and desirous to ioine with him: but being denied to haue the nomination of a founder, his mind was changed. Not long after, being aduertised that bishop For of Winchester was minded to erect & found a new college, he ioined with him, and contributed vnto him a great masse of monie, and so a college was builded for scholars, and great likelihoods provided for them: & then the house was named *Corpus Christi* college. Whereof the one of them bare the name of a founder, and the other of a benefactor. Whotbeit, some diuersitie was betwene these two bishops at the first, to what vse this college should be imployed. For the founder was of the mind that he would haue made it for a house of monks; but the benefactor was of the contrarie mind, and would haue it for scholars, alleging that monks were but a sort of buzzing flies, & whose state could not long indure; whereas scholars brought vp in learning would be profitable members to the commonwealth, and good ornaments to the church of God, and continue for ever. The founder being a wise man, and of a deepe iudgement, when he had paused and considered hereof, yielded hereunto: and so it was concluded betwene them to make and

build a college for scholars. And forthwith for the good direction, guiding, and gouernment of the said college and scholars; such wise, good, & politike statutes and ordinances were by good advice and counsell devised, established, and ordeined; as whereby the said college hath bene, and yet continueth one of the best nurseries for training and instructing of good scholars in learning within that vniuersitie. This bishop and the abbat of Cantuoke did still contend and continue in law during their liues: and during which sute this bishop died, being excommunicated at Rome, and who could not be suffered to be buried, untill an absolution from Rome was procured for him. After that he had bene bishop about sixtene yeares, he died the five and twentieth of June, one thousand five hundred and ninetene, and was buried in his owne church.

John Wolfe.

42 John Wolfe, otherwise Harman, succeeded Oldham, by the preferment of king Henrie the eight, whose chapleine he then was, and deane of his chapell as also of this church; he was doctor of the lawes, verie well learned and wise, and in great fauour with the king, who sent him sundrie times in ambassages to foreine princes; he was lord president of Wales, & had the gouernment of the kings onlie daughter ladie Marie princeesse of Wales. Of all the bishops in the land he was accounted the courtliest and the best courtier. And although he were well reported for his learning, yet better liked for his courtlike behaviour, which in the end turned not so much to his credit, as to the utter ruine and spoile of the church: for of two and twentie lordships and manors, which his predecessors had annexed vnto him, of a goodlie yearelie reuenue he left but thre, & them also leased out. And where he found fouretene houses well furnished, he left onlie one house bare and without furniture, and yet charged with sundrie fees and annuities; and by these means this bishopricke, which sometimes was counted one of the best, is now become in temporall lands one of the meanest, and according to the foreprophesying of bishop Grandisson, a place scarce left for the bishop to laie and rest his head in; and yet neuertheless he was a great fauourer of learned men, and especially of diuines, whom he preferred in his church aboue others. He was verie bountious and liberall vnto all men, but especially vnto courtiers, vnto his owne kindred and countriemen. Upon manie he bestowed much, to the confusion of some of them; and upon the others he spent much by building of a towne called Sutton Colshull where he was borne, which he procured to be incorporated, and made a market towne, and set vp therein making of hearths, but all which in the end came to small effect. In his time, after the death of king Henrie the eight, there was an alteration of religion by king Edward the first, whereof ensued a rebellion & commotion in this diocese: which in some part was imputed to this bishop, because he laie farre from it, and dwelled in his owne countreie. Whereupon he resigned the bishopricke into the kings hands, after that he had bene bishop about thirtie yeares, and liued by the rents of the temporalltie of the bishopricke, which when he alienated and discontinued, he did receiue vnto him for terme of his owne life.

43 Miles Couerdale, after the resignation of Wolfe, was by king Edward made bishop of this citie, & consecrated at Lambeth by Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Cantuarburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and fiftie. He was borne in the north countreie, and from his childhood giuen to learning, wherein he profited verie much: he was one of the first which professed the gospel in this land in the time of king Henrie the eight, he translated

Wolfe's
uerdale.

translated the bible out of the Hebrew into English, and wrote sundrie books upon the scriptures. Which doctrine being verie new and strange in those daies, and he verie freighthie pursued by the bishops, made his escape, & passed over into low Germanie, where he printed the bibles of his translation and sent them over into England, and therof made his gaine wherby he lived. But the bishops, namelie D. Stokeslee bishop of London, when he heard hereof, and minding to prevent that no such bibles should be dispersed within this realme, made inquirie where they were to be sold, and bought them all up, supposing that by this meanes no more bibles would be had: but contrarie to his expectation it fell out otherwisse. For the same monie which the bishop gave for these books, was sent over by the merchant unto this Couerdale, and by that meanes he was of that wealth and abilitie, that he imprinted as manie more and sent them over into England; but he was then so narrowlie sought for, that he was driven to remove himselfe out of Flanders into Germanie, and dwelled under the Halsegrau of Rhene, where he found much fauour. First he taught young children, and having learned the Dutch tong, the prince Palatine gave him a benefice, named Burghsaber, where he continued and lived verie well, partlie by that benefice, and partlie by the liberalitie of the lord Cromwell, who was his good lord and relased him verie much. At length, when the religion was altered in England, and the gospel had a free passage, he returned & did verie much good in preaching of the same. And when the commotion in Denon was for religion, he was appointed to attend the lord Russell, when he came to suppress the same, and verie worthie for his learning and godlie life was made bishop of this see: who most worthilie did performe the office committed unto him. He preached continually upon everie holie daie, and did read most commonlie twice in the weeke in some one church or other within this countie. He was after the rate of his livings a great keeper of hospitalitie, verie sober in diet, godlie in life, friendlie to the godlie, liberrall to the poore, and courteous to all men, void of pride, full of humilitie, abhorring covetousnesse, and an enemy to all wickednesse and wicked men: whose companies he shunned, and whom he would in no wise shewld or have in his house and companie. His wife a most sober, chaste, and godlie matrone; his house and household another church, in which was exercised all godlinesse and vertue. No one person being in his house, which did not from time to time give an account of his faith and religion, and also did live accordingly. And as he had a care for the successe in religion, so had he also for the direction of the gouernement in ecclesiasticall causes. And because he was not skilfull therein, neither would he be hindered from his godlie studies, and be incombered with such worldly matters, which neuertheles he would haue be done in all by rightnesse, iustice, and equitie; he sent to Drford for a learned man to be his chancelor, and by the ministerie of the writer hereof he procured and obtained one master Robert Weston doctor of the ciuill law, & afterwards lord chancelor of Ireland, unto whom he committed his consistorie, and the whole charge of his ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, allowing unto him, not onelie all the fees thereunto appertaining, but also lodged and found him, his wife, familie, house, and man, within his owne house, and gaue him a yearelie pension of forty pounds. And surelie the bishop was no more godlie and carefull of his part, concerning preaching; but this man also was as diligent and seuer in doing of his office, without reproch of being affectionated or corrupted. And notwithstanding this good man, now a blamelesse bi-

shop, lived most godlie and vertuous: yet the common people, whose old bottels would receiue no new wine, could not brooke nor digest him; for no other cause, but because he was a preacher of the gospel, an enemy to papistrie, & a married man. Many devices were attempted against him for his confusion, sometimes by false suggestions, sometimes by open railings, and false libels; sometimes by secret backbitings, and in the end practised his death by imprisoning: but by Gods prouidence the snares were broken and he deliuered. After that he had bene bishop about thre peares king Edward died, and then quene Marie hauing the crowne, the religion was altered, and he deposed. And notwithstanding the malice of prelats and archpapistes was most bitter against him, and who had sworn his death: yet by the goodness of God he was most miraculously preserved, and deliuered from out of their hands, at the sute and by the meanes of the king of Denmarke: who so earnestlie sued, & so often wrote to the quene for him, that he was deliuered and sent unto him; with whom after that he had staied a while, he went againe into Germanie to the Halsegrau, who most louinglie receiued him, placed him againe in his former benefice of Burghsaber, where he continued untill the death of quene Marie. And then the preaching of the gospel being againe receiued, & hauing a free passage, he returned into England; but would neuer returne to his bishopricke, notwithstanding it was referred for him, & sundrie times offered him; but lived a priuat life, continuing in London, preaching & teaching the gospel, so long as the strength of his bodie would permit; and at length being verie old and stricken in yeares, he died, and was honourably buried at saint Agnes church in London.

44 John Wolfe, after the deprivation of Miles Couerdale, was restored to this church, and for the better setting of the Romish religion did here staie for a while: but his mind was addicted to his owne countrie, that he returned thither, and made his owne abode there, practising there what he could, to haue the making of heresies to come to some effect; but the same being more chargeable than profitable, came to small profe. This man being verie old died in his owne house, with a pang, and was buried in his parish church there, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and five.

45 James Trobrield succeeded bishop Wolfe, and was consecrated in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie & six. he was a gentleman boyne, and of a good house, verie gentle and courteous; he professed diuinitie, but most zelous in the Romish religion, & yet nothing cruel nor blowdie. And yet that he might not seeme to do nothing, he was contented to prosecute and condemne a gentle poore selie woman, named Agnes Picest for religion and heresie, & who was burned in Southwicheam for the same. It was laied to his charge (as doth appeare by an indictment taken at Lancaster, Die lune in quarta septimana quadragesime, anno Philippi & Maria secundo & tertio, before William Stanford then iustice of the assise) that she should denie the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, and that the same was but a signe and a figure of Christs bodie, and that none doth eat reallie the bodie of Christ but spirituallie. He was verie carefull to recover some part of the lands of his bishopricke, which his predecessor wasted, and did obtaine of quene Marie, to him and to his successors, the fee farme of the manor of Crediton. After that he had bene bishop about two yeares, quene Marie died; and he was deposed, and lived after a priuat life.

46 William Alie, in the second yeare of quene Elisabeth, was chosen bishop, and installed the first of August,

John Wolfe

James Trobrield

William Stanford

1. Sec

2.

August, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and one. In all queene Maries time, which were called the Marian daies, he trauelled from place to place in the north countrie, where he was not knowne; and sometimes by practising of physike, and sometimes by teaching of scholars, he picked out a poore living for himselfe and his wife, and so continued, being not knowne to haue bene a priest, during all queene Maries time: after whose death he went to London, and there did read diuinitie lecture in Pauls churche learnedlie, and to his great commendation; and from thence he was taken and made bishop of this citie. He was verie well learned vniuersallie, but his chiefe studie and profession was in diuinitie, and in the tonges. And being bishop, he debated no part of his former trauels, but spent his time verie godlie and vertuouslie. Upon euerie holie daie (for the most part) he preached, and vpon the weeke daies he would and did read a lecture of diuinitie; the residue of his time, and free from his necessarie businesse, he spent in his priuat studies, and wrote sundrie books, whereof his prelections or lectures which he did read in Pauls, and his poore mans librarie he caused to be impainted: the like he would haue done with his Hebrie grammar, and other his works, if he had liued. He was well storied, and his librarie well replenished with all the best sort of writers, which most gladlie he would impart and make open to euerie good scholar and student, whose companie and conference he did most desire & embrace. He seemed at the first appearance to be a rough and an austere man, but in verie truth, a verie courteous, gentle, and an affable man; at his table full of honest speeches, joined with learning and pleasantnesse, according to the time, place, and companie. All his exercises, which for the most part was at bowles, verie merrie and pleasant, void of all fadnesse, which might abate the benefit of recreation; loth to offend, readie to forgive, void of malice, full of loue, bountifull in hospitalitie, liberrall to the poore, and a succourer of the needie, faithfull to his friend, and courteous to all men; a hater of couetousnesse, and an enemie to all euill and wicked men, and liued an honest, a godlie, and vertuous life. Finally, he was indued with manie notable good gifts and vertues, onelie he was somewhat credulous, of a hasty belêse, and light of credit, which he did oftentimes mislike & blame in himselfe. In his latter time he waied somewhat grosse, and his bodie full of humors, which did abate much of his wonted exercises: and hauing bene bishop about eight yeares, he died the first of Aprill one thousand five hundred and seauentie, and was buried in his owne church.

William
Babdydye.

47 William Babdydye, deane of Sarisburie, was the next bishop, and consecrated at Lambeth by Matthew Parker archbishop of Cantuarburie, the eighteenth of March one thousand five hundred and seauentie: he was a professor of diuinitie, but not taken to be so well grounded as he persuaded himselfe, he was zealous in religion, but not so forward as he was wished to be. In his latter daies he delighted to dwell in the countrie, which was not so much to his liking, as troublesome to his clergie, & to such as had anie lutes vnto him. It was thought he died verie rich, but after his death it proued otherwise: he died suddenly, no bodie being about him, at Newton Ferris, the ninth yeare of his bishopricke, vpon the nine and twentieth of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1578, and was buried in his owne church. Thus farre the collection of Iohn Hooker, agreeing with the records.]

L. Stow.

The seuenteenth daie of Iulie the queenes maie.

He being on the river of Thames, about nine of the clocke at night (betwixt his highnesse manour of Greenwich & Dartford) in his priate barge, accompanied with the French ambassador, the earle of Lincolne, and maister vicechamberlaine; it chanced that one Thomas Appletree, a pong man, and seruant to maister Gentrie Carie, with two or three others, being in a bate on the Thames, rowing by and downe betwixt the places aforesaid: the foresaid Thomas had a calliet or harquebus charged with bullet, and shooting at random, by misfortune shot one of the watermen, being the second man next vnto the dales of the said barge (which sat within the bow of his highnesse) cleane through both armes, and moued him out of his place. For the which fact the said Thomas being apprehended and condemned to death, was on the one and twentieth of Iulie brought to the water side; where was a gibbet set vp, directly placed betwixt Dartford and Greenwich. When the hangman had put the halter about his necke, the right honorable sir Christopher Barratt capitaine of the gard, and one of his maiesties priue counsell, shewed the queenes maiesties most gracious pardon, and deliuered him from execution. This yeare John For of Wobbesdye, William Wicks, a nefe of Dorismouth, and Robert Shore of Warwicke Englishmen, hauing bene prisoners in Turkie about the space of thirtene or foureteene yeares, with more than two hundred and fiftie other Christians of seuerall nations, by killing their keeper, maruelouslie escaped, and returned into their native countries.

A translation
of the
mas Apple-
tree.John For an
Englishman
deliuered two
hundred and
thre score
Christians fra
captiuitie of
the Turke.

This yeare in the moneths of September and October fell great winds and raging clouds in sundrie places of this realme, as in the towne of Newport: the cotages were borne downe, the corne lost, pasture ground ouerwhelmed, and cattell drowned. In the towne of Bedford the water came vp to the market place, where cupboards, chests, stools, and fourms swam about the houses; their felwell, corne and harte was waiched & borne away. Also the towne of saint Edes in Huntingdonshire was ouerdrowed suddenly in the night, when all men were at rest; & the waters brake in with such force, that the towne was almost all defaced; the swans swam downe the market place, and all the towne about the botes did float. The towne of Gormanchester was suddenly suppressed, their houses flowed full of water, when men were at rest, and their cattell with other things were destroyed.

winds and
high waters.

The one and twentieth of Nouember, sir Thomas Gresham knight agent to the queenes highnesse, who had in his life built the roiall Exchange in London, betwene sir and seven of the clocke in the evening, comming from the same Exchange to his house (which he had sumptuouslie builded) in Bishopsgate street of London, suddenly fell downe in his kitchen, and being taken vp was found speechlesse, and presently dead, who afterwards was solemnlie buried in his owne parish church of saint Helen there, where he had prepared for himselfe a sumptuous tome or monument, without anie epitaph or inscription thereupon. This sir Thomas Gresham in his testament (which long before his death he had ordeined) bequeathed diuerse large legacies not yet performed.

Anno reg. 22.
Sir Thomas
Gresham de-
ceased.

The eight and twentieth daie of March, one Francis alias Armadake Glouer was hanged on a gibbet set vp for that purpose by the standard in Cheape, for wilfullie murdering sergeant Grace after he was by him arrested. Also on the next morrow, being the nine and twentieth daie of March, the same gibbet was set vp at Hog lane end vpon east Smithfield, nere vnto the tower of London, thereon to haue

1580
Glouer a
murderer
hanged in
Cheape.
Doe executed
for murder.

m

haue hanged one Richard Dod for murthering of
mistresse Skinner a widow, in his house there by.
But sir Owen Hopton lieutenant of the tower, com-
manding the officers pertaining to the shiriffes of
London backe againe to the west side of the crosse,
toke the shiriffe of the out shire with the prisoner in-
to an house, and after long talke brought the priso-
ner forth againe, & deliuered him to the officers, to
be by them brought backe to London: When he came
to the gibet to be taken downe, and carried alofte
at his pleasure, and without further contention. (For
my knowlege) the said Richard Dod was in the as-
ter noone of the seyre date hanged at Tyburne.

A great
earthquake.

On the first of Aprill, being Wednesday in Easter
week, about six of the clocke toward evening, a sud-
den earthquake happening in London, and almost
generallie throughout all England, caused such an
amazement among the people as was wonderfull
for the time; and caused them to make their earnest
prayers to almighty God. The great clocke bell in
the palace at Westminister stroke of it selfe against
the hammer with the shaking of the earth, as di-
uerse other clocks & bells in the steeple of the citie of
London, and elsewhere did the like. The gentlemen
of the Temple being then at supper, ran from the ta-
bles, and out of their hall with their knives in their
hands. The people assembled at the plaie houses in
the fields, as at the Theatre (the Theatre I would
saie) were so amazed, that doubting the ruine of the
galleries, they made hast to be gone. A peece of the
temple church fell downe, some stones fell from saint
Pauls church in London: and at Christs church
nere to Beuigate market, in the sermon while, a
stone fell from the top of the same church, which stone
killed out of hand one Thomas Gye an apprentice,
and an other stone fell on his fellow seruant named
Habbell Cuert, and so brused him that he liued but
four daies after. Diuerse other at that time in that
place were sore hurt, with running out of the church
one ouer another for feare. The tops of diuerse chim-
neies in the citie fell downe, the houses were so sha-
ken: a part of the castell at Wythens Stratford in
Essex fell downe. This earthquake indured in or
about London, not passing one minute of an houre,
and was no more felt. But after ward in Kent, and
on the sea coast it was felt thre times; as at Sand-
wich at six of the clocke the land not onelie quaked,
but the sea also foamed, so that the ships tottered. At
Douer also the same houre was the like, so that a
peece of the cliffe fell into the sea, with also a peece of
the castell wall there: a peece of Saltwood castell in
Kent fell downe; and in the church of Wyde the bells
were heard to sound. A peece of Sutton church in
Kent fell downe, the earthquake being there not on-
lie felt, but also heard. And in all these places and
others in east Kent, the same earthquake was felt
thre times to moue, to wit, at six, at nine, and at e-
leuen of the clocke. The nineteenth daie of Aprill
the ferrie at Lambeth was drowned with fine men
and foure horses; other two men and fine horses
swam to land and were saued.

A winter
quake.

A ferrie
drowned.

William
Lambe es-
quier de-
ceded, his al-
mesdeeds.

On the one and twentieth of Aprill, in the yeare
1580 departed this life master William Lambe
esquier, sometime gentleman of the chapell in the
reigne of king Henrie the eight, citizen of London,
and free of the clothworkers. Of this mans almes-
deeds and manifold charities, some before, some since
his death put in effectuall practise, thus reporteth a
memoriall recorded in print, agreeing in truth with
his last will and testament: an extract thereof for
others imitation is necessarilie here to be inserted.
This gentleman remembring that learning bring-
eth preferment, yea even to them which are put base-
lie boyne, as it pleased God to moue him by his god

and gracious spirit, he proued himselfe by testimo-
nials of his doings a lover of learning, and a fauou-
rer of cuerie honest profession. For in the towne of
Sutton Valens in Kent, this worshipfull gentle-
man at his owne costs and proper expences erected
a grammar schole for the education of youth in the
feare of God, in good maners, in knowledge and un-
derstanding.

He also agreeing with himselfe, that the labourer
ought of right to haue his hire; and that, no man
goeth to worke of his owne proper charge, besides o-
ther commodities which he thought meet and neces-
sarie, hath allowed the master twentie pounds, and
the other ten pounds, from time to time, as either
place shall be supplied by succession, for their praelie
Appends and perpetuall pensions. To continue the
reuerend of his good deeds in Sutton aforesaid, note
his tender & pitifull heart toward the poore, for whose
sustentation, maintenance, and reliefe, he hath built
seuerall almes houses for the impotent, and hath gi-
uen six pounds to be yearelye paid unto them for
their necessarie prouision. Moreover, besides this cha-
ritable deed, to keepe still within the compasse of
Kent, make the singular loue which this gentleman
did beare unto learning; for the furtherance wherof,
and the more incouragement of poore scholars, he
hath giuen to the schole of Spalding ten pounds a
yeare for ever, with this cause at or prouiso, that needie
mens chylzen should be preferred to the enioyng of
this singular benefit.

That this gentleman had not onelie a regard for
the seed-plots of learning, to haue them watered
with the springs of his bountie: but also a prouident
eye, and a carefull hart for the profit of the common-
wealth, the particulars following substantialee do
proue. For, seeing in his life time the decaye of sun-
drie trades, the ruine of diuerse occupations, and o-
ther inconueniences, which are like to growe to the
hndowing of a multitude, except by policie they be
preuented: of a mere affection (if I said fatherlie I
were not controllable) he hath frelie giuen to the
poore clothiers in Suffolke, to the poore clothiers of
Widgenoth in Shropshire, and to the poore cloth-
iers at Ludlow in the said countie, thre hundred
pounds, to be paid by euen portions, to each severall
towne of the said countie one hundred pounds a
peece, for their suppoztation and maintenance at
their worke and occupation. So little esteemed he the
mucke of his world, in respect of doing good, (per-
allie when he saw old age drawing him to his grave:
of which mind it were to be wished all richmen
would be (whom God hath made his stewards) when
they war crooked & bowe backt, and (as the poet saith)

Obrepit canis rugosa fenestra capillis.

Furthermore, the well of his welldowing not yet
waring drie, but yelding liquoz of reliefe verie
largelie, hath watered other places. For, as the coun-
trie, so likewise the citie (the citie I meane of Lon-
don) hath cause, yea lust cause with open mouth to
magnifie the goodnesse of God, so mightlie working
in this praiseworthe esquier. The memorabill mo-
numents, which shall liue when he is dead, and shall
flourish when he is rotten, are witnesses of the loue,
which he being a citizen bare unto this citie. For, let
vs begin with the conduit which he of his owne
costs, not requiring either collection or contribu-
tion, founded of late in Holborne, not sparing ex-
penses so it might be substantiall, not pinching for
charges so it might be durable and plentifull, as
they can testifie which saw the saking of the springs,
the manner of making the trenches, the ordering
of the pipes, lieng in length from the head to the
said conduit, more than two thousand yards: and
finallie, the framing of cuerie necessarie appar-
tenance

The erection
of a gram-
mar schole
necessarie at
Sutton: the
allowance to
the master and
other.

When houses
built for the
poore.

Alloumce
for poore men
chylzen to be
kept at schole.

The common
wealth re-
membred.

A reliefe to
poore cloth-
iers in diuers
places.

London the
better by this
act of his.

A remem-
brance of
Holborne
conduit com-
mend and fine
in 1577.

The wast
water at the
bridge run-
ning at the
standard.

Prudent
considera-
tion.

Howe soome
benefited by
the conduct.

The right
worshipfull
Clothworkers
have remem-
bered.

Allowance
by four
parish ser-
mons.

Carrie poze
man and poze
women a
shirt, a smocke,
a gowne, and
a paire of
shoes, &c.

Saint Giles
without Cri-
plegate bene-
fited.

mem-
re of
ozne
re forme
nd sim-
n An.
7.

tenance thereto belonging. Besides this, means
is made, by a standard with one cocke at Holborne
bridge to conuete the wast, which doth such seruice, the
water thereof being both sweet, pleasant, and whol-
some, as neither rich nor poore can well misse. Which
great worke as he aduisedly attempted, so he com-
mendably finished, hauing disbursed therabouts, of
his owne costs & charges, to the sum of 1500 pounds.

And yet further note the wisdome and prou-
idence of this gentleman, who considering that the
right vse of a good thing might cut off manie occa-
sions of vnchastities and idleness, and knowing that
we are placed in this world to follow the vocation
therunto we are called: besides that, seeing the
hardnesse of this age wherein we live, that manie
would worke if they had meanes, manie neglect and
care not for worke though they haue meanes, some
would willingly withstand pouertie if they might,
some had rather beg and doe worke than giue them-
selves to labour, hath bene thus beneficiall to poore
women that are glad to take paines, as to bestow bp
on them a hundred and twentie paces, wherewith to
carrie and serue water: an honest thist of liuing,
though somewhat toilsome. To descend and come
downe to other his almesdeeds, you shall vnderstand
that he being a member of the right worshipfull cor-
poration and societie of Clothworkers, was not for-
getfull of that companie, vnto whome he hath giuen
his dwelling house in London, with other lands, and
tenements, to the value of thirtie pounds or there-
abouts, by them to be thus bestowed: to wit, for the
hiring of a minister to read diuine seruice thise a
woeke, that is, euerie sundate, wednesdaie, and Fri-
daie throughout the yeare, in the chapell or church be-
longing to his house, called by the name of Saint
James in the wall by Cripple gate: and for foure ser-
mons there yerele to be made and preached, a com-
petent allowance.

Out of which sum also of thirtie pounds, it is prou-
ided that a deduction be made by the said Clothwo-
kers, for apparelling twelue men, and as manie wo-
men, in foure as followeth: that is to saie, to euerie
one of the twelue men one fræze gowne, one loco-
rum shirt, & a good strong paire of winter shoes: to
twelue women likewise one fræze gowne, one loco-
rum smocke, & a good strong paire of winter shoes,
all readie made for their wearing: remembered al-
waies that they must be persons both poore and ho-
nest, vnto whome this charitable deed ought to be ex-
tended. Prouided also, that the execution hereof be
done the first daie of October, orderlie from yeare to
yeare for ever whiles the world doth last. Moreover,
he hath giuen to those of his companie foure pounds
freelie, not for a time, but perpetuallie: and thus doth
his bountifullnesse manie waies appeare. To the pa-
rish of S. Giles without Cripple gate, he hath giuen
fiftene pounds to the bells and chime, hauing meant
(as it seemeth if they had taken time) to be more libe-
rall in that behalfe. The said bells & chime were in his
life, & also after his deith kept in good order according
to his will: but afterwards vpon occasion some of
them newlie cast became ill of sound & out of tune: a
fault in some which would be amended. The poore of
the parish aforesaid, by their reliefe in his life time se-
uerellie ministered, haue iust cause to lament the losse
of this right bountifull almoner. For by his means
their succour was the more: now it is to be feared it
will be so much the lesse, by how much it may be sup-
posed he increased their reliefe. Thus regarded he not
so much his priuat thist, as the comon good, giuing
therein to the world a testimonie of christian pro-
vidence, whose nature is to prefer the benefit of manie
before the profit of one, according to that of the poet:

Publica priuatis qui sapit antefecit.

This gentleman's distributions are so diuerse, and
so manie, that the reherfall of them requireth a large
discourse. It is well known, and that can the wor-
shipfull companie of the Stationers witnesse, that this
gentleman, for the space of these foureteene or
fiftene yeares, whiles he liued, was pitifull to the
poore of the parish of S. Faiths, and other parishes:
in which said parish church, euerie fridaie ordinarie
throughout the yeare, distribution was made of their
allowance by the hands of the said worshipfull Sta-
tioners, to whome that charge was and is commit-
ted: namelie, to twelue poore people twelue pence
in monie, and twelue pence in bread. Neither is this
charitable deed laid asleepe, but continued euen to the
worlds end, for the perpetuall succour of the poore and
impotent, a legacie of six pounds, thirtene shillings
and foure pence, allowed to that end; the bestowing
whereof is in the hands of the said worshipfull socie-
tie of Stationers, the distributors of this almesse to
the poore: who are put in mind to praise God for that
prouision, in this request of the benefactor grauen in
mettall, and fixed fast in the wall hard by his tombe:

I praie you all that receiue bread and pence,
To saie the Lords praier before ye go hence.

As for Christs hospitall, vnto the which he hath
prouided himselfe a fatherlie benefactor, towards the
briuing bp of the poore children, he hath giuen six
pounds, which they shall inioie for the terme of fide
hundred yeares. Moreover (marke the rare liberali-
tie of this vertuous gentleman) he hath giuen to the
said hospitall one hundred pounds in ready monie,
wherewith to purchase lands, that their reliefe, by the
reuenues of the same, might be perpetuall: a nota-
ble deed, and an vndoubted worke of perfect christia-
nitie. As for S. Thomas spittle in Southwarke, to-
ward the succour of the sicke and diseased, he hath gi-
uen foure poundes yerele, and for ever: so that we
may see in all his proceedings with what mercie he
was moued, with what pittie picked: and finally, in
all respects how godlie giuen. And here by the waie
it is to be noted, that wheras it was reported, that he
gave to the hospitall, commonlie called the Sanatorie,
founded by king Henrie the seventh, to purchase
lands for the behoofe of the said hospitall, one hun-
dred pounds in monie: it is nothing so. For his be-
neficence towards that hospitall was staid, not tho-
rough any default in him; but because such agree-
ments could not be concluded vpon, as he reasona-
bly required. Wherefore his contribution that waie
ceased, soe (I dare saie) against his godlie will. Thus
much I was desired to speake touching that mat-
ter, to the intent that nothing but plaine truth might
be reported, with the contrarie wherof he was not a
little offended.

And although offenders deserue rather to be puni-
shed than fauoured, whereupon by politike gouerne-
ment it is prouided, that their bodies apprehended,
be committed to appointed places of imprisonment:
yet this good gentleman remembering that the holie
Ghost willeth vs not to withdraue our hand from a-
nie of our brethren in distresse, considering that cha-
ritie should not be parciall but indifferent, hath for
the reliefe of the poore prisoners of the two Coun-
ters, of Fleetgate, of Ludgate, of the Marshalsea,
of the Kings Bench, and of the white Lion, dealt ve-
rie bountifullie, and discretly: giuing vnto the two
Counters, six pounds to be paid vnto them both by
twentie shillings a moneth: and to the other prisons
aboue mentioned, six mattresses a peece, the whole
number being two dozen and a halfe. In considera-
tion of which charitable deed, how deepele they are
bound, if they haue anye sparke of grace, to thanke
God for his goodnesse shewed vnto them by the mi-
nisterie of this gentleman, all the world maie per-
ceive.

Reliefe for the
poore people.
Wh. Lambes
loue to the
worshipfull
Stationers.

Perpetuall
prouision for
the poore.

Reliefe for
Christs hospi-
tall.

A purchase
for the said
hospitall.

Reliefe for
S. Thomas
spittle.

Why he staie
his benefi-
cence from the
hospitall of
the Sanatorie.

Prisoners for
offenders.

Reliefe for
poore priso-
ners.

A charitable
worke in-
deed.

Marriage
monie for
poore maides.

This loue to-
wards his
seruants.

This faith was
fruitfull.

I. Stow.
An earth-
quake in
Kent.

T. C.

Castles and
ships scene
in the aier.

celue. It wereinarie offered, to let slip vntreame-
bied his mindfullnesse of poore maides marriages:
and how willing he was to helpe them, it appeareth
by his good gift of twentie pounds to be equallie di-
uided among fortie such in number by equall por-
tions of ten shillings a peece: with this came it, that
these poore maides so to be married, should be of good
name and fame: wherein marke how in all his be-
quests, wisdome is ioined as a yokefellow with his
bountie.

Lastlie, and for conclusion, this discret gentle-
man, carried awaie with the zeale of a good conscie-
ence, tendering the state of his seruants, left them
also at a resonable good staie. For besides their halfe
peares bozd freite giuen and granted, he hath bene
beneficiall to them in diuerse other respects, which I
passe ouer vntremembred. But alas! these forsooth
seruants doe not a little lament the losse of so louing
a maister. I omit the hundred & eight freite gownes
readie made, which he bequeathed at his funerall to
poore people, both men and women: with the dis-
persing of the remnant of all his goods after his bu-
rial, where need and reason required. And thus you
see what monuments this gentleman hath left be-
hind him, to beare witness to the world of the fruit-
fullnesse of his faith: which if (as saint James saith)
it maie be iudged by works, and that it is a dead and
a barren faith which declareth not it selfe by dedes:
then the sequelle maie be this, that the faith where-
with he (of whome this is written) was indued, the
worth it selfe to be the same faith which is wished,
and I would to God were in the heart of euerie chri-
stian. As for his religion, it was sound; his professi-
on sincere; his hearing of Gods word, attentive &
diligent; his vse of prayer, deuout: in his sickenesse
patient, willing to forsake the world, and to be with
Christ, in whose faith he died; and lieth intombed in
a faire large balot in saint Faiths vnder Panles,
this epitaph grauen in brasie or copper, fired vpon his
grauestone, comprising a note of our mortalitie:

As I was, so are ye:
As I am, you shall be:
That I had, that I gaue:
That I gaue, that I haue:
Thus I end all my cost:
That I leste, that I lost.

Hitherto concerning maister Lambes almes
dedes, wherein thus much hath at large bene spoken
for others example, whome as God hath indued with
riches: so it were to be wished they would vse them
no worse. The first date of spate, after twelue of
the clocke in the night, was an earthquake felt in di-
uerse places of Kent, namelie at Ashford, great
Chart, &c: which made the people there to rise out of
their beds, and run to the churches, where they called
vpon God by earnest prayers to be mercifull vnto
them. Of this earthquake one writeth thus. Ma-
nie thousands haue heard and commonlie it is re-
ported, that latelie in Kent an other earthquake
was scene and felt, and so terrible and soze the
earth did tremble and quake, that it wakened
people that soundlie slept, and had like to haue ro-
ked them all asleepe that were awake. So feare-
full was the matter, and so dreadfull is the wrath of
God in time of visitation, and wicked season of in-
quitie. This was a prettie naturall cause: in deed so I
thinke. For the naturall diseases of man, and the
naughtie sicknesses of the flesh (full of lust and in-
firmities) caused God for the correction of natures in-
clination, to make Dover, Sandwich, Canturburie,
Gransend, and sundrie other places tremble
and shake.

The eighteenth date of spate, about one houre be-
foze sun setting, diuerse gentlemen of worship, and

god credit, riding from Bodman in Cornewall to T. C.
wards Foie, there appeared to their seeming in the
northeast, a verie great mist or fog, much like vnto
the sea: and the forme of a cloud in the fashion of
some great castell, with flags; & streamers the reon
as it were standing in the sea, which presentlie ba-
nistied awaie. In whose stead, and nere to the same
plate, appeared an other cloud which altered into the
likenesse of a great argosie, furnished with masts,
and other necessaries; and his sailes seeming full of
wind, made hir waie on the southwesterly of the castell,
hauing streamers and flags verie warlike, with two
boats at either sterne. There thicontinent appeared
againe the forme of a castell; and behind the same
came following on the southwesterly side, an other great
argosie, furnished as the first. This being past, there
appeared three or foure gallies with their masts and
flags in warlike sort, hauing boats at their sternes;
and thereby appeared other small clouds to the num-
ber of twelue, which altered into the proportion of
the said castells, and one following an other, as soe
as anie of them banished other came in their roms;
and this continued the space of an houre. Shortlie af-
ter the sights in the aier aforesaid, a worthy Gen-
tleman in the countrie wrot to a right good gentle-
man in the court, that there was scene vpon a
downe called Bodwells downe, in Summerset-
shire, thre score personages all clothed in blacke, a
furlong in distance from those that beheld them; and
after their appearing, and a little while tarieng, they
banished awaie; but immediatlie, an other strange
companie in like maner, colour and number appea-
red in the same place, and they encountered one an
other, and so banished awaie. And the third time ap-
peared that number againe all in bright armour and
incountered one an other, and so banished awaie.
Foure honest men which saw it, reporting the same
abroad, were examined thereof, before sir George
Boston, to whome they swore, that those things they
had scene were true, as here before is rehearsed.

Moreouer, it is crediblie reported of manie honest
men, that fise miles from Blonndon in Wiltshire,
a crie of hounds was heard in the aier, the selfe same
date that the first earthquake was, and the noise
was so great that was made, that they seemed thre
or foure score couples: whereat diuerse toke their
greyhounds, thinking some gentlemen had bene a
hunting in the chafe, and thought to course: yet some
of those that went out of their houses, seeing nothing
below abroad, looked vpwads to the skies, and there
espied in the aier fise or six hounds perfectlie to be
discerned. Now (to saie my fanthe) I doubt not but
thousands hold these netwes so, fables inuented for
pleasure. But I protest before God and man, I can
belaeue a great deals more stranger matter than
this, in this strange world: for the people so estrange
themselves from God by vsing manie strange fa-
shions, and clapping on new conditions & natures,
that except he shew some miracles, his godhead
would quickelie be forgotten on earth, and men
would belaeue there were no other world but this.

The thirtenth of June, about six of the clocke in
the morning, at Shipwash within the baronie of Bo-
thell in Northumberland, there happened a tempest
of lightning and thunder, after the which, on a sud-
den came a great shouze of haile, amongst the
which were found stones of diuerse shapes martiall shapes.
lous to behold, as in the likenes of frogs, mattocks,
swords, horse shoes, nalles, crosses of diuerse sorts,
skulls of dead men, &c. The seuententh day of June,
in the parish of Blasedon in Northshire, after a gret
tempest of lightning & thunder, a woman of fours
score yeares old, named Alice Perrin, was deliue-
red of an hideous monster, whose head was like vnto

T. C.
wonders in
wiltshire and
summeret-
shire.

John
Hume

So
trans-
into

Don
birth

Blas

Don
hall

Shalle stones
of strange
shapes.

A monstrous
birth.

Shalle
on a
monstrous
birth.

to a fallet or headpiece, the face like unto a mans; except the mouth, which was round and small, like unto the mouth of a moul, the fore part of the bodie like to a man, having eight legs not one like an other, and a taile halfe a yard long. Which monster brought into the world, besides an admiration of the diuine workes of God, an astonishment at his iudgements. But of these we may saie as a stranger said sometime vpon the like occasion of prodigies and wonders successiuelie ensuing, not without weightie signification; to wit; that such things be as tales told to the deafe, verie few dwelling in their minds the meaning & effect of strange accidents, and therefore thinke vpon nothing lesse than a reformation of their wicked life: for the which things sake God sendeth these and manie such significant warnings, before he taketh the rodd in hand, and whippeth vs till we smart: we then not looking to the meanes that prouoke this vengeance, as willing to auoid them: but murmuring at the iust iudge, vnder whose beaue hand we grone, & charging him to be the author of all misfortunes falling vpon vs: which Homer trulle saimeth right well to haue noted in this sense:

Cuiusculi incusant mortales numina caeli?

Et sibi nos dicunt auctores esse malorum?

Cum prater fati leges in aperta ferantur

Damna, suauentis proprijs erroribus ori.

About the eighteenth daie of Iulie, the lord Erie toke his voyage towards Ireland as lord deputie thereof, after whom was sent diuerse bands of lustie souldiours, both horsemen and footmen, vnder the leading of expert captiains, of whose prosperous and happy success against their enemies, the Irish and others, diuerse pamphlets haue bene published, & matter more at large is set downe in the historie of Ireland. The thre and twentieth of September, at Fenrie Stanton in Huntingdonshire, one Agnts wife to William Wilshe was deliuered of an vgly and strange monster, with a face blacke, the neckered, mouth and eyes like a lion, on the forehead a roll of flesh that might be turned vp with ones finger, on the hinder part of the head a lump of flesh proportioned like a fetter, being hollow, with one eare growing on the lower part of the cheeke, his bellie big and hard, the armes big, hauing five fingers and a thumbe on either hand, and in place of toes on the left foot five fingers and a thumbe, on the right foot a thumbe and seven fingers, & in the place of priuitie the shape both of male & female: a strange sight to be seene, and I feare, signifieth our monstrous life, which God for his mercie giue vs grace to amend, without procrastination or putting off from daie to daie, as the poet significantlie saith:

Cras vultis, sed vult hodie vindex Deus, & cras.

Aur non vult, aur vos obruet atra dies.

The eight daie of October, immediatlie after the new moone, there appeared a blasing star in the south, bushing toward the east, which was nightlie seene (the aier being clere) more than two moneths. The eighteenth of October were made eight sergeants at law, to wit, William Fleetwood recorder of London, Edward Flowerdew, Thomas Snag, William Periam, Robert Walton, John Clendy, John Pickering, Thomas Warrinckie; maister Snag before named was sicke, and therefore was swozne in his chamber at Grete inne, the other seven were swozne at Westminister, and held their feast at the new Temple at London.

The queenes maiestie being informed, that in sundrie places of this realme, certeine persons secretlie taught damnable heresies, contrarie to diuers principall articles of our belae and christian faith, who to colour their sect named themselves the familie of loue, and then as manie as were allowed by them

to be of that familie to be elect and saued, and all others of that church sooner they be, to be reiected and damned. And for that vpon conuening of some of them before the bishops & ordinaries, it was found that the grounds of their sect is maintained by certeine lewde, hereticall, and seditious books, first made in the Dutch tong, and lastlie translated into English, and printed beyond the seas, & secretlie brought ouer into the realme, the author whereof they name H. p. &c. And considering also it is found, that those sectaries held opinion, that they may befoze anie magistrat or ecclesiasticall or tempozall, or anie other person, not being professed to be of their sect, by oth or otherwise denie anie thing for their aduantage: so as though manie of them are well knowne to be teachers and spreaders abroad of these dangerous and damnable sects; yet by their owne confession they can not be condemned. Therefore hir maiestie being verie loze to see so great an euill, by means of the diuine to be brought into this hir realme, and by hir bishops and ordinaries the vnderstandeth it verie requisite, not onelie to haue those dangerous heretiks and segetaries to be seuerelie punished; but that also all other meanes be used by hir maiesties roiall authoritie, which is giuen hir of God to defend Christs church, to root them out from further infecting of hir realme: she hath thought meet and conuenient, and so by hir proclamation commanding, that all hir officers and ministers tempozall shall in all their feuerall vocations assist the bishops of hir realme, and all other person to search out all persons duilie suspected, to be either teachers or professors of the foresaid damnable sects, and by all good meanes to proceed seuerelie against them, being found culpable by order of the lawes ecclesiasticall or tempozall: and that all search be made in all places suspected, for the books and writings maintaining the said heresies and sects, and them to destroe and burne, &c: as more at large may appere by the said proclamation, giuen at Richmond the thirde of October, and proclaimed at London on the nineteenth daie of the same moneth.

About this time there arrived vpon the west coast of Ireland, a certeine companie of Italians and Spaniards, sent by the pope to the aid of the earle of Desmond in his rebellion, which fortified themselves stronglie nere vnto Smerwicke, in a fort which they called castell del Oye, there erecting the popes banner against hir maiestie. Which when the lord Erie of Wilshe deputie of Ireland vnderstood, he marched thitherward, and on the sixt of November, hearing of the arrivall of the Swift, the Tigre, the Aid, the Sperlion, & other of the queenes maiesties ships, and also of thre barkes fraughted from Corke and Limerike with vittels, on the morrow after marched towards the fort, vnto the which he gaue so hot an assault, that on the ninth of November the same was yielded, all the Irishmen and women hanged, and more than foure hundred Spaniards, Italians, and Biscates put to the sword; the coronell, captiains, secretarie, and others, to the number of twentie saued for ransom. In which fortresse was found good store of monie, bisket, baxon, oile, wine, and diuerse other provisions of vittels sufficient for their companie for halfe a yeare; besides armour, powder, shot, and other furniture for two thousand men and vntoards.

The eight and twentieth daie of November were arreigned in the kings bench, William Randall for conspiring to know where treasure was hid in the earth, and goods feloniously taken were become; Thomas Elks, Thomas Lupton, Mase Spacie, and Christopher Waddington, for being present, aiding, and procuring the said Randall to the consuration & 11111. y. foresaid.

The queenes maiesties purpose to root out this pestilent sect.

Victorie against the Irish and other in Ireland.

Anno reg. 23. Randall banished for conspiring.

possible affect for such estates, and to sport them with all courtlie pleasure, agreed among them to prepare a triumph, which was being quickly concluded: and being devised in most sumptuous order, was by them performed in as gallant a manner as their endlesse fame and honor. The chiefe or challengers in these attempts were these: the earle of Arundell, the lord of Windsor, master Philip Sidneye, and master Fulke Grevill, who calling themselves the four children of Desire, made their intencion of the foresaid triumph in order and forme following.

The gallerie or place at the end of the tilt-yard adjoining to his maiesties house at Whitehall, whereas his person should be placed, was called and not without cause, the castle of fortresse of perfect beaultie, for as much as his highnesse should be there included; whereto the said foster children laid title and claime as their due by descent to belong unto them. And upon deniall or anye repulse from that their desired patrimonie, they desired to vanquish and conquer by force. Who so should come, so withstand it: for his accomplishing wherof, they sent their challenge of first defiance to the queenes maiestie; which was hitred by a boie on Sunday the firste of April last, as his maiestie came from the chappell, who being appareled in red and white, as a martiall messenger of Desire fostered children, without making anye speciall reverence at all, hitred these speeches of defiance from his masters to his maiestie, the effect wherof inueth.

O Madie, that doth intitle the titles you possesse with the honor of your worthinesse, rather crowning the great crowne you hold, with the faune to haue so excellen an owner, than you receiuing to your selfe anye increase: keeping that outward ornament: honeste with patient attention: to heare the words which I by commandement am here to deliver you, wherein if your ears (blessed to the thanksgiving of your people & the due praises of the earth) shall heare a statelie discourse to heare once the sound of a desire, yet dare I warrant my selfe, so far upon the rapier deceyting shew of rare Beaultie, as that malice can not fall from so faire a mind upon the feeling danger, whose mouth is a servant to others direction. In you therefore alone lie princeesse, that herby (so far off they are neuer) there lies incamped the four long haplesse, now hopefull fostered children of Desire: who having bene a great while nourished by with that infective milke, and too much care of their fierie fosterer (though full off that date nurses despaire indued to weane them from it) being now as strong in that nurture, as they are weak in fortune, encouraged with the gallant counsell of neuer fainting Desire, and by the fayne assured, that by right of inheritance even from ever, the fortresse of beaultie doth belong to his fostered children: lastlie, finding it blazed by all tongues, ingrained in all hearts, and proued by all eyes, that this fortresse built by nature is seated in this realme: these four I saie and saie againe, thus nourished, thus animated, thus intitled, and thus informed, do will you by me, even in the name of iustice, that you will no longer exclude vertuous Desire from perfect Beaultie. Whereto if you yield (I praye for) so all reason requirereth) then have I no more to saie, but re- soise that my sayngs have obtained so rightfull and yet so blissefull a request. But if (alas but let not that be needfull) Beaultie be accompanied with disdainefull pride, and pride waigted on by refusing crueltie: then must I denounce unto you (who is me answer before it be denounced) that they determine by request to accomplish their claime. And because they will better testifie to the world, they haue bin brought by under the wings of honorable De-

sire; this honorable forewarning they send you, that upon the foure and twentieth daie of this month of April they will besiege that fatal fortresse, knowing not to spare (if this obstinacie continue) the sword of faithfullnes, and the fire of affection. Now if so it fall out, the two chief knights of your court (moued with passion in themselves) of some of my senders be honeste to partiall thing (which I will doubt) to the maiestie of your eyes, will either bid them battell before they approach, or suffering them to approach, will after a hour to leaue the siege: they protest to meet them in that sort they will choose, wishing onlie it may be performed before your owne eyes, whome they know as even in iudgement as iustitie in choosing: where if so they list, first at the tilt in so many combats, as your selfe shall please to appoint: and then if anye will call them to the course of the field with lance and sword, they hope to giue such true proofes of their valour, as at last shall make their desires more noble. Nowing on the other side, that if before the night part the strife, they do not overcome all them that come in against them, they will yield themselves slaves unto you for ever. This therefore I queene (greater in that you are queene of your selfe, than in passing the whole compass of the earth) haue I delivered my charge, not as a challenge to your knights, against whome but in so iust a cause) they acknowledge themselves unable to match the meanest, but as a plaine proclamation of war, vnto the fortres of Beaultie, that hath whome so manie to lose themselves, be speedilie surrendered.

And now it shall be seene what knights you haue, whome Beaultie may praye to resist a rightfull title. And I for my parte moued by that I see in you (though I feare your enemies) will dailye praise that all men may see you, & then you shall not feare anye armes of aduersaries: or if enemies you must haue, that either they may haue the mind of them that send me, or their fortune in that they haue long desired.

At which date abovesaid for certeine vrgent occasions, the said challenge and triumph, by his maiesties commandement, was deferred till the first daie of Maie: at which daie for like causes it was further deferred till the next mondaie following, being the eight daie of Maie: and so till Whitsun mondaie, when they first began to performe it. The said date being come, the four foster children had made preparation to besiege the fortresse of Beaultie, and thereto had provided a frame of wood, which was covered with canvas, and painted outwardlie in such excellent order, as if it had bin verie naturall earth or mould, and caried the name of a rowling trench, which went on wheeles, which waite soener the persons within did drive it. Upon the top wherof was placed two cannons of wood, so passing well coloured as they seemed to be in deed two faire field peeces of ordinaunces, and by them was placed two men for gunners clothed in crimson saracen, with their bakers of earth for defense of their bodies by them. And also there stood on the top of the trench an ensigne bearer in the same lute with the gunners, displaying his ensigne, and within the said trench was cunninglie conueied diuerse kind of most excellent musike against the castell of Beaultie. These things thus all in a readinesse, the challengers approached, & came from the stable toward the tilt-yard, one after another in byane & excellent order as followeth.

First, the earle of Arundell entred the tilt-yard, all in gilt and ingrauen armour, with caparisons and furniture richlie and brauelle imbrodered, having attendant upon him two gentlemen byers, four pages riding on four spare horses, and twentie of his gentlemen. All which abovesaid were appareled in short clothes and venetian hose of crimson velvet,

The challenge made and how to be tried.

The fortresse of Beaultie.

Urgent causes why the challenge was deferred.

The order of the rowling trench which most excellent intensions.

The earle of Arundell entred the first daie and his attendants.

The erecting and intension of the triumph.

The first defiance of challenge.

Desire and his foster children.

Unmoued were not to be excluded from perfect beaultie.

veluet, laid with gold lace, doublets of yellow sattin, hats of crimson veluet with gold bands and yellow feathers, and yellow silke stockings. Then had he six trumpeters that sounded before him, and one and thirtie peomen that waited after him apparelled in cassocke coats, and venetian hose of crimson veluet, laid on with red silke and gold lace, doublets of yellow taffatie, hats of crimson taffatie, with yellow feathers, and yellow worsted stockings.

The lord windloze entrie the first baile and his attendants.

After him proceeded the lord Windloze, in gilt and ingrauen armour, with caparisons and furniture, richlie imbodered with gold, having attendant on him foure pages riding on foure spare horses, and foure and twentie gentlemen, all apparelled in short cloaks of scarlet, lined through with orange tabowie taffatie, and laid about with silver lace, doublets of orange tabowie sattin, venetian hose of orange tabowie veluet, blacke veluet caps, with silver bands and white feathers, and silvered rapiers and daggers, with scabbards of blacke veluet; foure trumpeters, and two footmen in cassocke coats and venetian hose of orange tabowie veluet, and blacke veluet caps with silver bands and white feathers, foure groomes of his stable leading of his foure horses, in cassocke coats and venetian hose of orange tabowie taffatie and orange tabowie felts with silver bands, and white feathers. Then had he three score peomen in coats of orange tabowie cloth, with the unicombe of silver plate on their sleeves, and orange tabowie felts with silver bands and white feathers.

Mr. Sidneys entrie, now Sir Philip Sidneye and his attendants.

Then proceeded maister Philip Sidneye, in verie sumptuous maner, with armour part blew, and the rest gilt and ingrauen, with foure spare horses, having caparisons and furniture verie rich and costlie, as some of cloth of gold imbodered with pearle, and some imbodered with gold and silver feathers, verie richlie and cunninglie wrought: he had foure pages that rode on his foure spare horses, who had cassocke coats, and venetian hose all of cloth of silver, laid with gold lace, and hats of the same with gold bands and white feathers, and ech one a paire of white buskins. Then had he a thirtie gentlemen and peomen, & foure trumpeters, who were all in cassocke coats and venetian hose of yellow veluet, laid with silver lace, yellow veluet caps with silver bands and white feathers, and euerie one a paire of white buskins; and they had upon their coats, a scrowle or band of silver, which came scarfe wise over the shoulder, and so downe vnder the arme, with this poeisse, or sentence written vpon it, both before and behind, *Sic nos non nobis*.

Mr. Fulke Grevills entrie with his traine of attendants.

Then came maister Fulke Grevill, in gilt armour, with rich and faire caparisons and furniture, having foure spare horses with foure pages riding vpon them, and foure trumpeters sounding before him, and a twentie gentlemen and peomen attending vpon him, who with the pages and trumpeters were all apparelled in lose ierkins of tabowie taffatie, cut and lined with yellow farfenet, and laid with gold lace, and cut downe the arme and set with lopes and buttons of gold, venetian hose of the same lined (as aforesaid) laid with gold lace downe the side with lopes and buttons of gold, with ech a paire of yellow worsted stockings, and hats of tabowie taffatie with gold bands and yellow feathers. Having thus all entered the tiltyard, they proceeded on with the rowling trench before them, which staid against the queene, and they passed by, as though they would behold the Fortresse of beautie; and so went about the tilt. At last the boie that uttered the first defiance pronounced these speeches to hir maiestie.

The second desire of challenge.

If the message latelie deliuered vnto you had bene beleued and followed (O queene) in whome the whole storie of vertue is written, with the language

of beautie; nothing should this violence haue needed in your inviolate presence. Your eyes, which till now haue bene onelie bent to discerne the bowed knees of kneeling hearts; and inwardlie turned, found alwaies the heauenlie peace of a sweet mind, should not now haue their faire beames reflected with the shining of armour; should not now be gotten to see the furie of desire, nor the fierie force of furie. But sith so it is (alas that so it is) that in the defense of obstinate refusal there neuer groweth victorie but by compassion; they are come; what need I saie more, you see them, readie in hart as you know, and able with hands as they hope, not onelie to assailing but to preuailing. Where chance you despise the smallnesse of number. I saie vnto you, the force of desire goeth not by fulnesse of companie. Saie rather vnto with what vnresistable determination themselves approach, and how not onelie the heauens send their inuisible instrument to aid them: but also the verie earth the duldest of all the elements, which with naturall beautiesse still strives to the deepe centre; yet for aduancing his enterprise is content actualie (as you shall see) to moue it selfe vpon it selfe to rise vp in height, that it maie the better command the high and high minded fortresses. O panie words, when deeds are in the field, are tedious both vnto the speaker and hearer. You see their forces, but know not their fortunes; if you be resolved, it boots not, and threats breed not. I haue discharged my charge, which was euen when all things were readie for the assault, then to offer partlie a thing not so much bruised as grations in besiegers. You shall now be summoned to yeeld, which if it be reiected, then looke for the affectionat alarme to be followed with desirous assault. The time approacheth for their approaches, but no time shall staie me from wishing, that howsoeuer this succed, the world maie long iniois hir chiefest ornament, which decks it with hir selfe, and hir selfe with the loue of goodnesse.

Spending the musike with in the mount.

Wherewith the mount mound growe up in height.

Which speech being ended, the rowling trench of mount of earth was moued as nere the queenes maiestie as might be, which being setled, the musike played verie pleasantlie, and one of the boies being then accompanied with cornets, summoned the fortresse with this delectable song, here vnder noted.

The rowling trench mound nere to the queene.

The fortresse summoned in song.

Yeeld, yeeld, O yeeld, you that this fort doo hold,
which seated is, in spotlesse honors feeld,
Desires great force, no forces can withhold:
then to desires desire, O yeeld O yeeld.
Yeeld yeeld O yeeld, trult not on beauties pride,
fairennesse though faire, is but a feeble sheeld,
When strong desire, which vertues loue dooth guide,
claimes but to gaine his due, O yeeld O yeeld.
Yeeld yeeld O yeeld, who first this fort did make,
did it for iust desires, true children beeld,
Such was his mind, if you an other take,
defense herein dooth wrong, O yeeld O yeeld,
Yeeld yeeld O yeeld, now is it time to yeeld,
before th' assault begin, O yeeld O yeeld.

When that was ended, an other boie turning him selfe to the foster children and their retinue, song this alarme with pleasant voice & famelie countenance.
Alarme alarme, here will no yeelding bee,
such marble eares, no cunning words can charme,
Courage therefore, and let the starelle see,
that nought withstands desire, alarme alarme.
Alarme alarme, let not their beauties moue remorse in you to doo this fortresse harme,
For sith warre is the ground of vertues loue,
no force, though force be used, alarme alarme.
Alarme alarme, companions now begin,
about this neuer conquered wals to swarme,
More praise to vs we neuer looke to win,
much maie that was not yet, alarme alarme.

The alarme song.

Alarme

Alarme alarme, when once the fight is warme,
then shall you see them yeeld, alarme alarme.

The shooting
of the two
canons, the
one with sweet
water, and the
other with
sweet powder.

Which ended, the two canons were shot off, the
one with sweet powder, and the other with sweet wa-
ter, verie odoriferous and pleasant, and the noise of
the shooting was verie excellent content of melodie
within the mount. And after that was shote of pre-
tie scaling ladders; and the footmen thew shoures
and such fanles against the walls, with all such deu-
ties as might seme fit for desire. All which did
continue till time the defendants came in.

The manner
of the defen-
dants com-
ming in.

Then came in the defendants in most sumptuous
manner, with euerie one his seruants, pages, and
trumpeters (hauing some more, some lesse) in such
order as I haue here vnderplaced them; with eue-
rie one his sundrie inuention, which for that some of
them be mysticall and not knowne to manie, I omit
therefore for breuitie sake to speake of anie. Yet
such speeches as were spoken or presented for them
to hir maiestie, so manie as were, or at the least as
I could come by, I haue here in their order placed
them, whereby their inuentions for whome they were
spoken, are therein plainelie declared. Therefore I
refere you to the reading of them hereafter. But
thus the defendants entered the tilt-yard, one after
an other as followeth. First maister Henrie Greie,
sir Thomas Perot, maister Anthonte Coke, maister
Thomas Katcliffe, maister Henrie Knolles, mas-
ter William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles,
maister Francis Knolles, maister Rafe Bowes,
maister Thomas Belwate, maister George Cozing,
maister William Tresham, maister Robert Aier-
ander, maister Edward Dennie, maister Hercules
Speautus, maister Edward Poze, maister Richard
Skipwith, maister Richard Ward, maister Ed-
ward Digbie, maister Henrie Powell, maister
Henrie Wunker. And afterwards came in sir Henrie Leigh, as be-
knowne, and when he had broken his stravaes went
out in like maner againe. So passing on one after
an other, when sir Thomas Perot & maister Coke
came to the end of the tilt, ouer against the queenes
maiestie, one of their pages arraigned like an angell
uttered these speeches vnto hir.

The speech of
sir Thomas
Perot and
maister Coke
to the queene.

Despaire, no not despaire (most high and happie
pryncesse) could so congeale the frozen knight in the
aier, but that desire (ah sweet desire) inforced him to
behold the sun on the earth, whereon as he was ga-
zing with twinkling eie (for who can behold such
beames steadfastlie?) he begun to dissolue into drops,
melting with such delight, that he seemed to preferre
the lingering of a certeine death before the lasting of
an vncerteine life. Such is the nature of ingrauen
loialtie, that it chooseth rather to haue the bodie dis-
solved, than the mind disliked. Thus consuming with
content (a sweet sicknesse is conceipt) and pining
with more than speakeable passions, he suddenlie be-
held that sun to be besieged which he so deuoutlie ser-
ued. Wherewith boiling in no lesse disdain, than sur-
prised with immoderat pensuuenesse, he uttered these
wordes: O Ioue, if thou meane to resolute nature into
contraries; why dost thou meane to see it? If into nothing,
why dost thou see it? If the foot scale the head, there is
no rest; if desire ouerthow dutie, there is no reason;
and where either of these are, there can be no rule.
And so letting more sighs than maie be numbred by
ciphers, this present time (ah griefe) this present time,
that honest & faire hearted frozen knight died (what
said I) even that which againe with griefe I must
say died, whose ghost making speedie passage into the
Elysian fields (for what more swift than a soule) in
the midst of the infernall multitude, with speeches,
cries & clamours made both heauen & hell to redouble
this echo: O times, O men, O corruption of ma-

Re the sun to
be called
the
beastie of
beastie.

ners! The sun is besieged, the sun (O mischiefe) the
sun is besieged. Which strange and vnacquainted
termes caused not onelie murmuring amongst the
ghosts beneath, but a musing amongst the gods a-
bove: who as well to repress the tumults, which
might haue risen among the shadows, as to reuenge
the pride which began to grow on the earth, sent
downte an angell with this commandement; So de-
scend, and cause Adam and Eue to appeare on the
earth in that sort as they were in paradise, that the
world may know them & wonder at them. For see-
ing out of their loines haue issued those preposterous
limmes, I knowe none more fit to correct them. Cer-
tes none more willing. They will attempt anie
thing for thy sake, and seruice of that earthlie, and
yet (O strange conceipt) most beauenlie sun. For as
they were before diuinen from their desire, because
they desired to know the best: so now shall they be
diuinen vnto their desire, which they couet to honour
most. This shall be their reward, they shall come
nere and yet shall not searce, and be they farre off,
it shall warme. A cloud maie sometimes barre their
sight, but nothing shall deprime them of the safegard:
yet command them to be humble in affection,
though feruent, least they seme to disdain that
pride in others which they desire themselves.

The sun in the highest delighteth in the shadow
which is thickest, nourisheth the tree whose root grow-
eth deepest, not whose top springeth loftiest. This
commission and counsell ended, all things were in a
moment accomplished with such celeritie (for to the
gods time is tied) that they were sped so fast as they
were spoken. And now most renowned and diuine
sun, Adam and Eue being present, vouchsafe to heare
somewhat in their behalfe pronounced. Sir knights,
if in besieging the sunne ye vnderstand what you had
vnder taken, ye would not destitute a common blef-
sing for a priuat benefit. Will you sabdow the sun?
Who shall rest in the shadow where the wearie take
breath, the disquiet rest and all comfort? Will ye be-
reue all men of those glistering & gladdsome beames?
What shall then prosper in the shining, but you will
cline it by the rales: O rare exhalations! Whether a
you may be to desire, but sons ye are to ill hap, which
thinke you can not sinke deepe enough into the sea,
vntesse you take your fall from the sun. Desist you
knights, desist, sith it is impossible to resist: content
your selues with the sunnes indifferent succor, suffer
the snipper shrub to grow by the loftie oke, and
clame no prerogatiue where the sun grants no pri-
uilege; for being of the same mettall that others are,
the sun will worke the like effects, as she doth in o-
thers. The giants would haue bin gods, if they could
haue scaled the heauens; and you no lesse than stars
could you conquer the same: but as their thowing
hill vpon hill did manifest their pride, but nothing
further their pretence; so your lateng challenge vpon
claime, and conquest vpon challenge, may well proue
a will but no worthinesse; a desire to reach, but no
possibilitie to recover. In which your soaring as-
saies if you chance to fall, the only comfort you haue
is to crie with Phaeton, *Magnis excidimus ausis*. But
if no persuasions may moue your minds, know ye
proud knights, there are that haue hearts as big as
mounteins, and as far about you in prowesse as ye
are about all in presumption, yet not so vaine (which
ye terme balliant) to assault the sun. And whie? because
it is impregnable. We content to intice the light, ye
to eclipse it; we to rest vnder the feet, ye to run ouer
the head; we to yeeld to that which nothing can con-
quer, you to conquer that which maketh all men cap-
tues. But were it possible that head could deuide,
courage attempt, or hand execute anie thing that
might thew the depth of our vnspotted loialtie, some
should

Sir Thomas
Perot & mas-
ter Coke
were both in
like armour
beset with ap-
ples and fruit,
the one signi-
fying Adam &
the other Eue,
who had haire
hewing all
downte his
helmet.

The angell
speareth to
the queene.

He speaketh to
the challengers
in the behalfe
of the two
knights Ad-
dam and Eue.

*Magnis excidi-
mus ausis*, the
crie of Phaet-
on at his fall.

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with-
mount.

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amored in
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he alarme
ing.

The defen-
dants gantlet
shewne
downe, &c.

should be seene (and for your felices to come, that your
enterprises should be of as small account then, as
now they are of likelihood; so deepe an impression is
ingrained in our thoughts, for the maiestie of that
sun which now persing our eyes, hath fullie subdued
our hearts, that we are prest in his defense to offer
the whole world defiance. In prose whereof I am
charged to throw downe this gantlet, which who so
dareth take by, shall feele both the heat of their lust
conceiued quarrell, and the reproch of their püne
deserued follie, not by rising in breaking a few
flames to end the strife, but attonne, or what else
shewer they can devise, or dare aduenture to win the
benefit of Beautie. Thus most resoluend & diuine
Beautie, whose beams shine like the sun, haue Adam
& Que aduentured to defend the sun. The same I call
Beautie the light of the world, the maruell of men,
the mirror of nature, on which their encounter if
those fauourable gleames may fall, they will not on-
lie thinke to haue done good herein, but to be restor-
ed againe to paradise. The one meancly to repose his
trust in a woman, who like Que cannot be begotten,
the other to rest on a saint which by a serpent will not
be tempted. Thus being placed in the garden of
your graces, & of all things most gracious, where
vertues grow as thicke as leaues did in paradise,
they will take hede to tast of the forbidden fruit,
contented to behold, not coueting to take hold. And
for that it hath bene long argued, and no arguing
can end, whether the first offense came by the crudi-
tie of Adam, or the simplicitie of Que; the one de-
fending his fault by sound arguments, the other ex-
cusing hers by sharpe answers: they most humble
sue for this, that either by fir courses betwene them
the quarrell may be ended, or by your highnesse per-
emptorie sentence determined. For they both being
in the world, are desirous that one might beare the
blame of both. And what herein your excellencie shall
set downe, there is none shall gainsaie; for when
shewer the question shall be moued, no other reason
shall be allowed or liked than this; *Elizabetha dixit*.
This speech being thus ended, sir Thomas Perot
and master Cooke proceeded backward on the other
side of the tilt. And when master Ratcliffe came like-
wise against the queene, one of his pages pronoun-
ced these speeches in his masters behalfe to hir ma-
iestie.

The defen-
dants iure
and desire.

Mr Ratcliffe
speech to the
queene.

A mosse
cliffe.

Mosse and
nothing but
mosse.

So manie were the misfortunes (most renown-
med and beautifull princeesse) of the desolate knight
my master, as neither the shortnesse of the time will
suffer me to repeat, nor the greatnesse of the myste-
rie to remember. But let this suffice, that soie there
were and so manifold, that geometrie whereon the
bodie of man hangeth could not beare being intolle-
rable, nor the mind which consisteth in arithmetike
number being infinit. Thus alwaies crossed by for-
tune, whose crossing is no blessing, he determined to
separate himselfe as far from societie, as his actions
were from successe; who wandering through manie
deserts, yet finding as he thought no place desolate,
happened at the last to come to a cliffe adioining to
the maine sea, covered all with mosse, whereon he
was walking: much delighted with the solitarie
seat, but not well liking the cold situation, he sudden-
lie sunke into a hollow vault, surprised at the first
with feare, but seeing it at the last a place of succour,
he accounted his former miseries manie appeased
by this present fortune. In this den he used for his
bed mosse, for his candle mosse, for his eating mosse,
and for his tow and then a few coales, mosse for his
meat; a drie tow God wot and a flesh, but so moi-
stened with wet teares, and so salt, that hard it was
to contenance, whether it were better to sad or to fast.
Here he gaue himselfe to continuall meditation, se-

parating his mind from his bodie, his thought from
his hart, yea diuorcing himselfe from himselfe, in so
much that, with his strange diet and new conceits
he became so enchanted; that neither the remem-
brance of others, nor a thought touching himselfe
could enter into his mind: an alteration seldome
heard of, that the place where as he was throwed in,
should make him to forget who he is. Lining thus a
long time, that no lim should seme short, rising
according to his maner to walke in the mosse in the
grasping of the day, he espied upon the those certaine
men either cast astate by shipwacke, or ouer board
by pirates, unto whom he went; and perceiving by
their plumes one which lay dead amongst them to be
their master, inquired wherof they were: But they
not willing to repeat their misfortunes, opened the
bosome of the gentleman, and pulled out a scroll
containing a claime, a challenge, naie a conquest of
Beautie. At the sight whereof, suddenlie (quoth he)
Beautie, hand therewithall appalled paused, entering
by little and little out of his present melancholies in-
to his former misfortunes, who as one awaked out
of a long dreame began thus to beate. O Beautie,
where thy fortress is founded I know, but what
these brethren should meane I marvel; for as I am
assured that to win the none could be so fortunate,
so did I thinke that to claime the none could be so
fond; when as thou O diuine Beautie art of euerie
one to be desired, but neuer to be conquered of De-
sire. But as the eagle beholding the sunne, coue-
teth to build his nest in the same, and so dimmeth his
sight; so they betwix the brightnesse of Beautie
are incited to conquer it by Desire. And what
then? Because she is inuincible shall I be indiffe-
rent? No, I will forsake this caiffe cottage, and will
take arms to defend that Beauties castell. Nothing
shall remoue me from mine attempt, which being
performed, nothing can moue me. Yea but the hath
seruants already a number; I but vnles I be there,
not the whole number: but manie were famous, but
none more faithfull: yet alas, if thou go, thou shalt
euer be infortunat: better alwaies infortunat, than
once disloyall. Which words being ended, he deman-
ded whether they would in like case aduenture with
one of no lesse courage than their master, but certai-
lie of greter affection: whose seruice he having upon
small intreatie obtained, for that belike they were
desirous to see the entent for the which they had suffer-
ed such aduentures, he departed to his cause, bearing
a shield out of the hard cliffe enriched onelie with
soft mosse: a double signe of his desire, thinking that
nothing could manifest Beautie so well as Pytha-
goras walnut, a tender rine and a hard shell. And
now most excellent and diuine Beautie, diuine it
must needs be that worketh so heauenlie, sith he is
called from his solitarie cause to your sumptuous
court, from bondage to libertie, from a liuing death
to a neuer dieng life, and all for the sake and seruice
of Beautie: vouchsafe his shield, which is the ensigne
of your fame, to be the instrument of his fortune.
And for prostrating himselfe to your feet, he is here
readie prest to aduenture anie aduentures for your
gratious fauour.

Which speech being ended, he retired backe as the
rest. And after him came the foure sonnes of sir
Francis Inolles, one after an other, according to
their age, and all in like armour: who coming to
the end of the tilt, staid till these speeches were utter-
ed by one of their pages, who being apparelled like
vnto Mercurie, pronounced these speeches in the
knights behalfe to hir maiestie.

Report hath brynt all abroad, that desperat De-
sire with a wonderfull armie of affections hath laid
his siege against the inuincible fortress of piete:
I will

It claime a
conquest of
beautie con-
tained in a
scroll.

It similitude,

Desire
beate

why
desire to
win
it.

The
four
franc
knights

Here the batt
delivered
Mr Ratcliffe
shield to the
queene.

Here enter
the foure sons
of sir Francis
Inolles.

The
speech of
the four sons
of sir Francis
Inolles, &c.

continued by
next page be-
ing appar-
ed like unto
himselfe.

desire and
beauty.

the desire
beauty least
beauty bea-

The four
children of
francis
knights.

both
of.

be

or
long
in

be running
the race.

each of
the sons
of
1. p. 20

lesse beantie, and that the chiefeft champions of this most famous enterpise are foure of fancties fellows, fosterbrothers to desire, and drie nurs by despair, valiant knights, and honorable personages, whose haute hearts deserve renowne at least, for venturing to win the golden sere without Medea's helpe. The giants long ago did scale the clouds men saie, in hope to win the foot of Jupiter. The wanton youth, whose waten wings did drie with soaring vp aloft, had scapt unscathed if he had kept a meaner gale below. So failes it out in this attempt, desire baunts to conquer Beauties foot by force, wherein the goddesse keeps continuall watch and ward, so that desire may despair to win one inch of his against his will. His statelie seat is set so high, as that no leuell can be laid against his walles: and sooner may men undertake to hit a starre with a stone, than to beat his braue bulwokes by batterie. So undermining may peruaile, for that his foot is founded upon so firme a rocke, as will not stir for either fraud or force. And is there anie hope to win by famine such a foot as yields continuall food to all his foes? And though they feed not fat therewith, yet must they either feed thereon or fast: for Beautie is the onlie bait whereon desire bites; and loue the chiefe resort that ladie Beantie likes, so that she can no more be left without meat, than men can liue without minds. Of all affections that are, desire is the most worthy to win, but lest deserves to win Beantie: for in winning his saint, he loseth himselfe: no sooner hath desire what he desireth, but that he dieth presentlie: so that when Beantie yieldeth once to desire, then can she neuer want to be desired againe. Wherefore of force this principle must stand, it is conuenient for desire euer to wish, and necessarie that he alwaies want. O rare and most renowned Beantie, O goddesse to be honored of all, not to be equalled of anie, become not now a prisoner: your softnesse is inuincible. So doubt desire will content himselfe with a favourable parlee, and wait for grace by lotallie, not challenge it by lance, although he make neuer so braue. He would dooth know that ladie Beantie needs no rescue to raise this siege, for that she sits above all reach, his heauenlie looks about when she so lists can dayell all mens eyes. But though she list not bide those meanes, yet it is mete that all his seruants come and shew themselves deuout to do his will: perchance his pleasure is to see the foits tried of these foure foster friends. O happie, ten times happie they whose hap shall be with fauour of his desire, to take in hand this braue attempt: in hope whereof these foure legitimate sonnes of despair, brethren to hard mishap, suckled with sighes, and swathed by in sorrow, weaned in woo, and drie nurs by desire, long time fostered with fauourable countenance, and fed with sweet fancties, but now of late (alas) wholie giuen ouer to grieffe and disgraced by dishaue, are come with ready hearts and hands, to pious against these other foure, that desire dooth not deserue one winke of good fauour from ladie Beauties smiling eyes, for threatening to win his foot by force. They doubt not the victorie, if onlie they may find some like shew from their saint in fauor of their enterpise. If Mercurie haue said amisse, blame those bright beams which haue bereft him of his wit; if well, vouchsafe one becke to bid him packe awaie.

These speeches being ended, both they and the rest marched about the tilt, and so going backe to the other end thereof prepared themselves to run, euerie one in his turne, each defendant six courses against the former challengers: who performed their parts so balliantlie on both sides, that their prowess hath deserved perpetuall memorie, and worthilie won hono; both to themselves and their native countrie,

as saime hath the same reported. When this daies sport was thus accomplished, the boie that uttered the defiance, in these few speeches took his good night of the queene.

In the triall of this debatefull question, O your selfe) what can be said more than is? You see that saying begins to faile. Might the ordinarie truce maker, though no truce be treated, if at least your presence make it not lightsome, will wrap all in his blacke and mourning words, perchance mourning, so that the noblest desire hath bene subiect to vnderferved toiments: and therefore these knights by the authoritie of darkenes verie vnderfroune are compelled to depart from thence they came. To conclude, thus much they command me in their names to confesse, that such excellencie they find in your knights, and in comparison of them such vnablenesse in their selues, that if desire did not banish despair as a traitor out of his kingdome, it would haue already undermined their best grounded determination: but no inward nor outward wound, no weaknesse, no wearinesse, can dant desire, no take awaie the naturall effects that follow it. Therefore hauing left them no other courage than desire, no other strength than desire, no other beginning or ending cause but desire, they will continue this hard and hardie enterpise to morrow. In the meane time they can find no place in their hearts that dooth not wish you as sweet rest, as Psyche was conueied vnto by the gentle Zephyrus, and if it be possible by the same ghost visited. They wish that when your lids loke vp, your eyes may be brightened, to see to morrow a better daie than this, and therewithall so singular successe, as you may long, fixelie, and toyfullie inoy your selfe, to the delight of lookers, and wonder of markers. This said, and all the triumphant shewes ended, the knights in verie comelie and conuenient order (as they came) departed:

*Et fessos soluant artus, molissima quaeque
Gustant, & dulci membra quiescent.*

The next daies shew was done in this order. The foure foster children of desire entered in a braue charriot (verie finelie and curiouslie decked) as men force wearied & halfe overcome. The charriot was made in such sort, as vpon the top the foure knights sat, with a beautifull ladie, representing desire about them. Wherevnto their eyes were turned, in token what they desired. In the bulke of the charriot was conueied roine for a full consort of musike, who plaid still verie dolefull musike as the charriot moved. The charriot was drawne by foure horses according to the foure knights, which horses were apparelled in white and carnation silke, being the colours of desire. And as it passed by the hyper end of the tilt, a herald of armes was sent before to utter these speeches in the knights behalfe to his maiestie.

No confidence in themselves, O most unmatched princeesse, before whome euerie dieth, wanting all narrenes of comparison to susteine it, & admiration is expressed, finding the scope of it void of conceivable limits, nor anie sight regarding the force of your valiant knights, hath encouraged the foster children of desire to make this daie an inheritance of yesterdaies action: but the wing of memorie alas, the swozne enimie vnto the woofull mans quietnesse, being constantlie held by the hand of perfection, and neuer ceassing to blow the cole of some kindled desire, hath brought their inward fire to blaze forth this flame vquenchable by anie meanes: till by death the whole fetwell be consumed. And therefore not able to maister it, they are violentlie borne whither desire draweth, although they must confesse (alas) that yesterdaies braue onset should come to such a confession, that they are not greatlie companied with hope,

The boie that
uttered the
defiance, in
this speech
took his good
night of the
queene.

There entered
a most excell-
ent and braue
charriot, with
rare, curious,
and costlie
musike with
the foure chal-
lengers in it,
which charriot
or was verie
curiouslie draw-
n with
fine lawne.

The first
speech the
second daie.

Women of
strange sta-
tures to be
seen.

This yeare were to be scene in London two Dutchmen of strange stature, the one in height seamen foot & seamen inches, in breadth betwixt the shoulders three quarters of a yard and an inch, the compass of his brest one yard, an halfe, and two inches; & about the waist one yard, quarter, and one inch; the length of his arme to the hand a full yard: a comelie man of person, but lame of his legs (for he had broken them with lifting of a barrell of beere.) The other was in height but three foot, had neuer a good foot, nor anie knee at all, and yet could he dance a galliard, he had no arme, but a stumpe to the elbow or little more on the right side, on the which, singing, he would dance a cup, and after tolle it about three or foure times, and euerie time receiue the same on the said stumpe: he would shoot an arrow nere to the marke, flourish with a rapier, throw a bolle, beat with an hammar, beate with an ar, sound a trumpet, and drinke euerie daie ten quartes of the best beere, if he could get it. About the seauenteenth of Iulie, I saw these men in the parish of saint Peter upon Cornhill, the taller sitting on a bench bareheaded, the lesser stood on the same bench, and hauing on his head a hat with a feather, was yet the lower. Also the taller man standing on his feet, the lesser (with his hat & feather on his head) went by right betwene his legs, and touched him not.

Queene
Dance expe-
rienced.

Marriage
not
coming to
church.

Shakespeare
not of the
same into
England.

Shakespeare
not of the
same into
England.

Shakespeare
not of the
same into
England.

Shakespeare
not of the
same into
England.

Shakespeare
not of the
same into
England.

The eighteenth of Iulie, Euerard Hance, alias Duckett, a seminarie priest, was in the sessions hall in the old Bailie of London arraigned, where he before the quenes iustices affirmed that himselfe being now in England was subiect to the pope in ecclesiasticall causes, and that the pope hath now the same authoritie here in England that he had an hundred yeares past, and which he hath now at Rome, with other traitorous speeches: for the which he was condemned to be beheaded, hanged, and quartered, and was executed accordingly on the last of Iulie. At the same sessions were brought from the Fleet, the Gatehouse, Fleetgate, and the Counters, sundrie prisoners, indicted for refusing to come to church; all which being conuicted by their owne confession, had iudgement according to the statute, to paie twentie pounds for euery moneth of such wilfull absence from the church. The first of November, monsieur Francis duke of Anjou, the French kings brother, and other nobles of France (hauing latelie arrived in Kent) came to London, and were honourably receiued, and retained at the court with banquetting, and diuerse pleasant shewes and pastimes, of whome more hereafter in place conuenient.

On morndate being the twentieth of Nouember, Edmund Campion, Rafe Sherwin, Lucas Kerbie, Edward Wylton, Thomas Coteham, Henrie Dutton, Robert Johnson, & James Bosgrave. All these before named persons were brought vnto the high barre at Westminster: where they were seuerallie, and altogether indicted vpon high treason, the sum whereof followeth in briefe as thus. That these persons, contrarie both to lone and dutie, forsooke their native countrie, to line beyond the seas, vnder the popes obedience, as at Rome, Vrbaine, and ouer other places: where (the pope hauing with other princes practised the death and depriuation of our most gracious princeesse, and vtter subuersion of his seat & kingdome, to aduance his most abhominable religion) these men, hauing vowed their allegiance to the pope, to obeye him in all causes whatsoeuer, being there, gaue their consent; yea vttermost furtherance they might, to aid him in this most traitorous determination. And for this intent and purpose they were sent ouer to seduce the hearts of his maiesties louing subiects, and to conspire and practise his graces death, as much as in them laie, against a great

daie, set and appointed, when the generall hanoche should be made, those onelie reserved that tainted with them. This laied to their charge, they boldlie and impudentlie denied. Whereupon a iurie was impanelled, their owne confessions, their owne writings, and credible witnesses *Vita Voce* produced to their faces, approuing them guiltie of the former allegations, as hereafter followeth.

After the indictment was read vnto them, and their answer, that it was beyond their power to proue them faultie in such matters, so stiffelie they stood in their apparant impudencie, first was moued to them sundrie treasons past, attempted against his maiestie by those of their sect and disposition: yet notwithstanding the vttermost of their malice, how mightilie God had defended his chosen Elisabeth, returning their dealings to their owne destruction. Among sundrie these treasonable practises, which the pope, the ancient aduersarie to his maiestie hath at diuerse times set abroch, the rebellion in the north may remaine as a witnesse of his exceeding malice and spite against his grace and gouernement. Where to let vs ad the bull sent ouer by Iohn Felton, which traitorously he placed on the bishop of Londons gate: in which bull, the pope vtterlie excommunicated his maiestie, she was an heretike, he had dispossessed her of her crowne and dominion, she was not the lawfull queene of this realme, and his subiects were not bound to obeye anie of his laws or decrees; but they were all free, and perfectlie discharged of their allegiance to her, so that they might lawfullie, when time serued so conuenient for them, both stirre rebellion against her, and also enter into armes against his maiestie. The popes will in this hath bin put in execution, as through the ill demerits of diuerse persons to him affected it was moued in the north, where maintaining themselves on the authoritie of the pope and his traitorous bull secretlie dispersed abroad, they entred into a plaine and manifest rebellion. The like was put in practise in Ireland through doctor Sanders and other traitors, who there joined themselves together vnder the popes standard, to bring to passe their secret appointment in this realme. Through their persuasions and dealings, the people were moued in the popes name to fight against their lawfull princeesse vnder his banner; and to rebell against her so notoriouslie as they might. The encouragement to this great disobedience they receiued through doctor Sanders a fugitive and ranke traitor to his prince and countrie, as also through diuerse Iesuits both English and Irish, whose hypocriticall shew of holinesse and diuellish persuasions on the behalfe of the pope their maister and head, intised a multitude of the people there to change their profession in religion, and to yeld themselves to the popes authoritie, whereby they should renounce the most certaine and iust title of his maiestie: and when fozen forces should be assembled there, they to ioin with them in their intent, and so traitorously rebell against their lawfull soueraigne. All these practises toke their originall from the pope, as well by sending his secret messengers, as also by his traitorous bull, which being sent by Iohn quinthus, is neuertheless confirmed (in the former authoritie) by this pope Gregorie the thirtieth, and remaineth in hope to take effect at some time or other, for which he doth watch opportunitie as conuenientlie as he maie. But God the iust auenger of all causes, as he hath hitherto preserved his maiestie & this little Island from all their malicious attempts and practises, and hath deseruedlie shewne the poke of their shame on their owne necks: so will he no doubt continue his fatherlie care, that his children shall be preserved, & their aduersaries confounded.

The rebellion
in the north,
onlie through
the popes
meanes.

The sum of
the popes bull
which our
Englishmen
beyond the
seas hold as
their authori-
tie to rebell a-
gainst his ma-
iestie.

Doctor San-
ders his re-
bellion in Ire-
land, through
whome the
people were
seduced to
fight against
their lawfull
princeesse.

This bull re-
maineth in
his former
force by this
pope, onelie a
collection for
the straitnesse
to the subiects
there in amens-
dec.

But

Campion, be-
sireth not to
heare how
these treasons
were their o-
riginal, and
how from time
to time they
haue bene en-
terprised and
confounded:
wherefore to
blind the peo-
ples eyes he
maketh this
counterfeitt
answer.

But saith Campion: What is this to vs here
present? What appertaineth this to our indiamen-
t? We are here both severallie and all together indicted
of high treason; and for that that is objected against
vs we must answer. Let not other mens offenses
be laid to our charge, that we should answer for other
mens faults committed long since. Some of vs were
then but novices here in the universities, and were
altogether ignorant of these matters. What have
we to do with anie thing that they did? They that
were offenders, let them answer to that you can lay
against them. For vs that be here at this instant,
you must either saie, When Campion didst this thing,
or thou (naming some of the other) committedst this
offense, and therupon bring your proofes and witness-
ses, otherwile you shall never be able to touch vs. As
for these assertions, for the strength they haue against
vs, I will not esteeme it worth a penniworth of pip-
pins. And therefore to your indiamen-

This answer is smoothlie deliuered, and with such
roie looks and protestation of action gested, that all
the standers by gaue perfect notice of the man, both
of his nature and disposition, as also of his prompt
& ingenious wit, to shadow an absolute truth with
a shew of great wisdom and learning. For this he
knew right well, that before he came to that place,
he had woone a marvellous goodlie report, to be such a
man as his like was not to be found, either for life,
learning, or anie other qualittie that might beautifie
a man. So that by his fauours and friends it was
blown abroad, that we had neither doctors, nor o-
thers that were worthy to enter disputation with
him, he was so farre aboue them all, that they might
not deale with him. Whereunto the great titles which
they adorne him withall giue credit, saieing thus:

Ex libello qua-
dam famosi.

*Quid? Campiano de erat doctrina perito,
Doctrina natus qui penetrale fuit:
Cui fuit in primis sponsata scientia cunctis,
Quique puer nuli mente secundus erat:
Ingenuis iuuenis qui sedulus imbuat artes,
Præque videbatur vix habuisse parem, &c.*

Now being brought vnto a publike triall, it stood
him vpon to argue somewhat of the praise that had
bene giuen him: wherefore in verie quaint and fa-
miliar eloquent glosses he stood vpon quirks and fine
deale of speech, thinking as he had deluded manie
before, so at that present he might blind the eyes of in-
dices, & acquite himselfe of his horrible treasons. But
as truth sheweth most braue when she goeth bare &
naked, and decept finest when he is cunninglie flo-
rished; even so the poore habit of the one discovered
the proud hart of the other, and confounded his bold-
nesse with his sacred brightnesse, giuing all men to
vnderstand, that *Veritas vincit omnia*. And because
Campion would haue made such a cunning conue-
nience of the matter, as though it neither might or
could attaint him or anie of them: it was giuen him
to vnderstand, that they would not alone touch him
in the sequele of the former causes, but them all, and
he that thought himselfe the clearest. Whereupon do-
cto: Sanders and docto: Wiffow, their traitorous
writings in defense of the popes bull exhibited a-
gainst his maiestie, were read vnto them, how they
both allowed it, and also the rebellion in the north. Af-
terwards that Wiffowes booke in allowance thereof, named
his *Notities*, was especiallie commanded to be used
amongest them both at Rome and at Rheimes, eue-
rie one being expresse charged not to be without
one of these bookes.

Docto: San-
ders and docto:
Wiffowes
bookes were
there read vnto
them. Where-
in most traito-
rously they de-
fended the re-
bellion against
his maiestie.

This with open mouths they altogether denied,
some that they had neuer sene it, and some that they
neuer heard of anie such commandement: when as
John Hart one of their owne fellows had auouched

had auouched it, and therevnto subscribed. Besides,
my selfe when I came to Rheimes, saw them as
common amongst them, as the litle catechisme here
amongst children, the inequalitye of the number con-
sidered. Again, at Rome they were as common
likewise in the seminarie, and among the English
men in the citie, for my selfe had it, and one of do-
cto: Allens catechismes deliuered me, with great
charge to embrace it as my chiefe instruction. My
companion that went with me had one likewise; the
rest of the witnesses had sene how common they
were, and in what reuerence and authoritie they e-
steemed them: yet these men would with shamelesse
faces denie it; yea, and if they might haue bene so
credited, would haue swoorne against it. This ma-
nifest reprofe they would not grant vnto, but Cam-
pion taketh vpon him to wrest it according vnto his
humor, by answering that the booke was not so ill as
they take it for, nor deserued anie such iudgement of
preiudice. Now he thought he could not be taken
tardie, but supposed his argument to passe vnto: pon-
able; for that in the new imprinting of this booke,
such matters as did most sharplie touch them, were
abridged, thinking none of the former bookes should
come to light. But here Campion ouershot himselfe,
for so his answere could not couer so foule a ble-
mish. When they had notably conuicted them of these
matters, which with obstinacie they still denied, they
came to the intent of their secret comming ouer in-
to this realme, which was for the death of his maiestie,
and ouerthrow of the whole realme, which should
be by domesticall rebellion and foren hostilitie, the
sum whereof in briebe is thus. This litle Island, God
hauing so bountifullie bestowed his blessings vpon
it, that except it proue false within it selfe, no trea-
son whatsoeuer can prouaile against it, and the pope
being hereof verie well persuaded, by reason that
all his attempts haue proued of no effect: he hath
found out a meane, whereby he assurth himselfe to
sped of his desire. Secret rebellion must be stirred
here at home among our selues, the hearts of the peo-
ple must be obdurated against God and their prince;
so that when a fozen power shall on a sudden invade
this realme, the subiects thus seduced must ioine
with these in armes, and so shall the pope attaine the
sum of his wish. And all this must be wrought by
certeine locusts of the popes seminarie maintained
at Rome & Rheimes, arriving in England, and
dispersing themselves into such places, where they
thinke themselves to be surest, some in one place,
and some in another; and disguising themselves like
gentlemen, seruicemen, or what apparell they may
find meetest for them, haue accesse to manie and
sundry places, where hauing reconciled some, their
friends must likewise be of the same stamp. And so,
what from father to son, husband and wife, kinsman
and acquaintance, a number are seduced & brought
into their detestable dealings. For, after they haue
gotten anie litle ground within them to build vpon,
then do they laie vnto them, what a generall bloudie
date is toward England, that the pope and other fo-
ren princes haue sachie determined to ouerrun the
realme; then better it were for you (saie they) to yield
your selues willinglie, than to see so horrible a
slaughter, both of your prince, and all that dare
presume to take his part. Your selues, yea and your
friends shall abide the same hard iudgement, except
you ioine with vs in this action. Thus through ter-
rifieng, and a thousand traitorous fetches they haue;
one friend bringeth another, and one kinsman an-
other. So that, as they themselves will make
their boast, in short time they doubt not to haue the
most part of all England: yea and further they pre-
sume, that his maiestie thinking his selfe in most
safety,

felless, & sub-
scribed to, and
what enters
one of the
witnesses
knew to be
most certein,
M. A.

Campion me-
mored this
point subtilie,
because in the
last edition of
the booke the
chiefe matters
against them-
selues were
abridged.

The generall
determinati-
on how to
bring to passe
their intent in
this realme.

Their owne
confession
how they be-
haue them-
selues seduced
they come into
England.

Campion con-
fesseth their
conscience
clearing it
was for the
safeguard of
soules.

when he had
no other chise,
he fell into
such words.

in this
abillie,
in the
tion of
the matter
them
were
ed.

The depositio
of G. Eliot.

generall
ministi-
es to
to passe
intent in
realme.

it owne
ession
they be-
them-
as when
come into
gland.

Spanning the
queene of
Briton.

A most traito-
rous and dis-
honourous an-
swer of con-
science true sub-
ject to be read
with reue-
rence of the
person.

As int of
their good will
humbled, if
God did not
(as he daily
doth) prevent
their pur-
poses.

saferie, shall then be sonest of all beguiled & deceiued. These are the men that make themselves so sound and substantiall, that they are as true subsidies to his maiestie, as the best of vs. *Yea*, saith Campion, neuer shall you promise this, that we came ouer either for this intent or purpose: but onelie for the sauing of soules, which more loue and conscience compelled vs to doe, for that we did pittie the miserable estate of our countrie. But where are your promises (saith he) these are but quirkies by the wals, our liues I perceiue standeth vpon points of rhetorike, you haue shewen vs the antecedent, now let vs haue the *Ergo*. With this continuall course of boldnesse and impudencie, Campion and his fellows would grant nothing, but stillie denied euerie cause: and Campion he tolde it for a custome to wrest euerie thing as pleased him, saying: that the iurie were not men learned, and therefore causes of conscience ought not to be committed to them, neither was that barre appointed to define on causes of conscience: wherefore, all that you doe (saith he) is but to bring vs in *odium* with the iurie. After this order he deluded the people, appealing still to the deuoutnesse of his conscience: because he saw the matter brought to the barre such that would generallie conuict them all, for the witnesses were produced and shewne, parts confession and their owne writings before them, so that they would remoue them from their ordinarie illusions.

George Eliot, one of the ordinarie peomen of his maiesties chamber, vpon his oath gaue forth in euidence as followeth. That he, liuing here in England among certeine of that sect, fell in acquaintance with one Paine a priest: who gaue him to vnderstand of a horrible treason intended against his maiestie and the state, which he did expect hostile to happen, the order how & after what manner in briefe is thus. That there should be leuted a certeine compaignie of armed men, which on a sudden should enterprise a most monstrous attempt: a certeine compaignie of these armed men should be prepared against his maiestie, as manie against my L. of L. as manie against my L. T. as manie against S. F. W. and diuerse other, whose names he doth not well remember. The deaths of these noble personages should be presentlie fulfilled, and his maiestie vled in such sort, as modestie nor dutie will not suffer a subject to rehearse: but this should be the generall cry euerie where, *Queene Marie, queene Marie*. It was also appointed and agreed vpon who should haue this man of honours to come, and who should haue that office, euerie thing was determined, there wanted nothing but the committing ouer of such priests and others, as were long looked for. Vpon this report, this aforesaid George Eliot took occasion to question with this Paine, how they could find in their hearts to attempt an act of so great and horrible crueltie, considering how high an offense it should be to God, beside great dangers might arise thereby. Whereunto Paine made answer, that the killing his maiestie was no offense to God, nor the uttermost crueltie they could vse to him, or anie that took his part, but that they might as lawfullie do it as to a brute beast, and himselfe would be one of the foremost in executing of this villanous and most traitorous action.

By this you may perceiue, that the death of his maiestie and overthrow of this realme was thoroughlie agreed vpon, and fullie determined: there wanted nothing but opportunitie, for priests both then and after came ouer continuallie to further it, so much as in them laie. To the said effect did A. D. D. utter most odious matter, the reading whereof would make anie true English hart quake & tremble: and to write it, what loiall subject is able to a-

bide? And therefore as deriued from the diuelt to his dearlings we omit the same; counting it more loialtie to kill such deuises and consultations altogether, than to publish them to the world in blacke & white: due reuerence to the principall obiects alwaies reserued. All which abominable stiffe, circumstances of times, places, persons, and other particulars dilie pondered, giue euident demonstration what affection these fellows afford their lawfull queene and countrie: well is he that can imagine most against his maiestie, and highlie is he esteemed that beareth the most traitorous hart to him. Yet Campion and the rest of his fellows they plead ignorance in all these causes, they bolster by one another with large protestations, railing words, and subtill turnings: affirming that they were not sent hither for anie such intent: which is as vntrue, as we know it for truth, that the Lord God liueth in heauen.

For this * I am able to saie my selfe, that at diuerse other times, it was whispered among them in the seminarie: that shortly there should be priests appointed for England, to win the people against the appointed time; when as a great armie should be readie to ioinie with them: and Campion, who was then at Praga in Bohemia, he was spoken of amongst them all, to be a rare and singular fellow, and therefore generallie was taken for a meet man to be sent about such a message, so that they iudged that he should be sent for to be a chiefe man in this matter. Well (saith Campion) it may be they had such an opinion of me, which in my selfe I find not to be deserued; and it may be that I was appointed to be sent into England, according as those other priests were, for the sauing of soules and benefit of my countrie: must it follow then that we are sent to practise the death of the queene, and to make the ruine of our countrie? Alas, this is a hard case, and I desire you of the iurie to marke it, for these are but shadows without anie substance. This you are to note, that we which enter into that blessed societie of the Iesuites: we doe as it were forsake the world, following our selues to chastitie and sinceritie of conscience, to obeie our superiours, and to be readie to go whither they shall appoint vs. If they send vs to the Indies, or to anie such places, where the people haue not the true catholike faith: we are bound by dutie in conscience to go whither they appoint vs. And shall it then be said that we come for the destruction of the prince and countrie, where we settle our selues? Alas, that were a hard case, for christian charitie willet vs to comfort one another, and if we can to get the sheepe into the fold which hath long run astrae. And when we heare confession, we doe not perswade them to anie disobedience; for that is against the nature of confession: God forbid that we should once thinke anie such thing.

Behold the subtill shifts that he found out still to his vnto, yea though the manifest dispose laie before them, yet would he find some cauill or other: for not onelie the euidence of their generall determination beyond the seas was shewen them, but also the traitorous articles were there read vnto them, which John Hart had copied out for doctor Allen (concerning the proceeding of these traitorous causes, and for which he went purposefulle to Rome to confer with the pope about) and subscribed vnto, that they were certeine and true, as also their owne confessions and writings were laid open before them, approving them notable guiltie of the matters aforesaid, and yet in their lieng pamphlets scattered here & there in sundry hands, they haue faces of hyasse to report, that

Insidie sanctos implicuere viros.

Charles Sled, who sometime serued master doctor Aporton in Rome, in whose house there was manie matters

Campion now
his fellows
will grant to
anie thing,
but raise an-
dise both for
themselves, by
their guiltie
confessions
were discou-
ered.
M. A.

Campion con-
fesseth their
traitorous in-
tents vnder
the sauing of
soules.

A holie kind
of life were it
not for the

Note here the
perfect image
of hypocritie.

when manie
fell profess of
their treasons
were laid be-
fore them:
they would in
no wise grant
their guilti-
nesse.

matters determined, both by doctor Allen when he came to Rome, and diuers other doctors living there in the citie, as also diuerse of the seminarie: he likewise vnderstood of the pponition for the great date, that it was generallie spoken of among the Englishmen: and to be more certeine he kept a iournall or booke of their dallie dealings, noting the date, time, place, and persons present at their secret conferences, and verie much matter hath he iustified against them. One Cradocke a merchant, when he was in Rome, he vnderstood the aforesaid determination, and how that doctor Shelleie the English priest, who is a knight of the Rhodes, for that he sometimes spake against such crueltie to be vsed to his native countrie, was somewhat mistlike of himselfe, and had almost bene turned out of his office. And this aforesaid Cradocke being in prison there for the space of twentie moneths and more: it was said to him, that he might account himselfe blessed of God that he was there, because he should not see the grievous ruine of his native countrie. He that hath but halfe an eye may see how these matters conoord and agree together, and noting euerie thing as it lieth, may plainlie see their horrible and traitorous deuises.

Consider euerie matter and then iudge how they conoord and agree together.

A booke which they vse as their instruction, how to answer to euerie question so phisicallie.

To doe their dutie is a weightie burden to their consciences, and therefore they abide in their obstinacie and blindness.

And further, there was a little booke in Latine, which they themselves brought ouer with them, it was there openlie read vnto them: wherein was certeine rules and orders prescribed, how they should behaue themselves here in England, and how if they were demanded of anie thing, they should make answer indreadlie: or to take the word it selfe, according as it is mentioned in the booke, they must answer *sophisticke*, whereby is meant as thus. If they be examined as concerning their allegiance to hir maiestie, they will make their answer after this manner: She is our lawfull soueraigne ladie & quene, and we obeye hir. But then object vnto them; Will you obeye hir, notwithstanding the popes excommunication, or anie thing that he commandeth to the contrarie? Then will they answer: We desire you not to charge our consciences, and that you would not enter so deepe into our consciences, we trust the pope will not command vs anie thing against hir: & a hundred such like deuiselesse answers they make, neuer agreeing to anie certaintie, but holding the pope in more reuerence than they do hir maiestie. For this consideration they carrie with them, that if by their shew of humilitie, & their deuised order of craftie answering, they might moue our magistrats to haue a good opinion of them, & not to deale so stricte as law and their deseruing doth worthy merit: then they might with lesse suspect go about their holie fathers businesse, in that their sophisticall answers couered so foule an abuse. And then so manie as come after them, purposelie sent about the same affaires, seeing their passage made before them, and being scholed after the same manner: they might withdraw the hearts of a number of hir maiesties subiects, by such meanes as is before largelie exprest; so that destruction should come vpon vs, before we had discovered their trecherous dealings. But God be thanked, as all their deuises haue had their deserued successe, this sophisticall order hath sped alike with them for companie: and this let them fullie assure themselves, that what meanes soeuer they seeke against their pzincesse and countrie, God will reward them after their owne dealings.

Campion his owne answer as concerning his allegiance to hir maiestie.

To Campion himselfe the former questions were put forth at the barre: and this answer he made to them. She is my lawfull soueraigne ladie & quene, and I do obeye hir. But when he was demanded, although the pope did expresselie command him the

contrarie: if he would neuertheless faithfullie obeye hir: Oh then! they must not so deepe enter into his conscience, that barre was not a barre to define on causes of conscience: that question touched his conscience, wherefore he flatlie said he might not answer it. So, no, he knew full well that the traitorous affaires he came about, would not allow him such a direct answer as they had looked for, and gladlie would haue had, that of a Saule they might haue made him a Paule. Wherefore his secret and guilefull behauiour made perfect apperance of his wicked intent, which he shadowed vnder the counterfeit cloke of saving soules, and reconciling his countriemen to the catholike faith, vnder the sweet bait of the amiable title of the societie of Iesus, to which order hauing bequeathed himselfe (and become a resolute and obstinate votarie) he thirsted after the kingdome of heauen; if we maie beleue their owne report concerning Campion, of whome they saie:

*Nominis inde tui sancto deuotus Iesu
Ille fidalitio calice regna sinit.*

Here it can not be greatlie amisse, to rehearse vnto you the cause why this pope hath tolerated the former bull, seeing this sophisticall kind of answering grew chiefe there by. When anie of these secret messengers should be sent about their holie fathers determination here in England, to reconcile, shunne, & win hir maiesties subiects to their diuillish intent: if such misadventure should happen to them, that their secret dealings came to the eares of iustice, then they fell into the danger of law. Wherefore to shadow their subtiltie, and to prosecute the effect of their message, the pope thought good to harden them by this sophisticall addition. For well we know, & themselves likewise are not ignorant thereof, that being examined, if they should denie the quenes maiestie to be their supreme pzincesse and gouernesse in all causes: then they fell into condemnation by hir lawes. Again, if they denied the authoritie of the pope, as of force they must needs do, if they will esteeme themselves good subiects, and manifest a dutifull and obedient heart to hir maiestie: then they breake their vow made to the pope, and so fall into his curse and condemnation likewise: so that this is certeinlie appointed them, to cleaue faithfullie to the one, and utterlie to forsake the other.

The cause why this pope hath tolerated the former bull of Pius Quintus.

Yet that they might haue as much fauour and friendship, as the furtherance of such a cause required: this hard clause (being well scanned of diuerse of our English doctors and others, both at Rome and at Rheims) was thorough earnest sate deliuered to diuerse of the cardinals, who laing their heads together, and thoroughlie searching the bottome of euerie doubt: a toleration for that strict point was found out, which was ordeined as you haue heard before. When in all the hall the pope was giuen to vnderstand thereof, who respecting what might be for his benefit, and what might turne to his dishonour, authorized them this former toleration, which (God be thanked) carried as slender strength as the rest of his practises hath done. Yet all this being knowne to vs, Campion & his fellows will grant no knowledge, but pleade still their deuout consciences. An other of their owne booke was also there read vnto them, wherein was other orders prescribed them, how they should handle a nobleman, how a gentleman, and how a poore man: which being openlie read before them, gaue all there present to vnderstand, how assuredlie they had appointed the course for their treason. A number of inuincible proofs passing against them, they came at last to the point of their comming ouer: how suddenlie, how baselie, & all thorough a generall appointment. Campion, he had staid a long time at Praga in Bohemia, and

Our English doctors conferring with the cardinals found out the meane for this toleration.

An other booke how to handle all manner of persons to win them to their intent.

Campion Confessing, for from Praga

get to go with
other priests
appointed for
England.

and on a suddⁿ he was hastily sent for to Rome: by
his owne confession he knew not wherefore, but the
message was in such hast, that he must come thither
with all speed.

When he came to Rome, he staid there but five
daies: in which time, receiving the summe of their
charge from the pope, as is their usuall tomt, and
their father generall deliuering them what he hath
in office: he was dispatched from thence with other
priests, who had their *Platicum* from the popes trea-
surie, and were all especiallie appointed for Eng-
land. These priests were sent (as all other are) about
the chiefe cause, for that none come from thence but
onlie for that purpose. The estate of the cause before
expressed, it is too manifest, that Campion and his
fellowes are guiltie of the matters objected against
them. For this you are to remember, that none must
staie there without they will be priests: when they re-
ceiue their priesthood, they enter into their oth, which
oth containeth the summe of the treason: so that all
which come from thence (hauing taken that oth) come
about the execution of the treason, in that none but
they that are especiallie sent, can haue their *Platicum*
of the pope; and then he sending them, the case is too
evident.

Let not a light iudgement passe ouer a matter of
so great respect, let the popes intent of keeping them
there be considered, the great malice and spite that
he beareth his maiestie and the relme, and then their
oth to execute his commandements; all these laid to-
gether, discouereth the depth of their trecherie. But
what answereth maister Campion to this? He con-
fesseth that he was quietlie settled at Braga, and lit-
tle expected any such hastie sending for: beside that,
he went to Rome with great speed, tarrising there
no longer than five daies, as is before expressed, and
that he receiued his *Platicum* of the pope, when as he
was dispatched thence with other priests, purpose-
lie appointed for England, and that he came no other-
wise than they did, nor for any other intent than for
the benefit of soules, as he still termed it: but he
would not grant that he came for any treason.

So that to seduce his maiesties subiects, to per-
suade them from their dutie and obedience, and to
toine themselves in such sort, as their prince and
countrie must be destroyed thereby: this is no trea-
son in his opinion. Notwithstanding, Campion and his fel-
lowes pleaded ignorance still, they saw and would
not see, they were so craftilie schooled. James Bos-
graue, he was at Vilna in Polonia, and as he con-
fessed himselfe, he understood that there was priests
appointed for England: upon which report he came
a waie from thence in verie great hast. And in his
passage, he mentioned to one in the ship, who was
sworne, and confessed the same before certaine iustices,
that there was such matter towards in Eng-
land, as hath bene before expressed: and thereupon
he sought to haue wone him, if his purpose could
haue taken effect. Campion seeing this begun some-
what to touch the quicke, and that in truth it discou-
ered the dealings of them all: he taketh upon him to
answer on his behalfe, for that they all reposed them-
selves on him.

He saith, that if Bosgraue did heare such newes,
that there were papists appointed for England, whie
should they take hold on so small a cause? Flieng
reports are not to be credited, for albeit he heard such
newes, how knew he, if they were certaine or no?
Againe (quoth he) the man hath bene long out of
England, and he doth not speake English per-
fectlie: it maie be then that some word maie escape
him vnawares, which you are not to build upon, con-
sidering the defect of the man, for he maie peraduenture
speake he knoweth not what. And where you

saie, that such a one hath smothered before certaine ius-
tices, that he bled such and such words to him; where
is the man, we are not to credit a written paper,
what know we if it be true or no? Let vs heare him
selfe saie so, and then we will beleue it. So what a
number of shifts he had continually to wast the time,
and all to no purpose. The mans owne confession
was there, wherto himselfe had subscribed, and foure
or five iustices set their hands to it for the certaintie
thereof; yet this was not sufficient to answer them.

Robert Johnson he was likewise at Autun in
France, from whence he came also in verie great
hast, upon the report he had heard of priests that
were appointed for England. Now there is an o-
ther thing to be considered, that these men, settled
where they were, by their owne confession they must
not depart from thence without they be appointed by
their superiours, then it is easie to be answered, that
they came by their superiours appointment at this pre-
sent: and as the generall determination was, so the y
came all for one cause & intent. Edward Rishston, he
being here in England, wrote a letter to Richardson
a priest, and who is likewise condemned amongst
them; which letter was there openlie read to his face.
Howe there were foure goldsmiths of his occupation
latelie come ouer, who indeed were priests, and how
all things went successiuelie forwards. And Campi-
on being in the Tower wrote a letter vnto Downd
likewise, wherein he gaue him to vnderstand that he
was verie sozie, that though his skilfulie he had be-
trayed those, at whose houses he had bene so frend-
lie interteined; wherefore he asked God hartlie for
giuenesse, and them all whome he had so highlie of-
fended. But (saith he) as for the chiefe matter that
is as yet vnruealed, and come racke come rope, ne-
uer shall that be discouered. A number of matters
more were brought against them, which to rehearse,
would requite a farre more large discourse: but to
be briefe, in the end, this was the fall and certaine is-
sue. That these men, when they were beyond the
seas: the generall agreement and determination a-
mongest them, was to worke the death of our most
gracious prince, to destroye his dominion, and to
erect such as pleased them when this aforesaid daie
should take effect. And that their comming ouer,
was to seduce his louing subiects, to win their obe-
dient hearts from him, so that they should be in a rea-
diness to toine with a foren power, and so they should
likewise be destroyers of their prince and coun-
trie. And that in the meane while they themselves
sought to accomplish his maiesties death, so much as
in them laie.

This was manifestlie proued by verie large and
ample euidence, credible witnesses, and their owne
confessions and writings: whereon the iurie, hauing
wiselie and discretelie pondered and searched and
sene into the depth of euerie cause, worthilie and de-
seruedlie gaue them by all guiltie of the treasons
whereof they were indicted and arraigned. Which
being done, after a godlie and comfortable exhorta-
tion, perswading them patientlie to suffer and abide
the death for them appointed, and to be hartlie sozie
for their greuous and hainous offenses, the sentence
of death was pronounced on them: that they should
depart to the places from whence they came, and
from thence to be vnto on hurdles to the place of
execution, where they should be hanged till they were
halfe dead: then to be cut downe, their priuite mem-
bers to be cut off, and their entrilles taken forth, and
to be burned in the fire before their eyes: then their
heads to be cut off, their bodies parted into foure
quarters to be disposed at his maiesties pleasure,
and the Lord God to receiue their soules to his mer-
cie. Afterwards they were conueied from thence
to the place of execution.

Crattors will
neuer beleue
any truth, es-
peciallie if it
touch them-
selues.

Robert John-
son his com-
ing from
Autun in
France.

Edward
Rishston's let-
ter to Ri-
chardson one
of the con-
demned.

Campion's
letter to mai-
ster Downd
in the Tower.

Campion
was resolute
in the chiefe
matter.

Campion
granteth, he
came as the
other priests
did to recon-
cile & shew
but he will not
allow that he
came for any
treason.

James Bos-
graue, his ha-
ving comming
from Vilna,
how he heard
that priests
were appoint-
ed for Eng-
land.

Campion fre-
quently his
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reasoning.

Sentence of
death denoun-
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Campion and
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with betes to a place of larning for them appointed, from whence they were conducted to the Tower of London, diners of them giuing forth sundrie letw and dishonest speeches: as Thomas Coteham, being so manie people to behold them, desired that fire and brimstone might fall from heauen, to destroie both the citie and all that were in it: with diuerse other wicked words, which for modesties sake I omit here to rehearse, desiring God in mercie to giue men better grace.

A verie holie thing, but verie meet for his deuotion.

On the next daie, being tuesday and the one and twentieth daie of Nouember, there was brought to the said high barre these persons following: John Hart, Thomas Ford, William Filbie, Laurence Richardson, John Shert, Alexander Brian, and John Collington. Alexander Brian, he had shauen his crowne himselfe, & made him a crosse of a peece of a trencher, which he held in his hand openlie & praised to: which when he was rebuked for, he bollied and stoutlie made answer: that his crowne was of his owne shauing, and he had good hope to do it againe. In these, they were all indicted on the selfe same treasons as they were the daie before; and John Harts traitorous sermon which he made at Wexms against hir maiestie auouched to his face, their owne writings and confessions with substantiall witness produced against them, so that they were found guilty of their treasons, as the other were before them, except John Collington, he was quit of the former high treason by the Iurie.

Execution of Campion, Shertwin, and Brian.

On fridate being the first of December, Edmund Campion Jesuit, Kalle Shertwin, & Alexander Brian seminarie priests, being condemned for high treason against hir maiesties most roiall person, as also for traitorous practices, touching the subuersion of the true & vndoubted religion here maintained, with the utter ruine and ouerthrow of this realme of England, were drawne from the Tower of London on hurdles, to the place of execution appointed, guarded with such a sufficient companie as might repress the hono^r of iustice the larger in that behalfe. Being come to the place of execution, where diuerse of hir maiesties honorable councell, with manie honorable personages, and gentlemen of worthip and good account, beside a multitude of people not here to be remembred attended their comming; Edmund Campion was first brought vp into the cart, where after the great rumo^r of so manie people somewhat appeased, he spake thus.

Campion in his confession implieth a desense of his innocencie.

First he began (the people then present expecting his confession) with a phrase or two in Latine, when immediatlie after he fell into English in this manner. I am here brought as a spectacle before the face of God, of angelles, and of men, satisfieng my selfe to die as becommeth a true christian & catholicke man. As for the treasons that haue bene laid to my charge, and I am come here to suffer for: I desire you all to beare witness with me, that thereof I am altogether innocent. Whereupon answer was made to him by one of the councell, that he might not seeme to denie th objections against him, hauing bene proued so manifestlie to his face, both by sufficient witness and euidence. Well my lord (quoth he) I am a catholicke man, and a priest, in that faith haue I liued hitherto, and in that faith I do intend to die; and if you esteeme my religion treason, then of force I must grant vnto you, as for anie other treason I will not consent vnto. Then was he moued as concerning his traitorous and hainous offense to the quenes most excellent maiestie. Where to he answered; She is my lawfull princeesse and quene. There somewhat he drew in his words to himselfe, whereby was gathered, that somewhat he would haue gladlie spoken: but the great timiditye and

vnsable opinion of his conscience, wherein he was all the time euen to the death, would not suffer him to utter it.

Here is with iudgement a deepe point and high matter to be considered, that it is man alwaies directing the course of his life to a vaine glorious imagination, and alwaies couetous to make himselfe famous; at this instant made a perfect discouerie of himselfe. For being somewhat learned, all matters that soener (as you haue heard before) he bare away with a maiestieall countenance, the visor of vanitie applie fitting the face of onelie hypocrisie; that was sound he would make sophisticall, what was the infallible truth of it selfe he would carrie in his owne conceipt, and delude the people with a pleasant quicke, or some such stiffe, onlie to purchase him credit and affection. And he was not to learne to set a courageous countenance on euerie such slight reason, whereby he peruerterd manie, decelued more, and was thought such a champion, as the pope neuer had the like. But now behold the man, whom neither racke nor rope should alter, whose feare was such as he boasted inuincible: feare had caught hold on this braue boaster, and terro^r entred his thoughts, whereby was discouered his impudent dissimulations. Now let it with patience be moued a little, that the outward protestations of this man vied some there present to teares, not entring into conceipt of his inward hypocrisie to make a plausible definition of this perillous deceluer, not by coniecture, but by profe it shall be thus answered.

Campion noted to be vaine glorious.

Campion described

The callion of his com to C

Edmund Campion, as it is by men of sufficient credit reported, at what time he spent his studie here in England both in the hospitall, and also at the vniuersitie of Oxford, was alwaies addicted to a maruellous suppose in himselfe of ripe iudgement, prompt audacitie, and cunning conuelance in his schoole points: wherethrough he fell into a proud and vaine glorious iudgement, practising to be eloquent in phrase, and so fine in his quirks and fantasticall coniectures, that the ignorant he won by his smooth deuises, some other affecting his pleasant imaginations he charmed with subtiltie and choked with sophistrie. The learned, who beheld his practices and peremptorie order of life, pitteng his follie, and wishing him a more staied determination, lothed his maners; yet loued the man, because christian charitie willed them so to do. Now this glorious Pharo having by his libels made himselfe famous, and vnder thelew and suppose of great learning (though indeed being approued, found verie simple to the speeches giuen of him) subdued manie to affect him verie much, when he was taken he knew it stood him vpon, not to lose the credit openlie he had wonne secretly. Wherefore in his former ridiculous maner, both in prison, at his arresignment, yea and at his death, he continued the same in all points, which the foulness of his treasons blemished euerie waie. Now indeed, as our English nation is both louing and pittifull: so manie seeing the gifts of God so well bestowed on the man, and by him applied to so great abuse, through naturall kindnesse bemoaned his case, wishing he had not fallen into so traitorous a cause. Then was moued to him againe his treasons and hainous offenses against the quenes maiestie, which impudentlie he still denied, seeming to utter words on the behalfe of one Richardson, one likewise of the condemned traitors, taking on his conscience that it was not he. Which hath bin proued to the contrary, for that it is knowne how this Richardson is he, who distributed Campions libels and booke abroad: and when he was put to his oth, whether it was he or no, he refused to sweare on his behalfe. And because the world might be fullie resolved, that (notwithstanding

A further description of Edmund Campion.

The way the Jre

The thing againe and

Campions curious care to keepe the credit he had wonne in England.

Campion's c

ding all the pretended & colourable meanes he could use for his excuse and innocencie he was to suffer death deserueth as a traitor, &c. There was read to his face in the hearing of the assemblee a pamphlet published by authoritie as followeth.

An aduertisement and defense for truth
against hir backbiters, and speciallie against
the whispering fauourers and colourers
of Campions and the rest of his con-
federats treasons.



Although at the late arreignements at Westminster of Edmund Campion, & other his complices condemned there of sundrie high treasons, it was manifestlie declared and fullie proued, how they all, under pretense of the names of Iesuits, seminarie priests, & other persons of like condition, had secretlie come into this realme, by sending of sundrie persons authorised by the pope, to moue the people by their secret persuasions to change their professions in the matter of religion, of long time quietlie established in this realme, and to be reconciled to the obedience of the pope, and withdrawen from their naturall allegiance due to the queenes maiestie, and by these meanes to be readie in their hearts and minds and othertwise prouided, to ioinie their forces as well with such as their heads and superiors which sent them intended speedilie to procure to be sent into this realme, as with other rebellious subjects by them to be there to also erected, of purpose to deprive hir maiestie of hir life, crowne, and dignitie; in like manner as laterlie hath bene notoriouslie attempted and put in execution by doctor Sanders an arrant and detestable traitor, and whilest he liued one of the said Campions companions, and by other English and Irish Iesuits and traitors in Ireland, where they had first by their like secret meanes and persuasions, intised a great multitude of people of that land, first to change their profession of religion, and to acknowledge the popes authoritie, and to renounce the iust authoritie of hir maiestie; & so departing from their allegiance, upon the arrivall of fooren forces they did enter into a manifest rebellion, against the which almightie God the iust auenger of rebels by his goodness hath giuen hir maiestie (through hir good ministers) power to the vanquishing, not onelie of those fooren forces, but also of a great number of the rebels there. Yet it is maliciouslie, falselie, and traitorouslie by some of the secret fauourers of the said Campion, and other the said condemned traitors whispered in corners, that the offenses of these traitors were but for their secret attemptings as Iesuits, by exhorting and teaching; with shynning, masking, and such like acts, to moue people to change their religion, & to yeeld their obedience to the pope as Christs vicar (although the same be of themselves offenses verie heinous, and seeds of sedition not allowable by the lawes of the realme) whereas in verie truth neuer the lesse it did manifestlie appere upon their indictments, and at their arreignements, by sundrie confessions of some of their owne companions, and by manie good proofes and witnesss produced and shorne before their faces, that their facts whereof they were arreigned and condemned, were such as were in truth his treasons committed against hir maiesties roiall person, and against the ancient lawes and statutes of this realme, which manie hundred yeres past were in force against like traitors, and not for facts of doctrine or religion, nor yet for offenses against anie late or new statutes, the same being manie conspiracies at sundrie times beyond the seas, at Rome in Italie and other places, and

lastlie at Rheimes in France, where there are nourished by the popes authoritie in seminarie institutions of English Iesuits, seminarie priests, and fugitives, whereof their heads and gouernors vse continually in their sermons, and in their bookes published, as traitors to declare their traitorous minds as far forth as they can, to the depriuation of the queenes maiestie of hir life and crowne: to which ends the said Campion and his said companions, by procurement of their said heads, came secretlie into this realme, to moue the subjects to renounce their naturall obedience; & according to a bull of the last pope Pius published to persuade all sorts with whom they durst secretlie deale, that hir maiestie by the said popes excommunication was not the lawfull queene of the realme, nor that the subjects were bound to obeie anie of hir lawes or ministers: but that they were all free, and discharged of their obedience and allegiance, and that they might lawfully, yea that when time might serue, they ought to take armes against hir maiestie, as in the late rebellion in the north was manifestlie by like meanes put in execution, and as now also laterlie was notoriouslie attempted in Ireland, by stirring up the people in the popes name, and under his standard to an open generall rebellion. And to haue brought these things to passe in this realme, was the committing into this realme of the said Campion and his complices most manifestlie tried and proued; as if by Gods goodness by their apprehensions, after their secret wandringes and disguisings of themselves in a great part of the shires of the realme, these traitors had not bene notorious, and by iust punishments ordered to be executed, there would haue appeared such mischief as is lamentable to be thought of; to the danger of hir maiesties person, and to the hazard and ruine of the whole realme by inuasion of the same with fooren enemies, and by raising of inward warre within the realme; the end and euent whereof, as of warre civil, can not be without great griefe mentioned or imagined.

And to the further reprove and condemnation of the said Campion and other the traitors now condemned, they being all severallie and earnestlie required at the place of their arreignment to declare what they thought of the said popes bull, by which hir maiestie was in the popes intention depriued of the crowne and of doctor Sanders, and of Iesuites traitorous writings in maintenance of the said bull, and allowance of the rebellion in the north, and of Sanders traitorous actions in Ireland; and being likewise demanded what they did thinke if the present pope should publish the like bull: none of them all, but one onelie named Rutherford, could be persuaded by anie their answers to shew in anie part their mislikings either of the former bull, or of doctor Sanders, or Iesuites traitorous writings or actions, or of the pope that now is, if he should now publish the like bull against hir maiestie; so as they did apparantlie shew their traitorous hearts still fixed to persist in their diuelish minds against their naturall allegiance: whereof God giue all good subjects, being true Englishmen borne, grace to be ware, and in no sort to giue care or succour to such pernicious traitors, howsoever they shall be covered with hypocrisie, & false and fained holines of Rome.

This aduertisement read and heard, the time by pittifull delaies began to passe awaie, in somuch that the executioner was now to fall to his charge: whereupon Campion was exhorted to praie with the people in English; naie, to doe so he was desired, howbeit he would not: but said his *Pater noster* in Latine, and desired all those of the household of faith to saie

The same bull of pope Pius his seditionous bull.

And thus much was said by the same as touching of Campion and his associates.

Now the traitors stood appointed to the said famous bull, &c.

There is a relation of Campions & others of his companions coming into England.

The enimies of the Iesuits in Ireland.

The procurement of violence against Campion, &c. before the

Campion and his associates were taken treason.

is are he had

1.

Q m m m m m.

one

Rafe Sherwin
wins beha-
viour at his
death.

Alexander
Bians de-
menour at
his death.

Ex libello quo-
dam famoso.

Alludit ad
Angliam.

Abr. Fl.
Ex concione a-
pud crucem
Paulinam per
D. Sellar 6. Feb.
1586.

one *Credo* for him. Whan indirect answers he made, as when he was moued to aske the queene forgiveness, and when the preacher requested him to shew some signe of a penitent sinner, then shortly he replied: *Peu and I, we are not of one religion.* After a few silent prayers to himselfe, the cart was drawen awaite, & he committed to the mercie of God. There he hanged till he was dead, when being cut downe, he was bowelled and quartered, according as it was appointed by iustice. Rafe Sherwin seemed a man of better iudgement, more learned, and more obedient; he said the Lords prayer in English, believing in God that made him, in Christ his sonne that saved him, and in the Holleghest that sanctified him: and according to the saying of S. Augustine, desired Jesus, that he would be to him Jesus, as much to saie, as his saviour and redeemer. He likewise confessed himselfe a catholike man and a priest, intending to die in that faith. But when the treasons were moued to him, he likewise did make deniall thereof. He asked the queenes maiestie forgiveness, and desired that the might long liue and reigne ouer vs. When was read to him the booke of the aduertisement, which before had bene read to Campion, and after a few prayers he likewise ended his life. Alexander Bians seemed more obstinate and impious, bing verie little signe of repentance and hartie humilitie: he vsed manie prayers to himselfe, and spake verie little worthe the rehearfall. Justice being executed on him, he and Sherwin were quartered, according as Campion had bene before them.

¶ No soner had iustice given the blow of execution, and cut off the foresaid offenders from the earth; but certeine enemies to the state politike and ecclesiastike, greatlie fauouring them, and their cause, which they falslie gaue out to be religion, dispersed abroad their libels of most impudent deniell, tending to the iustificing of the malefactors innocencie, to the heinous and unrecompensable defamacion of the couric of iustice and iudgement against them commended and finished: in somuch that speaking of the daie whereon they died, they blushed not to intitile them martyrs, saying among other things not publishable, as in these few verses extracted followeth:

*Vna dies viuos pariter celsique videbat,
In caelum missos vidit & vna dies:
Aeternisque breui gaudent pro morte coronis,
Hac sunt martyribus dona parata ppi.
Felix illa dies mensis fuit illa Decembris,
Martyris donans cœlica regna tribus:
Felix quæ sanctum suscepit terra cruorem,
Quem cœcra odi fuderat ira & rui:
Supremumque manens felix constantia finem,
Atque in conspectu mors pretiosa Dei, &c.*

Thus slanderouslie against the administration of iustice scattered these vipers brood their lieng reports, therein to the skies aduancing the children of iniquitie as spotlesse; pea forging most monstrous fables, put them in print; as though God and nature had suffered violence to their vnappealeable indignation, for that men of such integritie forsooth and extraordinarylie sanctified, suffered so shameful a death: in somuch that it was bnted abroad not by men, but byte beasts, that on the selfe same daie whereon Campion was executed, the river of Thames did neither eb nor flow, but stood still. A miracle! Whether this were a lie or not, as all the world may sweare it was no truth; this is certeine and vndoubted, that there was found a facultie about Campion a litle before his death, wherein authoritie was given him from the bishop of Rome Gregorie the thirtieth, to execute the sentence of the bull published by Pius Quintus against all the queens maiesties subjects as hereticks, &c: and yet this man forsooth (a

beit notorious) died not for treason but for religion, as with foule mouths they are not ashamed to saie:

Religio crimen non mala vita fuit.

But of this matter inough, & now to the proccesse of English accidents after this tragicall narration. When the queene of England and the monsieur (then duke of Anion understood by report made to hir maiestie and his highnesse by monsieur de Buneaur (who had bene sent ouer a litle before from the duke to the prince of Orange, and had prosecuted the treatie the former yeares as his ordinarie ambassadoz) what god will and great longing he had found in the prince of Orange, who was come into the Ile of Walcheren with a great number of gentlemen, and with the deputies of the states, and of the chiefest of the best cities of the low countrie to receiue his highnesse, and to do him most humble seruice: and when they had also heard the ambassage of the lords of Whain & Junius, sent from the lords of the state to the duke, to shew vnto him the exceeding great desire which all the people had to see his highnesse, for the present ratifying of the former couenants that had passed betwixt them: for accomplishing whereof it was needfull that he should passe ouer with all speed: whereby the same thing was confirmed which had bene declared off afore by the lord of mount saint Aldegond, ordinarie ambassadoz to hir maiestie and his highnesse: vpon the intelligence of these things, it was resolved by hir maiestie & his highnesse, that the monsieur should depart. Wherevpon the queene calling the lord Howard, commanded him (for the earle of Lincolne was then sicke) to take vpon him the charge of the admirals ship, and to go to Rochester, and there to choise vessels meet for transporting of the monsieur & his traine, & to furnish them with men of war, mariners, and all manner of necessaries as well of war as of vittels. Which thing was done with such diligence and speed, that the ships being ready with all things in lesse than eight daies, passed out of the river of Rochester and the Thames, and were conueied to the downes nere to the towne of Sandwich, where the monsieur was to take shipping. And for so much as the monsieur came into England accompanied but with a few princes and lords, & they also had left their traine in France, & some of the same lords were sent backe againe after ward by his commandement and for his seruice; the queene determined to giue him a companie & traine meet for his greatnesse, taking his iournie about so great & noble exploit. And therfore (as agreeing with hir highnesse hart) he commanded the earle of Leicester master of hir hostes, the lord of Hunsdon gouernour of Berwik his maiesties nere kinsman,

*(cuius fuerat matertera pulchra
Regina genetrix Henrici nobilis) vxor*

and the lord Howard the viceadmirall (of whom the first two were of hir priue councill, and all three were knights of the order of the garter) to attend vpon him, and to assemble as great a number of English lords and gentlemen as could be gotten in so litle time, to honour him withall: wherevnto the said lords obeyed verie willingly. And there went with them to accompanie them, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Windsoze, the lord Sheffield, the lord Howard, the lord Audley second sonne to the late duke of Norfolk: master Philip Sidneie nephew to the forenamed erle of Leicester, sir George Careie, and master John & Robert Careie all three sonnes of the said lord of Hunsdon; master William Howard brother of the said lord Howard, sir Thomas Sherleie, sir Thomas Perot, sir William Russell, sir William Durtie, & sir George Bowser knights, and a great number of gentlemen; namelie, master Henrie Windsoze brother to the lord Windsoze, ma-

Monsieur the
duke of Anion
departeth out
of England.

Cl
ms
top
No

Cl
ma
top
No
the
par

* Næpe Anna
Henrici & vxor,
sereniss. regine
Elisabethæ ge-
nerix.

nsieur the
of Union
rteth our
ngland

ther John Borough brother to the lord Borough,
 master Walter Kaleigh, master George Carew,
 master Edward Hobbie, master Francis Warcie,
 master Michaele Stanhope, master William knols
 master Francis knolles, master George Digbie,
 master Thomas Tausaz, master Anthony Gilde-
 maie, master Henrie Powell, master Nicholas
 Cogges, master Michaele Harecourt, master Fulke
 Grenill: so as the whole traine that attended vpon
 the said earle, was to the number of an hundred gen-
 tlemen, and moze than thre hundred seruingsmen.
 The lord of Hundon had of gentlemen and others
 together to the number of a hundred and fiftie: and
 the lord Howard had as manie, besides manie moze,
 whereof diuerse were his maiesties seruants. The
 quene determined to accompanie the monsieur to
 the sea side, & yet neuerthelesse commanded the said
 lords to keepe their course, and to attend vpon his
 highnesse to the said place, with all manner of solem-
 nities, interteinnments, and feastings. He on the o-
 ther side desired and besought his maiestie not to de-
 part from London, as well for that the iournie
 woud be painefull vnto his, and for that he saw the
 weather faire and wind fauorable, and therefore was
 loth to lose any occasion of performing his voyage
 with all speed. But he could not preuaile.

The quæres
manet
togeth at
Nocheiter.

Whereupon hir maiestie toke hir iournie with hir whole court, the first daie of februarye, & lodged that night at Rochester. The next daie abiding still at Rochester, hir maiestie shewed him all hir great ships which were in that place, into most whereof his highnesse and the pynce and lordes of his traine entered, not without great admiration of the French lordes & gentlemen, who confessed that of god right the queene of England was reported to be ladie of the seas. Also he beheld how all those ships were readie furnished and well appointed. And hir maiestie told him that all those vessels & the furniture of them should doo him service, when soeuer he would imploie them: for the which he most humble thanked hir maiestie, and so after all the great ordinance had bene shot off, they returned for that daie againe to Rochester. The third day they went to Sittingborne, where dining both together, the queene was serued after the English manner by the greatest ladies of hir court; and the monsieur after the French manner by the gentlemen of his traine, which ladies and gentlemen dined afterwards together. Then his highnesse befoight hir maiestie againe to go no further, declaring vnto hir that the faire weather passed awaie. But notwithstanding his intreatance the queene went on still to Canturburie. At which place, after one daies tarryance, when she had openlie feasted all the French nobilitie, either part toke their leaue of other, not without great griefe and thew of verie great amitie, especially betwene hir maiestie and the monsieur. Which thing was perceined also in the lordes and gentlemen of both nations, & likewise in the ladies, to all whome it was like griefe to depart after they had bene conuersant and had liued friendly and brotherlie together by the space of thre moneths, without anie change or alteration of good willes. But the honor which enforced his highnesse, alluaged his griefe, and made him to proceed on his iournie with the said pynce and lordes of both nations.

The first daie of the same moneth, whereas he was determined to haue taken ship, he was counselled to longe that night of Sandwich, because the wind was somewhat changed. Wherobey, some of the English gentlemen, namelie master Killlegreie, master Diar and diuerse others, to elschew thyronging at their imbarking went to Dover, and there taking ship the same night laie a while at anchor, and somewhat after

midnight sailed awaie with certeine other vessels. The seventh daie in the morning about nine of the clocke, his highnesse toke the sea in thre great ships of war. In the greatest of them named the Discouerer, sailed the monsieur himselfe with the erle of Leicester, and the lord Howard the viccadmirall; in the second called the Sentinell went the prince Dolphin; and in the third was the countie of Donall, and the lord of Hunsdon. Now as his highnesse was yet at anchoz, there came a post from a lord of England, who brought him word that the states of the low countries were revolted, and namelie the citie of Antwerpe, and therefore he paid him not to depart untill he had more certeine newes. Notwithstanding this, his highnesse determined to depart, and so sailed awaie with fiftene ships: and he had so faire weather (which continued euen untill after his entering into Antwerpe, and his feasting and solemne interteinement there) that the heauen, the winds, the sea, and the earth seemed all to fauour his voiage, and to further the gladnes which the people shewed in receiuing him with so great god will.

In the meane time the prince of Orange, seeing the time fit, departed from Middleborough, where he had tarried the monfieurs comming fir waikes and more, and came to Flushing to take order for all things that were requifit for the honorable and commodious intertainment of fo great a prince. At the which place, vnderftanding by the letters of the faid lords ambaffadours and others, that the monfieur was departed from London and come to Canturburie; and therefore thinking it would not be long yet he arriued there: he difpatched monfieur Treflon his viceadmerall of Zeland, with a little pinnelle called the Chafe, to go before to meet the monfieur: commanding him that as fone as he had difcouered his fleet, he fhould giue him a watchword the reof by the fhot of two cannons. Monfieur Treflon hauing about nonetide difcouered the fhips that were parted from Douer, and thinking that they had bene the great fleet, gaue his watchword, which was the caufe that a certaine beffell went forth to the fea to meet his highneffe; but anon after perceiuing his error, he returned to Flushing, where by and by the fleet of Douer arriued. Then monfieur Treflon going forth, found the monfieur and the great fleet betwene Fefpoot and Dunkirke: where after falutation giuen and taken on either fide, the monfieur ftanding vpon the hatches of his fhip, fpied his owne fecretarie named Jephue ftanding likewife vpon the hatches of the Chafe; to whome he fent his fhipbote, commanding him to come aboard to him. At which thing he did, and there aduertifed the monfieur that as concerning the reuolting of the ftates there was no fuch matter, but that all things went verie well; & that his highneffe was waited for, with great longing. That date, by reafon the wind was turned northeaft, they could go no further, but were faine to caft anchor ouer againft a place called Offend, where they paffed that night, waiting for the tide the next morning. His fhips were perceiued by them of

The prince of
Orange taketh order for
the interment of the
monsieur.

Septue the
mon sieurs
secretariz.

The lord of
S. Ildeyond,
the prince of
Orange and
the prince of
Ghinoiz, &c.

The queene's
maiestie ac-
companied the
moniear to
Canterburie
wherz they &
their traine
parted.

Henrici ux,
Henrici regine
Isabellæ ge-
nrix,

When they had embraced and saluted one another like brethren; the prince of Orange, perceiving the monsieur to approach verie nere, toke the water againe. But when he perceived him to come downe into his bote to take land, he turned backe againe, and bied him so fast that he toke land before him, and there tarried his comming. As sone as he was arrived, while he was yet in his bote readie to come a land, the prince receiued him with great reuerence; and embracing his highnesse knee, because he saw the weather was cold said vnto him in few words, that he was verie glad to see that happie daie, which had bene so long expected, wherein he had the honor to behold his highnesse, and to offer vnto him his most humble seruice, with goods and life, & all that he had besides; hoping that by meanes of his highnesse, that countrie hauing indured so great aduersitie, should now be fullie set at libertie. Wherevnto the monsieur answered verie wisely and brieflye. And when he had embraced him with such honor as was due in respect of his age and doings: he came a land, and was brought by the prince to the palace of the citie: howbeit not without great difficultie, by reason of the great pzeale of men of war and other people pestering one another, the folke of that countrie thronging to see his highnesse, and the Englishmen which as then were come downe thither in great numbers pzealing to knowe the prince of Orange. In the meane while the trumpets and drums sounded with such noise that the aire rang of it, and all the ordinance shot off, as well of the queenes ships as of the other ships, wherof the number was great which laie then in the rode, with so great roying and thundering, that they conueied the netues of his highnesse happie arrivall in the lowe countrie to Calis, and to other places of France. They of Flushing shot two peales, with so great noise by reason of the great number of the peeces that are in the towne, that all the ground rang of it. The monsieur found in that place all sorts of his officers; for his household and his gard of Swisses and Frenchmen, departing from Calis and Bullongne foure daies afoze, were come to Middleborough.

Embracing
of the knee.

The monsieur
landeth.

Lustie dis-
charging of
guns on all
sides.

The monsieur
verie iustlie
receiued.

Antwerpe
reioiceth at
the monsieurs
comming.

Vnto all these orations his highnesse answered verie sagelie and brieflye, as vnto all the reasons, to the well liking and contentment of all that stood by. The prince of Orange tarried a while with the monsieur in the towne house of the citie: and then taking his leave went to visit the princes and lords of both the nations that came with him to see how they fared, and to take order that they should want nothing, so far forth as the abilitie of the towne of Flushing (which is none of the greatest) could extend, where such provision was made, that all were well lodged and served, notwithstanding that about five hundred men of the onelie English lords were come a land that daie. All that after none was spent in feasting, in making of bonefires, in fireworks, in sounding of trumpets, and in all manner of tokens of iote, which all men vttered vniuersalie for the comming of so great a prince. Also the foure members of Flanders, which came by the counsell of the prince of Orange, waited to present themselves vnto him at Middleborough.

English lords
and their re-
tinue.

The
Lords
other
brought.

The prince of Orange, perceiving that the monsieur was minded to go the next daie to Middleborough, told him that there were three waies, the one about the castell of Kamekins, to enter in at the great chanell of Middleborough by the bout of the foreland; an other by the little chanell through the countrie; and that he had kept ships in a readinesse to go the outer waie, and a great sort of botes to go the inner waie, because his highnesse could not foreneie either by coe or on horsebacke by reason of the winter, and there was but onelie one cause where by folke trauelled ordinarilie on foot. The monsieur beholding the fitnessse of the time, for indeed it was verie faire weather, and vnderstanding that the waie was not past a good French league in length, vnder toke to go it on foot, and so did all the rest of the princes, lords, and gentlemen, as well of the same countrie, as of France and England. A great sort of the monsieurs house, which were lodged alreadie at Middleborough, came to meet him, speciallie his gard of Frenchmen and Swisses. A good waie out of the towne the magistrate of Middleborough came to meet him, as it were, about a third part of the waie, and there making an oration to him, told him of the great and long desire which all the people had of his comming, and that the people of Middleborough for their owne part thought themselves greatlie honored, in that he had vouchsafed to come to their citie, offering all dutifullnesse vnto him. His gard also met him in the same place, & then began the Swisses to march on in their order, striking by their drums after their manner. Moreover, six companies of the citizens well armed and well armed stood in battell without the towne, who kept their place till the monsieur was past, and then they followed after leisurelie behind.

The
Lords
to
Middleborough.

Burn
crosse
each

The monsieur
is met going
to
Middleborough.

The
Lords
crosse
can

For
feast
the

The deputies of the states of the earldome of Zelard waited his comming at the towne gate; who hauing declared the gladnesse which they conceiued, reioiced at the happie successe which his highnesse had had in making the peace in France, and in reducing the citie of Cambray by his armie and in his owne person, and in his passing into England, which they knew he had taken vpon him for no other cause than for the furtherance of the affaires of those countries; and finally for that hauing put his person in danger of that passage, he was now happily arrived in Zelard, most humblye thanking his highnesse, and declaring what hope they had conceiued of his presence, and therewithall offering right humblye whatsoever their dutie required. At the entrance of the gate one brought him a courser of Flanders, but he determined with himselfe (taking it at

The deputies
of the states
of the earldome
of Zelard.

The monsieur
would to see
the companies
that

The earle of
Leicester and
other English
nobles.

Burning
cressets on
high side.

The monsieur
Laird re-
corder of
Gant.

A solemn
feast held in
the towne hall.

attest-
ed of
dome
D.

onsent
can as
paine

the princes and lords had not their houses there) to go through with his traine on foot, and so entred into the citie of Middleborough in this order. First went the magistrates of the citie with their vnder officers and ministers of iustice. Next them the deputies of the states of Zeland. After them followed diuerse gentlemen of all the three nations with the deputies of the cities of Zabant, and of the four members of Flanders. Then marched the Swissers after their accustomed fashion; in whose traine were a great sort of noblemen and also gentlemen, of whom the most part were Englishmen of the retinue of the three lords sent thither by the queene. Behind them ensued as it were in one troope together, the prince Dolphin, the earle of Leicester, the prince of Espinoie, the countie de Lanall, the lord of Hunsdon, the lord Howard, and the rest of the lords. Then came the monsieur himselfe, hauing on his left hand somewhat more than halfe a pale beneath him, the prince of Orange, of whom he alwaies asked some question. After him followed his gard of Frenchmen, and after them the gard of the prince of Orange; and last of all the six ensignes that stood in battell rate without the citie, and ten others which had marshalled the streets vnto the market place, where all the rest of the citizens were imbattelled. Throughout all the streets from the gate to the monsieurs lodging, there were railes, and at euery tenth pale on either side were burning cressets. And so his highnesse and all the nobilitie which accompanied him, passed on, marvelled to see so goodlie a citie in so little an Isle, and so nere to three other good towne, not distant one from another about one league. But most of all they wondered at the beautie of the marketsted, and of the common hall of the citie. His highnesse lodging was verie well and richlie hanged and furnished, considering the small respite that the inhabitants had, so as he was verie well and commodiouslie lodged, both he and all the princes, noblemen, and gentlemen of all nations that attended vpon him. That euening was passed in feasting, in making of bonfires in the streets, in artificiall fireworks vpon the towers and steeples, and in sounding of trumpets. The next morning the twelve deputies of the four members of Flanders speaking to his highnesse by the mouth of monsieur Laird the recorder of Gant, declared at large the great goodwill of all the people of Flanders towards him, and that like as they had bene of the first that had sent vnto him, so they hoped to be of the first that should yeeld all humble seruice and subiection vnto him. Wherevnto his highnesse answered verie discretlie, as his custome was. He passed the rest of the time in plaieng at tennis with the prince of Orange, and after with other lords.

The thirtieth daie he had a solemn feast made him in the towne hall, where his highnesse commanded the tables to be prepared of purpose, that he might haue the companie of the prince Dolphin, the prince of Orange, the earle of Leicester, the prince of Espinoie, the countie de Lanall, the lord of Hunsdon, and the lord Howard. For the lords of England were highlie regarded & honored euery where, both in respect of his maiestie which sent them, and also for the worthines of their persons. The feast was excellentlie well furnished of all things, & speciallie of tapistrie worke & other deuises of sugar; insomuch that both the Frenchmen and Englishmen confessed, that they had not bene wont to see such manner of seruices in their countries. The fourteenth daie the prince of Orange would needs go see the putting of the ships in a readinesse, which should carrie the monsieur and his traine, which were in number foure and fiftie, and therefore he would haue gone to the foreland of Middleborough. Whereof the monsieur heard

ring would needs go with him. On thursdie the fifteenth of that moneth, his highnesse went to see the towne of Crimwiden, which is about halfe a league from Middleborough. And vnderstanding that the English lords were gone to see the towne of Ware, (called by strangers Camfer by reason of the passage that was sometime in the towne of Campe which is now drowned) he also took bote and went thither, where all the companie was verie well receiued by the inhabitants, notwithstanding that they were taken vnprovided. The sixteenth daie his highnesse was determined to haue taken ship, but there arose so great a storme, that the mariners counseled him to forbear the sea for that daie: by reason whereof his imbarcking was deferred till the next morrow, at which time his highnesse with all his traine sailed afaire. He himselfe was caried in a ship painted all ouer with his owne colours beset with a number of flags and pennils of the armes of Antou. The residue had their accustomed flags so greatly feared of the Spaniards, belaid with the colours of the prince of Orange. This fleet came that daie against Beerland in the Ile of south Beucland, where they cast anchor and spent that night there. The next daie being arriued luckilie at Lillo, after manie shot of ordinance from the fort and from the ships of warre which accompanied his highnesse, they did cast anchor againe. He himselfe went aland, and laie that night in the capitains lodging longing for the morning. This fort of Lillo is builded a three leagues beneath Antwerpe vpon the point of a dike or causeie in the parish of Lillo. The place is so commodious, that with a musket a man may easilie shot from the one banke of the riuer to the other; and by reason that the streame of the riuer and the tide of the sea, which passeth that waie twise a daie, doe make it crooked, that place being occupied by the enimie, might greatly hinder and annoie the sailing thereof. And therefore the citizens of Antwerpe following the aduise and platforme laid forth by the prince of Orange, bestowed great cost in fortifying that place, which hath a great tower with great bulwarks rampires, and ditches, and is so well strengthened and flanked to the purpose, and hath the water so at commandement, that as now it is not to be wone by any force. The next daie being mondaie, the nineteenth daie of Februarie, his highnesse departed thence to make his entrie into the renowned citie of Antwerpe.

The monsieur's ship painted with his owne colours.

The fort of Lillo.

The monsieur prepareth to make his entrie into Antwerpe.

The roiall interteinement of the right high and mightie prince, Francis the French kings onelic brother, by the grace of God duke of Brabant, Anjou, Alanson, Berrie, &c. into the citie of Antwerpe.

In all great and statelie shewes and assemblies, they that are the authors and setters forth of them, indoeuour to beautifie and commend as much as they can the things which they offer to the sight of those whom they intend to honour, and of those which resort thither from strange places, to delight themselves with the beholding of them. The ancient historiographers describe vnto vs manie great triumphes, and statelie interteinements of emperours, kings, and great capitains, and they forget not to put into their writings the great costliness and charges, and whatsoeuer else was set forth to the shew, to content the eyes of the beholders. And albeit that neither gold, silver, precious stones, tapistrie, cloth of silke, fine linnen, diuersities of vessels, nor varietie of paintings were spared, but all such things haue enriched those shewes: yet notwithstanding,

The finest
show that
can be made
what it is.

ding, there is not anie thing that hath yelded greater grace, beautie, and contentment to such assemblies, than the multitude and brightnesse of armorie and of things pertaining to martiall affaires, as engines, artillery, and shewes of cities and castles beaten downe or taken by force from the enemies. And therefore in the Romane empire (which excelled all the other not onlie in conquests, martiall discipline, and politike order of government, but also in sumptuousnes and roialtie) although infinit numbers of publike games and exercises were exhibited by them being the greatest ioyes of the world, who not onelie spared not anie thing that was in their owne power, but also made the cities and countries, which were anie waie bound vnto them, to send vnto them whatsoeuer rare and exquisite things they could come by, to serue their turnes in the shewes which they exhibited to the people: yet notwithstanding their triumphes haue so bozned the bell about all the rest, that the word triumphing which cometh thereof, hath bene applied to all high, great, and statelie doings. Not that in their other shewes anie thing was spared, which might content the eyes euen of couetous folke, or satisfie the bloudthirstie harts of such as take no pleasure but to behold the sheading of bloud, yea oftentimes of mans blood before their eyes: but in their triumphings nothing was so glorious as the armorie and personages of the great capitaines that had bene conquerors, which thing contented the beholders far more without all comparison. And therefore when men intend to betoken the exceeding huge greatnesse of Rome, they terme it the triumphant Rome, which importeth as much as the rich, wealthie, and victorious Rome, replenished with great numbers of noble capitaines, and valiant souldiours. And this terme is come of the great numbers of triumphs, which were scene there in the times of the Scipios, Paules, Claudes, Metelles, Pompeis, Celsars, and others. True it is that the other shewes also were verie glorious and beautifull to behold, and did (I wrote not how) tickle the harts of such as were fed with the beholding of their riches and of the infinite numbers of lions, tigers, panthers, beares, and swordplayes incounting one another to the death: but yet the beholding of a goodlie company of men armed in goodlie armour, marching in good order (besides the contenting of the sight, which is far better than to see riches) doth also wonderfulie rauish mens minds, and vnto the beholder into an astonishment, setting him after a sort besides himselfe; and yet neuertheless filling him with a ioy and contentation surmounting all others. For as in the pleasures of the bodie, those same greatest which do most alter the senses with their pleasantnes: so fares it also with the delights of the mind, which become so much the greater, when admiration being matched with them, doth also moreouer rauish the vnderstanding, and set a man as it were out of his wits. And therefore when great personages (who can better indige of matters than plaine simple folke can) do make discourse of things that are beautifull and desirable to behold: they speake of gold, silver, precious stones, pictures, vessels, tablets, and diuers other exquisite iewels: but yet they passe ouer those things & stand not vpon them. But when they come to talke of faire armour, good horses, and such other things as belong to knightshood and chivalrie: then they make such tariance vpon them, as they hold it for a thing fullie agreed vpon & granted, that in beautie and glorie nothing is comparable to a goodlie armie.

The triumphs of the
Romans excelled all their
other shewes.

Other shewes
of the Romans
were gallant.

A comparison
betweene the
pleasures of
the bodie and
delights of
the mind.

A questiō
vnderstanded
touching gallant

pointed in bright armour, well flanked with small shot, and with their great ordinance before them: or to see as manie squadrons of horsemen, or else two or three hundred ships furnished with their flags and banners, and ranged in order as if they were ready to giue battell. But as for the rest of all goodlie things, all men are fullie agreed that they come nothing nere to anie of those three, and much lesse do they all at once: as it is reported that at one instant a man might haue scene the great armie of Xerxes both footmen and horsemen ranged in battell raie: and also the two fleets of the Persians and of the Greeks fighting vpon the sea by Salamine, where by the wisdomme and valiantnesse of Themistocles, the Greeks got that famous victorie of the Persians. In mine opinion that is the cause why the glad receiuing and soisall entering of Francis duke of Brabant into the citie of Antwerpe seemed so goodlie and roiall to all such as saw it: in somuch that there hath not bene anie of them which hath not confessed that he neuer saw the like. And yet were there verie manie present at it, as well of the same countrie as of strangers, which haue scene manie statelie and roiall meetings, both in the same citie and in other cities of the low countries, and also in other great cities of other countries, as Paris, London, Rome, and Lyons: and yet neuertheless the common voice is, that this last hath passed all the rest. And trulie the citie had no more but six daies respite to prepare for it, as I said before: in somuch that they could not put to making anie worke of silke, nor of gold and silver beaten or wrought, nor anie imbroderie: no nor in so short time make anie meane apparel new, nor anie rare costliness of imageries, pillars, triumphall arches, or other pageants: but were constrained to make a shift with such things as they had in a readinesse aforehand of their owne store.

In other interteinnments there haue in deed bene scene great plentie of riches and roialties in attires of kings and queenes, princes and princesses, lords and ladies, citizens and their wiues; but in this interteinnment no such were scene: howbeit there was not anie grosenesse, nor ought that might not well become the neatnesse and finenesse of that people, although it came nothing nere the sumptuousnesse of other interteinnments. As touching triumphall arches, chariots, portraictures, and such other shewes; although there were manie wittie inuentions and agreeable to the time: yet haue men scene of them in other places, which might match these. And as touching the number of their people, although it was great: yet it is well knownen that Paris exceedeth them in that behalfe. But the onlie reason of this contentment cometh chiefly of the great number of people in armour, being not fewer than twentie thousand, in so good and so faire armour: and of their order and obedience, and of the small noise which all that huge multitude made: in somuch that if it had not bene for the thundering of the canons, and the sounding of trumpets, clariens, halboies, and other instruments, there was no more noise than is among a councell of graue men. That then was in mine opinion the onlie verie cause, which was greatly furthered by their beholding of the monseigneur of Brabant, who representing the stateliesse of old time, was clothed in a large mantell, with the bonnet of his dukedome vpon his head: so that among that great number of people (which were so well armed, that three of the best cities in chiffer-borne could not shew so manie faire armours of their owne) his highnesse resembled a precious stone or iewel set in fine gold. And because that they which were the beholders thereof (for they could not be curie there,

The respite
that Antwerp
had to prepare
for this
triumphall
shew.

Paris for
multitude of
people gallant

Monseigneur of
Brabant his
attire and bonnet

The cause
why this re-
port was
published in
print.

The mon-
sieur
toward
Antwerp.

The report
that Antwerp
had to pro-
vide for this
triumphans
show.

The mon-
sieur
at a vil-
lage in Fla-
nders.

Paris for
multitude of
people passing.

Theater es-
tablished for the
mon-
sieur to
show himselfe
vpon to the
people.

Prince Wol-
phus, the earle
of Leicester,

Paris for
multitude of
people passing.
The report
that Antwerp
had to pro-
vide for this
triumphans
show.

nor see euerie thing will be herie glad to vnderstand
of the things that so escaped them, and delight their
minds now with the remembrance of the things
which they saw before, as they delighted their eyes
and minds with the beholding of them that daie; and
strange nations, to whom the fame of that so reno-
med daies worke is come, will take pleasure to vnder-
stand the same, thereof they could not be behol-
ders. Therefore is this booke set forth, for the satisfi-
ing of all men, and also to make it knowne to a
number of men (who partlie for enimitie, partlie for
envie, and partlie for other surmises and mistrusts
will not beleue it) with what mind and affection the
prince of Orange, and the other lords and noblemen
of Brabant, the good cities, and the small townes, and
namelie the most renowned citie of Antwerp, haue
received their new prince and soueraigne lord.

The nineteenth daie of the foresaid moneth in the
foresame, the monsieur the duke of Anion departed
from Lillo and sailed towards Antwerp, hauing
in his companie but twentie ships, for the rest had
gotten to Antwerpe afore, as well to put themselves
in a readinesse as for other affaires. And he came
about eight of the clocke nigh to the new towne, and
passing along by the townes side, lest the foyeland of
Flanders on his right hand and the towne on his
left, and passed beyond all the towne and the place
where the castell was. By the waie he heard all the
canons shot off from that part of the towne which sa-
ceth the river, & from a great number of ships which
rode at anchor there: and he saw all the shafes sur-
nised with men of warre of the citie, well armed,
who welcommed him with their shot, and were an-
swered againe by the ships of warre that accompa-
nied him, conducted by monsieur de Tresson and the
viceadmirals, and diuerse captains of Flushing.
And so the first foot that he did set on land in Bra-
bant, was at a village called Biell, which is at the
canon shafte at Antwerpe. The states of Brabant,
the magistrats of the citie, and diuers other states,
committing in like order on horsebacke to the same
place with their trumpets, sergeants and heralds, ap-
parelled in cotes of the armes of Lothier, Brabant,
and Limbourg, alighted there, and waited on foot
at the shafte to receiue his highnesse, and to shew
him the good will and affection of the states and peo-
ple. But the pteale of people was so great, which re-
sisted thither to see the prince, whom they looked for
to be their duke; and againe there were so manie im-
pediments in his landing; that it was found better
for them by the aduise of the prince of Orange to re-
turne backe, and to tarie for his highnesse vpon a
theater which was prepared for him.

This theater was set vp towards a corner of the
castell, and opened towards the citie, so as his high-
nesse being there, might at one time view both the
citie and the castell, and behold the counterscarffes:
the deepe ditches full of faire water cleere to the ve-
rie bottome of the chanell, inclosed on either side
with betone stone: the great and faire buildings,
the goodlie walles, beautifull to looke on and verie
thicke: and the broad rampires garnished with trees
planted by hand, that it resembled a little forest. The
monsieur was brought vp to this theater accompa-
nied with the prince Wolphus the onelie sonne of the
duke of Spontpantiser: the earle of Leicester, and
other English lords representing the queene of Eng-
land: the princes of Orange and Espinoie, the countie
de Anall, the other English lords, the countie
de Chateauroux, and a great sort of the barons, lords
and gentlemen, besides the chiefe magistrats and
maisters of the companies of the citie of Antwerpe.

The lords of the state of Brabant waiting vpon
the theater, came dutifullie downe to go and meet

his highnesse: which thing he perceiving, did stand
still. Then the prince of Orange stepped forth to take
his place among the states, as one of the chiefe lords
and barons of the duchie of Brabant. As soone as
they had saluted his highnesse, and with great hum-
blenesse kissed his hand, they mounted vp the steps
againe with him, after whom followed the princes
and lords of France and of England: and when they
were come vp above, they ranged themselves on ei-
ther side. There was set for the monsieur a chaire co-
uered with cloth of gold, wherein he sat him downe.
And vpon the theater there was likewise a tranerie
of cloth of gold, and all the theater was covered with
tapistrie. On the front of the theater on the highest
part thereof were the armes of the marqueship of
the holie empire: and a little beneath them on the
right hand did stand the armes of Brabant with a
wreath of fruits: and on the left hand stood the armes
of the citie of Antwerpe. Also there were set vp two
banners of silke azured with the armes of Anion,
& in one partition were written these same verses:

O noble prince, whose footsteps saide
and gentleness preferre:

Receiue thou here the honour which
thy vertue dooth deserue.

That these low countries maie at length
take bread by means of thee,

And thou a father to vs all
in name and doings bee.

After that euerie man had taken his place, and the
lence was made, the states of Brabant began their
oration by the mouth of monsieur de Hesseles doc-
tor of both the lawes, secretarie to the said states,
and one of their counsell. The summe thereof was,
that the barons, noblemen, & deputies of the chiefe
cities, and of the other good townes, representing
the states of the duchie and countie of Brabant,
hauing now the good hap to see among them and to
behold face to face the prince, in whose merit vnto
God they had wholie set the hope of their deliue-
rance, and of the establishing of their ancient rest
and libertie, did highlie thanke the almightie Lord,
which had shewed them that fauour: taking it for an
assured warrant, that he of his infinite goodnesse
and prouidence, had not forgotten nor forsaken their
just quarrell: but had chosen his highnesse to be the
defender of his people and the administrer of his ius-
tice: to the end that to Gods glorie, and to his owne
honour and renowne, the sorowes of all troubles,
& of all other things that annoied their estate, might
by the beames of his princelie maiestie, wisdom,
and prouesse be chased awaie; and the highnesse of
their former prosperitie heretofore knowne to all
nations, be made to spring vp & thine forth againe.

In respect wherof they gaue his highnesse most hum-
ble thanks for the singular loue and good will, which
he of his owne onelie motion and princelie disposi-
tion had vouchsafed to continue towards them vnto
that instant, notwithstanding all the crosse dealings
and practises that cunning heads could skill to put
forth to the hinderance of their affaires, for so much
as they were not ignorant that for their calamities
and miseries sakes, nothing could haue fallen in,
which could haue made more to the fauour and fur-
therance of their case. Which thing they had esteemed
and would esteeme for ever, as a peregelle present
of his incomparable staednes and rare constancie:
for the which, and for the great number of his other
benefits and gracions dealings towards them, they
were & ener should be bound to acknowledge them-
selves indebted to his highnesse with all faithfull o-
bedience, and were readie that daie (by Gods grace)
to submit themselves to him, as his humble vassals
and subiects. And although they doubted not but
that

Kissing the
monsieurs
hand.

A chaire of
estate.

Banners
with the
armes of
Anion.

The summe
of monsieur
de Hesseles
oration to the
monsieur.

The states
thankfulness
signified.

They ac-
knowledge
themselves
indebted to the
monsieur.

The secreta-
rie unto the
States falleth
to the point of
the matter.

that his highnesse did well understand, and was fullie satisfied, not onelie of the generall causes which had vniuersallie moued the states of the prouinces of the low countries togither, to sue to him for succour, and to put themselves into his hands: but also of the particular causes, which the states of that ourchie and countrie of Brabant had, to renounce their obedience to the king of Spaine: yet notwithstanding, to the intent to put his highnesse in remembrance thereof, and to confirme that sacred resolution and high enterprise of his, which he thereupon, and moouer to yield some reason of all their doings to the princes and noblemen, and unto the rest of that whole companie, who for the honour of his highnesse were come thither of courtesie, to further the sollemnitie of his intertainment: to the intent that at this his repaire thither, which allwaies was called iossall) they might offer the more good will and gladnesse of heart; they would saie no more but this, that as long as the dukes of Brabant (speciallie since the falling of that duchie into the hands of the dukes of Burgogonie, and other the famous ancestors of his highnesse) gave themselves unto the gouerning of their subiects by themselves, thereby making it to appere that they loued them, and were not careless of them; they reaped so great commodities and notable seruises at their hands, that their names and puissances became oftentimes renowned, yea and sometimes deadly to the greatest monarches, kings, and common-wealths of christendome, whereof their warres and conquests made proof: howbeit that of those things, as of matters familiarlie knowne by the histories, it was not requisite to make discourse in that place and time, which were appointed to greater matters. But after that their dukes and princes either by other allurements, or being withheld in their other countrie and seignories, began to leaue them for a time, and afterward at length to forget them, abandoning them to the pleasure and will, and sometimes also to the lust and couetousnesse of their vnder officers, whereof the king of Spaine had lastlie finished and perfected by the worke, leaving them dishonourable as husbandlesse and fatherlesse, utterly destitute of his presence by the space of twentie yeares; it came to passe, that hauing altered & changed almost all the whole state of the countrie, and committed the offices to such as by the lawes and priuileges of the countrie were not capable of them; or rather to such as would giue most for them, and yet the insatiable couetousnesse, malice, and exercising tyrannicall lordshippes of the Spaniards being not contented therewith: in the end, when they had abused the whole common-wealth after their stone lust, they grew into so great pride, that they fell to snatching of the priuat goods and substance of the inhabitants, to liuing vpon the labour and sweat of the poore: yea and to rauishing the chastitie of mens wives and daughters: and (to fill vp the measure of all abhominations and crueltie) they fell to taking away the liues, & to sucking the blood of those which fought by all meanes to please them. Whereupon in the end the great and righteous God (who hath a care of his seruants) being offended therat, made that people (who had sometime bene of great valour) to fall to mind their former state and libertie: and gaue them both will and courage to mainteine the same, in such sort as they had receiued from their forefathers. Which thing they said could not be better done than by the election which the said states of Brabant, vniued with the other prouinces, had made of his highnesse person to be their prince and lord, of purpose to bring all things backe to their former order; hauing first sought (howbeit in vaine) for all remedies of their mischieses, and of the disorders of the

estate, from the causes and wellspringes thereof. Declaring that the dukes in old time had bene of great valour, prowesse, and power; and had made manie renowned volages and exploits of warre, and that amongst others, they had chosen a duke of Antou heretofore, who had bene equall with the rest in chivalrie & feats of armes; as their conquests and dominions witnessed: that they had had their princes gentle, mild, gracious, familiar, and fauourable to their subiects: and that his highnesse had in that behalfe already giuen such proofes of his gentleness, truth, and soundnesse, that to their learning, some ancient duke of Burgogonie was tised to againe vnto them. Insomuch that in his chiefe highnesse, they themselves beleued themselves to haue recovered what former good renouance the dukes of Brabant, Antou and Burgogonie could haue left vnto them. Wherefore, inasmuch as there remained no more, but to proceed in the performance of the chiefe worke, which it had pleased the soueraigne God to put into the hands of his highnesse, and of the said states to performe that daie: they on their part were ready and resolute to do him the homage, fealty, dutie, and obedience, which to all subiects and good basals ought to do to their rightfull princes: of which sort they trusted in God without doubting, that his highnesse was, & that he would promise by solempne oath vnto God so to continue.

Here vnto his highnesse answered in effect, that intending not to hold the states with long talke, but onelie to be mindfull of the honor and good will which they had purchased to yield to him, in that among so manie other great princes, they had chosen him out to deliuer them from the oppression and tyrannie of the Spaniards, and to rule them according to their customes, lawes, and priuileges: he thanked them hartlie for it, assuring them that the iustnesse and equitie of their case, their honourable dealings in his behalfe, and the loue which they had shewed him, had made him to resolve with himselfe to take vpon him their protection, and the reestablishing of their ancient libertie, and to hazard therein whatsoeuer abilitie God had put into his hands, and whatsoeuer else it should please the king his lord and brother, and the queene of England, of their fauour to bestow vpon him; yea euen to the shedding of his owne blood, and the spending of his life.

This done the foresaid monsieur Hefels told his highnesse, how it was the custome there, to proclaim openlie before the people in the Dutch tong the points and articles of the iossall entrance, which the dukes of Brabant are bound to promise and sweare at their admissiion. Hereupon, when as one held the said articles translated into French, ready to rehearse them point by point after the proclaiming of them in Dutch, forsomuch as the daie was farre spent, and communication had bene had thereof already, by the aduise of the prince of Orange, that they should be read but onlie in Dutch. Which thing was done by the said monsieur Hefels, with a new preface added to the articles, containing brieflie the reasons and causes of that dealing. After the reading of the said articles, it was demanded of his highnesse whether he liked of them, and whether he were contented to be knowne to them, or whether it were his pleasure to be further satisfied of them: Whereupon he said to the prince of Orange, that forsomuch as he had seene the articles, and conferred of them with him as they came by ship out of Zeland, he held himselfe well satisfied with them, and was well contented to sweare vnto them. Which speech of his was forthwith proclaimed, and with further declaration, that for their better contentation his highnesse was desirous

Two
that
of
were
count
table.

The States
localitie and
realitie signi-
fied by this
secretaire.

The
and
the
Bpa

The
and
the
Bpa

The mon-
sieur's promise
cuen to the
shedding of
his blood.

The king of
Spaine's offi-
cers full of ty-
rannicall lord-
ships and vil-
lanie.

The cause
why the States
of Brabant
made the mon-
sieur their
prince & lord.

The monsieur
is content to
sweare to the
articles as
graed vpon.

desirous to haue them all knowne, that although the said articles were read but onlie in Dutch, yet would he of his owne good mind, with aduised deliberation and certaine knowledge be sworne vnto them.

Then did the said monsieur Hellsels recite vnto the people in the Dutch tong, the first oth which the dukes of Brabant were of old time accustomed and bound to take for the observing of the said articles. Which done, deliuering the booke wherein it was contained to messier Thierre de Leiffeld chancelor of Brabant, he read the same oth againe openlie in French, & the monsieur spake it after him word for word. Then the monsieur Hellsels taking the booke againe, told the people that the dukes of Brabant made an other second oth to the barons, noblemen, cities, boroughs, & all the inhabitants & subjects of the countrie, to be to them a good & iust prince, and not to deale with them after his owne will, nor by waie of rigor, but by law and iustice, & according to their priuileges. Which oth was likewise rehearsed in the Dutch tong, & the booke deliuered againe to the said chancelor, and the monsieur repeated the oth after him as he had done the first. Then were the mantle and bonnet of the dutchie brought vnto him, which were crimson velvet; the mantle was trailed on the ground, and both of them were furred with powdered ermine turned by verie byode. The prince of Orange told his highnesse, that it behoued him to be appareled in those robes. And when he asked whether he must weare them into the citie: It was answered, yea: and that it was the soleme attire of the princes and dukes of Brabant of old time. Wherevnto when his highnesse had agreed, the prince did first put vpon him the said mantle, and fastening the button thereof, said these words; My lord, you must keepe this button fast closed, that no man may pull your mantle from you. And then he set the bonnet vpon his head, and said vnto him: Sir I praye God you may well keepe this attire, for now you may well assure your selfe that you be duke of Brabant.

Then the said Hellsels told him how the custome required that the states should presentlie be sworne to him againe to yeld him fealtie. Wherevpon he uttered to the people the forme of the oth; and then the said chancelor required it of the barons, noblemen, and deputies, and they pronounced it after him according to the manner of the former othes, renewing againe their homage, and promising fealtie and obedience. After the taking of the othes on both sides, as well by the monsieur as by the states of Brabant, while his highnesse was yet still in his robes of estate, the magistrates of Antwerpe commanded their recorder and counsellor maister Wanderinge to come vp vpon the stage, to make him an offer of the marquesthip of the sacred empire, in the name of the citie of Antwerpe, which thing he did as followeth. Most gracions lord and prince, the markegrau, amptman, boroughmaisters, and skopons, the treasurers, and receiuers, the chiefe burgesses, and quartermaisters, the wardens, and anelents of the handicrafts, together with the coroners, wardens of guilds, and captains of the citie, were verie glad when they vnderstood of your highnesse hapie arrivall in the Ile of Walcheren, as they haue caused to be verie large and with all humilitie and reuerence shewed vnto you, by their deputies sent to your highnesse for the same purpose. But now, forsomuch as they see your highnesse not onlie arrived in the countrie of Brabant, but also receiued for duke, and for their prince and lord: their fore-conceiued ioie is greaſtie increased and made fullie perfect, trusting that by this your returning

there will once insue an end of the desolations, calamities, and miseries, wherinto the countrie hath bene brought by the vniust gouernement past, and by the more vniust and wrongfull warre which the enemies held yet still to bring the whole countrie to destruction, with all manner of calamities and oppressions which they are able to deuise. And therefore they giue your highnesse most humble thanks for the paines & trauell which you haue vouchsafed to take to come into this countrie: yelding infinitelie like thanks vnto God, for that he hath giuen & sent the such a prince, as not onlie is of abilitie and power, but also is verie willing, and well disposed to defend them from all enemies, & to rule and gouerne them with a god policie & iustice, according to the priuileges, lawes, and customs of the countrie. For although they be ioined in leaguer with the rest of the states of Brabant, and generallie with all the states of the low countries, & that they haue all entred into armes iointlie together; yet theiſe so doing hath not bene to exempt and withdrau themselves from the iust gouernement of their lord and prince, but onlie to mainteine their ancient libertie, lawes, and priuileges, that being gouerned according to the same, they might liue with all dutifull obedience in god rest, peace, and tranquillitie. The full accomplishment of which their desires, they thinke themselves to haue most hapilie obtained, with it hath pleased God of his infinit grace & mercie to put into your highnesse heart, to take vpon you the soueraintie of these low countries, the dukedome of Brabant, the citie of Antwerpe, and the marquesthip of the sacred empire. For seeing that God hath stirred them up so great a prince, the brother of a mightie king; they haue no doubt at all, but that your highnesse will, by Gods grace, find some fine means to deliuer these countries from the wretched warres wherein they haue bene so long plunged.

The markegrau, amptman, boroughmaisters, skopons, and other members of this citie, thinke it not expedient to repeat the causes of the warre, and the equitie of the case whereon they stand; forsomuch as it hath diuerse times heretofore bene discussed large enough by the generall estates: and moreover bene notable knowne to the world, and manie waies allowed by your highnesse. Yet againe therefore with all humble submission and reuerence, they thanke your highnesse, that it hath pleased you to agree vnto them, and to promise the maintenance of their priuileges, lawes, and customs: yea and of the articles compiled in the principall composition, and in the iustall entrance into the dutchie of Brabant, assuring your highnesse, that the people of the citie of Antwerpe, and of the marquesthip of the holic empire shall be, and continue right humble subjects to you, euen to the spreading of their bodies & goods, and what soeuer else they be able to make for the increasing of your honour and glorie. Wherevnto his highnesse answered verie gracionslie, that he thanked those noblemen for their good will and affection towards him; and that he meant to shew them by his doings how desirous he was to gouerne and rule the countrie with god policie and iustice. And all this he did at large and with verie great grace. This done, the said Wanderinge turning himselfe to the people cried with a loud voice, that his highnesse, as duke of Brabant, Alanson, Armo, Berreid, &c: would be sworne to the citie of Antwerpe, and the marquesthip of the sacred empire, desiring them to praye vnto God, that by that so god and soleme Gods name might be sanctified, the safetie and prosperitie of the countrie procured, and the honour and glorie of the said duke increased.

Then was the oth, which his highnesse should take,

Annun.

read

Two othes
made by
the dukes
of Brabant
were accus-
tomed to
be.

The states
of Antwerpe
and other
cities
of the
countrie.

The mantle
and bonnet
of the
dutchie
of Brabant.

The mon-
sieur
of Brabant
answer
to the
fore said
nation.

The mon-
sieur
of Brabant
created
duke of
Brabant.

The mon-
sieur
of Brabant
is content
to the
shedding
of his
blood.

The states
promise
the
fealtie
and
obedience.

An offer
of the
marquesthip
of the
sacred
empire
made
to the
mon-
sieur.

The mon-
sieur
is content
to the
shedding
of his
blood.

15
16
17
18
19

The mag-
istrates
of Antwerpe
thanke
the mon-
sieur
for his
gracious
answer.

The soue-
raine
of
what
places
the mon-
sieur
had
vnder
his
power.

Antwerpe
and the
mar-
questhip
of the
sacred
empire
shall be
his
subjects.

The oth that the monsieur should take openlie read to the people.

read openlie to the people in the Flemmish tong by the same Wanderingwercke. Which being done, monsieur the amptman read the same oth to his highnesse in French, and his highnesse made and performed the same in his hands, which the boroughmaster of the towne of Antwerpe held vp, because the receiving of the oth at his hand belonged unto him. Also the said boroughmaster, whose name was sir Philip of Schonehouen, kneeling downe before the dukes highnesse, at the same time gaue him a gilt keie in token of subication, and that he might dispose of the citie as of his owne: which keie was deliuered againe by his highnesse to the boroughmaster, to whom he said verie graciously, that he assured himselfe, that the said boroughmaster and all the burgeses and inhabitants of the citie, would keepe the citie faithfullie for him, as they had done untill that instant.

Largeesse cast among the standers by.

After the finishing and accomplishment of all the said solemnities, the heralds of Brabant and Lorraine (or in the vulgar Brabant, Wallon, Lothier, that is to saie Lotharing, or the true Lorraine) cried with a loud voice, God saue the duke of Brabant. And then sounding the trumpets, they made a largeesse, casting a great sort of peeces of gold and siluer among the standers by. These peeces were of two sorts: the one sort had on the one side the image of the monsieur then duke of Brabant: the other sort had on the one side the armes of Anjou & Brabant, and about the verges was written; Francis of France duke of Brabant. On the other side of them all was a deuise of the sunne, with the monsieurs owne inscription, Cheriseth and Chaseth, which is the monsieurs ordinarie posie. Without the towne were three regiments of the citizens, to the number of a three thousand men in order of battell, who made a goodlie shew with their faire armours and their ensignes displayed. And they neuer went out of their place untill all the ceremonies were dispatched, and that his highnesse was gone into the citie. Besides these, there was an infinit number of people in the citie, whereof manie were strangers, who marvelled greatly at these sights, and especiallie the French men, who wondered to see their master in that apparel, and spake diuerslie of it, as is wont to be done in matters that are new and erst vnsene. But when they understood how it was the dukelie apparel, and that he wore it as a representation of antiquitie, the like whereof is worne yet still by the electors of the sacred empire in their great ceremonies; they were astonished, and thought him to be a prince of more statelie countenance and maiestie than afore. In so much that it was said aloud among them, that seeing it was the mantell of the duchie, it should cost the liues of fiftie thousand Frenchmen, before it should be plucked from him againe.

The Frenchmen marvelled at the monsieurs strange habiliments, &c.

The order of the monsieurs entering into Antwerpe.

As soone as the ceremonies were ended, his highnesse came downe from the theater, and mounted vpon a white courser of Naples, covered with a cooperifon of velvet richlie imbroidered with gold. And so he began to take his waie towards the right renowned and rich citie of Antwerpe, and was conueied along by the counterscarfe, vnto the sumptuous and statelie gate, called Heisers gate, or S. Georges gate, whereat he entered into the good citie of Antwerpe in this sort. First marched the two legions of two pursuants with the armes of the citie, after whom followed the trumpets with the armes of Brabant. The first companie was of Almane merchants commonlie called Casterlings, well mounted and well apparelled after the manner of Almane. Next them followed the English merchants in excellent good order, all apparelled in cassocks of blacke

veluet all of one fashion. Then came the coronels and capteins of the citie: after whom followed a great number of gentlemen, as well of the same countrie as of other nations. Behind them went the bodie of the citie, that is to wit, the wickemasters, the wardens, the ancient magistrate, the masters of the wardes, the boroughmasters, deputies, and wardens of the halles, the vltiers, the secretaries, the registers, the receiuers and treasurers, the schepons, the amptman, & the two boroughmasters, all apparelled in clokes of blacke veluet, and all of one fashion. After them came the trumpets of the states of Brabant, Lembourg, and Lothier, & after them the states themselves in this order. First went the deputies of the vnder cities. The deputies of the citie of Antwerpe. The deputies of Brussels. Then succeeded the noblemen of Brabant, as the chancellor of Brabant, and about him Lamozall Egmond brother to the countie of Egmond, baron of Castebecke. A great number of lords of the same countrie, of France, and of England well horsed and richlie apparelled. The Swislers with their drums and fifes. The monsieurs owne household, among whom were intermingled certaine lords of England. Next this came the countie de Lauall, hauing on either hand an English lord. The prince of Epinoie, hauing on his right hand the lord of Bundredon, & on his left the lord Holward: the prince Dolphin, hauing on his right hand the earle of Leicester, & on his left the prince of Orange: the markegrau of Antwerpe bareheaded, bearing the mace of iustice: the lord Peterfson baron of Sperode, taking vpon him that daie as marshall of Brabant, and bearing the naked sword before the dukes highnesse: then came the duke himselfe, mounted and apparelled as you haue heard afore. Next behind the duke followed countie Horice of Passau sonne to the prince of Orange, hauing on his right hand countie Philip of Passau nephew to the said prince, and sonne to countie John of Passau, and on his left hand the lord Schelfeld. His highnesse was garded by the companies of the guilds, that is to saie, by the ancient brotherhoods of the archers, crossbowes, and harquebussers in goodlie armour, as faiter could not be found: these went afore him and about him on a cluster without order, like flowre deluces vpon a roial robe.

Lords of England and France well horsed.

The earle of Leicester on the right hand of prince Dolphin.

The companies of the guilds.

After them followed the gard of Frenchmen on a like heape, and after them the prince of Oranges gard on foot. Then lastlie in verie good order came the twentie ensignes of citizens, which had stood in order of battell without the towne.ouer the gate where his highnesse entered, there was a compartement of double worke, wherein was written this title. To Francis the sonne of Henrie the second, and onelie brother of Henrie the third king of France, called by Gods singular prouidence to the souereigne principallitie of the low countries, and to the dukedome of Brabant, and the marqueship of the sacred empire, which God grant to be most happie and luckie vnto him, as to their inuested prince whom they haue most earnestlie wished for, and who as now is, happilie come into this his most serueable citie, his most hartie fauourers. The senate & people of Antwerpe. The chariot of the maiden of Antwerpe could not go out of the citie for want of roome to turne in: and therefore it tarried for his highnesse at the gate within the citie. This chariot was called the chariot of aliance: wherein sat a damosell apparelled in satin red and white, which are the colours of Antwerpe: who had in hir left hand a branch of baetræ, & on hir head a garland of laurell, in token of victorie against the tyrannies of the king of Spaine, and in token of the deliuerance which the people hoped for by means of their new prince, through his gracious goodnesse.

An inscription congratulatory to the duke.

The chariot of the maiden of Antwerpe described.

The arms of
the marquis
of the duke
of the duke
of the duke

Arms.

Arms.

Arms of
the duke of
the duke of
the duke of

Arms of
the duke of
the duke of
the duke of

Arms.

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Arms.

Arms.

Arms.

Arms.

Arms.

Arms.

gambrell, faithfullnes, discretionfullnes, and defense:
to whom with her other hand she presented the hies
of the towne, according to the verses written over
her head, which shall be set below hereafter. Before
her were the armes of the marquis of the duke
emperor. In her right hand was a lion appaiered
like one of the Sybils, holding in her one hand an
open booke, named the Law and the Gospel: and in
her other hand a sword: named Gods word: and on
her left hand was Justice holding a balance and a
sword in her hand, and over the balance was writ-
ten, Vera and Fair.

Before the banerell late Concorde, clothed in
white, purple, and orange tawny, bearing a tar-
get upon her arme, wherein was painted a crowned
scepter, with two little snakes; and under them, two
doves, all closed in with a garland of olife, betoke-
ning commendable government with providence.
Upon her head she had a helmet, betokening Wis-
dome. In her hand she carried a lance, with a pennon
upon it, on the one side thereof were the armes of
Antion crowned with olife, and on the other side a
lambe with a wolfe, and a lion with an ox, to beto-
ken the great peacefullnes that is looked for under
this prince, as well in religion as in matters of
state. At Concorde's right hand sat Calistodome, and
at her left hand Force. In the middle of the chariot
was a pillar right made of Corinthian work, upon
the top thereof was a hart held betwixt two ar-
med hands, which hart had two wings, betokening
Antion, Faith, and Force: and a sword with two
serpents twisting about it, and holding their tails
to their eares; signifying Discreet government, and
eares stopped against flatterers. At the foot of the pil-
ler was a compartement with the armes of Antion
and Babant. On the best of the lion of Babant,
were the armes of the marquis of the sacred em-
pire, and of the cite of Antwerpe. Upon the armes
was written Attenuement. Upon the corners of the
chariot were two armed images with morions on
their heads, attired in orange white and black. The
one of them was named Faithfullnes, and the other
Watchfullnes. In their hands they had each of them a
shield, wherein were painted two swords acrosse,
and two doves with a sheaf of arrowes, betoke-
ning Union. Upon one of the shields was written,
Defense: and upon the other, Offense; each of the
images had a pennon of azure silke: in one of the
which there was a pelican killing himselfe for his
young birds: and in the other a hen a brooding her chick-
ens. Over the maidens head were these verses set:

My rulers outrage, wickednesse,
and furious tyrannie,
Haue cast me backe these keies, which I
had giuen obedientlie,
Vpon conditions neuer kept,
O prince of noble fame,
With better beaue of lucke and lot,
receiue thou now the same.
Thy godlines and prowesse haue
of right deserued it.
O treble happie prince to whom
these countries doe submit
Their state! O happie Belgike, O
most happie like to bee,
Which vaderneath so great a prince,
maist now liue safe and free.

Six gentlemen of the cite waited at the gate
with a canopie of cloth of gold frized, which they af-
terward unfoldeed & carried it over the dukes head,
who went under it into the towne in the foremen-
tioned order. All the streets from the gate to his lod-
ging were set on either side with armed men under
their ensignes with their fifes & drums. The officers

carried gilt targets and swords in their hands: and
all the rest were armed after the best and goodliest
manner that could be found. His highnesse proceeded
forth on to the corner of the street called Galtboois
street, that is to say, the Spittlehouse street. There
into saint Georges church there was a shew made
in the librarie of a table, very great and high, which
was made by one of the companies of their tragi-
call and comicall poets, commonly called amongst
them rhetoricians. The companie was called Cerr,
or as some others terme it, the Fokelousen, after the
name of a flower which followeth the sun, & the speech
of the deuse was. Growing up in vertue. The table
on table had three compartements or partitions. The
first was the first booke of Samuell the fifth
chapter, where Samuell chargeth Saule with his
disobedience, & hath a part of his garment rent off
by him, in token that the kingdome should be pluck-
ed from Saules house & giuen to a better. Whereby
was meant, that the sovereignty of those low coun-
tries was taken from the king of Spaine for his
abominable perruities, tyrannies, & cruelties. In
the second compartement was set forth, how Sa-
muel commanded Jesse the father of Dauid to
bring forth his sonnes: of whom God would make
one the prince of his people, that is to wit, the pong-
est, which was Dauid. In the third was shewed how
Dauid being anointed fought with Goliath, and o-
uercame him. The title or superscription was a he-
brigan worke, wherein were written these verses:

As God bereauing Saule of crowne and mace,
Did dispossesse him of his kingdome might,
And after set vp Dauid in his place:
So now likewise dispatching from our sight,
The tyrans which oppressed vs by night,
He giueth thee (O noble duke) the reine
Of these our countries, ouer vs to reine.

The front and crest being garnished with banners,
scutcheons of armes, crests and torches, carried the
dukes deuisse, Cherisheth and Chasteth. And at the foot
of the table laid Discreet closed up in a prison of lat-
tisswooke, where she was tormentted with belhounds
and serpents; and there were these verses following:

Alas! when God Cherisheth aie,
Doth Chasteth all ire and wrath auaie.

His highnesse passing forth still beyond the place
called the Quaiwaister, came to the street named
Hywetterstreet, that is to say, the chandeliers street,
where was an other stately pageant with armes,
torches, and crests, made by an other companie of
the rhetoricians, called pair fetz or violers, who had
for their deuisse, knit together by singleness. In this
pageant was painted the neere alliance of Dauid
and Ionathas: to betoken the firmnesse of the oth
mutuallie made by his highnes & the states of Ba-
bant; and the magistrats, members, colonels, and
captains of the cite of Antwerpe. In this table was
written in a compartement of hebrigan worke:

Like as the faithfull Ionathas
did promise to defend,
Good Dauid from the harmes which Saule
against him did intend:
So keepe thou vs (O gracious prince)
which loue to liue in rest,
Against the tyrans by whose force
we haue bene sore oppress.

Then went he further to the end of the street, where
the upholsters shops are, which part was full of bur-
ning torches & barrells of burning pitch, and so came
to the Sperebridge. At the entering thereof stood an
oliphant bearing a castell of stone with soldiers and
artillerie. Before the oliphant were painted the
armes of the marquisdome and of the cite, and be-
hind, a speare with a banner of taffetie, with the
A n n n n n g.

There in the
librarie of a
table were
great and
high, &c.

The signifi-
cation of the
dukes com-
manding the
king of Spaine
and the whole
court.

A stately pa-
geant made
up to the
present pur-
pose.

An oliphant
bearing a cas-
tell of stone
with soldiers
and artillerie.

Lords of
England and
France well
rejoiced.

The earle of
Leicester on the
right
hand of prince
Dolphin.

The companie
of the
gambles.

An inscriptio
congratula-
orie to the mo-
narch.

The chariot
of the maidens
of Antwerpe
described.

A rampart
carried over
the monarchs
head.

armes of Antiou in a wreath of laurell, and foure o-
ther bannerets of crimson taffeta, pulled out, wherein
were painted the hands of Antwerpe, with this poe-
sie: Cheritheth and Chafeth. And vpon his side of
his bellie were these verses manifestlie written:

Whome light of Phebec heretofore did lead,

I now am drawne awaie,

Her brothers beames to follow in hir stead,

A farre more certeine staie.

I thinke my change right gainefull, sith I see,

These lower countries vnder him to bee.

From the sperebridge he went along the spere-
street, untill he came to the ward, where were foure
companies ranged in order of battell. From thence
he passed to the corner of Clare street, where was a
stage made by a compaigne of rhetoricians called the
Olise branch, who had for their posie, Behold grace.
Upon this stage sat a damsell named Antwerpe,
bearing in hir bosome a pretie daughter called the
knowledge of God: who held a coffer wherein were
priviledges, lawes, franchises and truth: which were
kept by the Grace of God, and by Providence, Wis-
dome, Faithfullnesse, Diligence, Loialtie, Per-
seuerance, Unitie, God heed, and Order. And aloft
was a compartement of Hyppian worke (verie
artificiallie handled) wherein were these verses:

O prince, our father, hope of helpe and staie:

Dame grace, Gods impe, whom here thou seest to

From top to toe faire clad in white araie, (stand,

With branch of olife in hir heauenlie hand:

Hath willed thee to harbor here within

The statelie walles of ladie Antwerpe, and

The loue of hir with endlesse fame to win,

By curing of hir griefes with law and right,

And eke by putting of hir foes to flight.

Somewhat lower towards the midd, was Pe-
ptune with his threelined mace, riding ouer waues
vpon a dolphin, & on his left hand were these verses:

Gods heauenlie grace, and soothfull skill,

reuiuing Antwerpe new,

Through diare defense of faithfull leaguc

haue kept hir safe, as dew

To thee hir duke innobled both

by father and by brother,

Both kings of France, tone gone to God

long since, still reigning tother.

And therefore bend thou now thy wits,

by rightfull force to wreake

Hir cruell foes, which did so oft

their leagues through falshood breake.

He passed from Clare street thorough long Peter
street to Saint Katharins bridge, right ouer against
Crosse street, where was a triumphall arch cunning-
lie painted and builded of white stone, which was
garnished with his highnesses armes, and with tor-
ches and cressets, and with musike of holbotes and
clarions. And on the top of it was written: To the
happie comming hither of Francis, onelie brother
to Henrie the third, sonne to Henrie the second,
grandchild to Francis the first, now inuested duke
of Brabant, the prince that hath most deperlie deser-
ued of this their countrie, as a father of the same:
The senat and people of Antwerpe. Underneath this
in an other compartement of Hyppian worke, was
written this: At length yet hinder not this impe to
bring the wrooping world againe vnto some re-
dresse. In passing thorough the short Peter street, & by
the marketstreet, he turned toward the Copers street
in the street called Chafelane to the great market
place, which was full of torches of war, and of barrels
of pitch vpon long poles vp to the highest win-
dowes, which commonlie are five stories high. In
this market place were imbattelled six ensignes,
toth the ensigne of the youth which was vnder a

greene standard, all in the best armor that was to be
seene in anie place of the world. In the middelt of the
citizens was the great giant the founder of the citie
of Antwerpe, whose curace was azure, and his ap-
parell tawnie white and graie. He bore banners of
azure with the armes of Antiou, & had these giantlike
speeches cōteined in these verses, written before him:

Fierce furie, moodie rage, vnbridled ire,

Stout force, hot violence, cruell tyrannie,

Nought booted me, ne furthered my desire:

In keeping of my wished souereignie.

The surest waie for kings to gouerne by,

Is mildnesse matched with a prudent mind,

To vice seuer, to vertue meeke and kind.

For oft the calme and quiet gouernance,

Brings things to passe which violence could not win:

Fierceneesse that caue will nought at all aduance,

By mildnesse shalt thou better hold folke in:

Outragious storming is not worth a pin,

By mine example therefore haue a care,

All cruell dealings vtterlie to spare.

Behind the giant were written these verses:

See you this orped giant here,

so huge of limme and bone?

Fame saies that Antwerpe was sometime

a thrall to such a one.

This giant was made by cunning to turne his
face towards the duke as he passed by, and to let fall
the armes of Spaine which he held in his hand, & to
put by the armes of Antiou. Also there was a stage in
the same market place before the towne house, full of
nymphs & vertues. But so much as it serued chief-
lie for the daie of his taking of his oath in the citie of
Antwerpe, which was the 22 daie of that moneth: it
shall be spoken of more at large hereafter. His high-
nes departing out of the market place, toke his waie
towards the street called the High street, and when he
came to the street called the old Cornemarket, there
was a whale carieng Neptune naked with his thre-
forked mace in his hand, which betokened the great
commobilities which the citie of Antwerpe receiued
by the sea and by the river Schelt. Before this mon-
ster was an other naked man, and by him two other
portraictures, the one of nauigation, and the other of
merchandise, with a booke of accounts, and a purse,
such as the factors doe carie with them when they go
to receiue monie. Before this Neptune, in a com-
partement, were written these verses following:

The lordship of the seas to thee

the destinies behigh:

In signe whereof I Neptune yeeld

this mace as thine of right.

That Antwerpe hauing rid all lets

by thee on sea and land,

Maie once inioie hir wished fruit,

and safe from perill stand.

His highnesse kept on his waie through the High
street, to a place where sometime was the gate called
St. Johns gate, which was beaten downe the yeare
before: in stead whereof there was a triumphall arch
of Ionian worke. This arch was whole applied vnto
his highnesse owne posie Cheritheth and Chafeth.
On high ouer it was straines a couering after the
maner of a round vault, wherein was painted the
sun: & vnder the sun was painted the sea with ships,
and the earth clad with hir verdure. Also there ap-
peared a cloud on both sides: so as the light of the
sun did shine forth and yeld out his force to the earth.
On the outside of the bowing of the arch were pain-
ted thre goddesses: namely Flora, who held hir
fountes in hir hand: Ceres, who had hir cornes: and
Dionisia, who held a hohne stozed with abundance
of all things. Likewise the earth was clad with
greene trees, fruits, and fields, replenished with all
fruitfullnesse: which thing came to passe by the heat
and operation of the sun, which was betokened by
this word Cheritheth. On the other side being the left

Six ensignes
with the ens-
igne of the
youth vnder
a greene stan-
dard.

A cunning
device of a
giant turning
his head.

A whale cari-
eng Neptune
naked & thre-
forked mace
betokened.

An arch whole-
lie applied to
the monie
owne posie.

A damsell re-
presenting
Antwerpe
holding a cof-
fer of priuile-
ges, &c.

A triumphall
arch diuerslie
garnished.

Cheritheth
hand,

Chafeth.

The mon-
iments of the
politic
arch.ing
if a
arming
d.ale cat-
p-
what
ned.A monstrous
to hope of
twentie foot
high, a what
signified.arch whow
plied to
monieur
ie politic.

heritheth.

hand, were drie and barren fields, the aire enerie
where lowing and cloude, and the trees and plants
withered: which thing was done by the three hel-
bonds, Discord, Violence, & Tyrannie, who fled a-
waie at the sight of his highnes, according to the sig-
nification of his other word, Chafeth. On an other
side stood the same polie againe, Cheritheth and Cha-
seth, by an other meane.

At the right hand ouer the word Cheritheth was
a great field well tilled, with a husbandmans house
upon it. The husbandman himselfe being apparelled
after the French fashion was sowing of corne, and
an other by him was spreading of mucke. At the
left hand was written the word Chafeth, on which
side also was painted a French captaine in armor
following his allies, confederats, and souldiours: to
do men to vnderstand, that by the treaties, leagues,
and agreements made with the dukes highnesse, all
tyrannie, violence, and discord should be chased a-
waie; and that by the beames of that sun, the coun-
trie should receiue all peace, prosperitie, and abun-
dance. Upon the forefront were these verses painted:

Like as the rising of the sun
doth chase the night awaie,
And with his kindlie heat
the ground well cherish aie:
Euen so thy comming (noble prince)
doth chase all tempests quite,
And folke with cheerefull hope
offredome much delite.

The com-
ments of the
arch aloft.

This arch was imposed aloft with scutcheons of
the armes of Anjou, compassed about with branches
of olive, all vpon azure. Also there were diuerse o-
ther scutcheons, whose field was gules bordered with
argent, and a great number of burning torches. And
the said arch was furnished with diuerse instru-
ments of musicke, and the musicians themselves
were clad in the colours of the citie. His highnesse
passing vnder this triumphall arch, came to a place
called the Dwure, that is to say, the banke, where
were two companies imbattelled, armed like all the
residue. And so passing by the ward there, he went
to the place that is right ouer against the mint: be-
fore the which there was a huge and monstrous sea-
horse of twentie foot high, vpon whom sat a nymp
called Concord, bearing a shield wherein was pain-
ted a booke and a rod, which was named, the Rule of
truth. In hir hand she bare a flag, wherein was writ-
ten, Faithfull alliance. This monster of the sea was
named Tyrannie, and he had a byble in his mouth
with double reines of iron chained called Law and
Reason. Whereby the dukes highnesse was done to
vnderstand, that he as a true Hercules was to deli-
uer that countrie from all tyrannie, and afterward
to gouerne it by iustice and reason.ouer against
the mint gate, where the street is narrowest, were
two obeliskes or round spires, and betwene them
a triumphall arch with his pillars of Corinthian
work, gilded and enriched with his releefe vnder
him. Upon the forefront were his highnesse arms,
and likewise on the sides were other armes, with
banners, torches, and crests. Under the armes of
his highnesse were written these verses following:

Full mightie is that common weale,
and in a happie case,
And blest with all commodities
through Gods most heauenlie grace,
Where prince behaues himselfe as head,
and commons him obeie
As members, either carefullie
regarding others staie.

From this triumphall arch vnto the palace, that
is to wit, all along saint Michaels street, which is a
mile in length, stood on either side thre score and ten

pillers, with a space of ten and twentie foot betwene
piller and pillar. Euerie pillar was twelue foot high,
and vpon the pillars was a continuall tartan, & on
enerie other pillar was a crest: and on the pil-
lers betwene were the armes of Brabant, Anjou,
and Antwerpe, diuided according to the spaces be-
twene the said pillars. And the pillars were crested
about with garlands of iuie. On the side of the street
towards the palace was a pageant with banners,
torches, and pyramides; vpon the uppermost part of
one of the sides thereof was a crane, and vpon the o-
ther side a cocke: giuing knowledge as well to the
heads as to the members, that watchfulnesse is
needfull. A little spantell betokening faithfullnesse,
& a little lambe betokening peace, were painted ac-
compained with the symbols, which represented wise-
dome, loue, faithfullnesse, obedience, vertue and ho-
nor, without the which no true peace can continue.
And all these were guided by the light of the holie
ghost, which was resembled by a certeine brightnesse
that discovered the chiefe instruments of discord,
namelike Enuie and Slander, who peered out behind,
Enuie gnawing hir owne heart, and Slander ha-
ving double heart, double tong, and double face,
howbeit with small effect. For on the two sides of
this pageant were two counterfets, on the one side
Hercules, & on the other Dauid, as it were in copper,
having gotten the vpper hand of Goliath, betokening
strength and stoutnesse: and vnderneath was Con-
cord, who held Discord in a chaine with collars about
his necke: which Discord offering with his one hand
an apple of gold, and with his other hand the ataining
men with his force and tyrannie, was yet neuer the-
lesse giuen into the dungeon of sorow, where he is
kept prisoner by Concord, who keepeth the doze fast
shut: betokening the same thing which the countrie
looketh for at his highnesse hand according to his po-
tie Cheritheth and Chafeth. Upon the forefront of the
compartement made of Hygyian worke were these
verses following painted out in most liuelie forme:

O let the earth the kissings sweet
of peace and iustice see,
And let hir powre hir riches forth
in all mens bosoms free:
Let godlines and faithfulness
go matched arme in arme,
And let the bond of endles loue
keepe all things knit from harme.

Before the duke came at saint Michaels, where
the palace was prepared for his highnesse, the daie
was so farre spent, that they were faine to light vp
their crests & torches, which cast so great and cleere
a light through the whole towne, that the dukes high-
nesse, and the princes and lords which accompanied
him, and likewise the souldiours with their glittering
armors, were seene more cleerlie than at anie time
of the daie. And as the multitude of people was ve-
rie great in the citie, so the nener that his highnesse
drew to his palace, the greater still did the number
grow. So at length the duke of Brabant and An-
jou entred into his palace in the order afore mentio-
ned, hauing mozeouer a two or thre hundred as well
of offenders as of banished folke which followed him
bareheaded and fettered, craving mercie. The he-
raids did cast peces of gold and siluer abroad, as
they had done at the meetings of all the streets as
they passed through them. At the entrie of the pa-
lace was an arch of twentie foot high, resting vpon
thre pillars of Hygyian worke; and vpon the top
thereof was a compartement where in were the thre
graces, that is to wit, Vertue, Glorie, and Honor,
who offered vnto his highnesse an olive branch, in to-
ken of peace, a laurell bough in token of victorie, and
a crowne which was sent him from heauen. And
¶ n n n n. ij. vnder

Thre score
and ten pil-
lers, with a
space of two
and twentie
foot betwene
each.

Proper em-
blems and
their mean-
ings.

Enuie and
Slander.

Concord hol-
ding Discor-
d in a chaine, &c.

Light with
torches and
crests as
cleare as the
morne daie.

Thre graces
Vertue, Glo-
rie, and Honor
in a compa-
riment.

under the compartement were written these verses:

O prince whose merits passe his praise,
whose vertues haue no peeres,
Whose mind surmounts his fortune far,
whose thews exceed his yeeres:
Take gentlie heere this oliue branch,
this laurell bough and crowne,
Three presents giuen thee by three nymphs,
and sent from heauen downe.

The oth made by Francis duke of Brabant to the members of the right renowned citie of Antwerpe, and the oth made by them againe vnto his highnesse.

Twentie or thirtie thousand harquebuses shot off.

The duke of Brabant being come into his palace, caused a peale of a twentie or thirtie thousand harquebuses to be shot off, and then all the companies (saying those which were to watch that night) began to withdraw themselves appaile. Which thing was done in such order and with such silence, that in lesse than halfe an houre all the citie was disarmed; after which maner they had also armed themselves in lesse than an houre without any noise in the morning. The princes also and the lords withdrew themselves to their lodgings, and then was all the great ordinance of the towne shot off twice, as it had bene at the dukes first comming to the citie, that all the towne seemed to be on fire. Cressets were lighted and fires made for ioie through all the streets and meetings, waics, and upon the steeles, in so great number and so continuallie, that all the night resembled the daie: in so much that when they that were without the towne looked vp into the skie, they thought the element was all on fire. These bonafires continued euery night untill the next thursdaie; on which daie his highnesse took his peculiar oth to the towne of Antwerpe, in doing whereof these solemnities ensuing were obserued. The amptman, boroughmasters, and skepons of Antwerpe came to the said palace of S. Michaele the next thursdaie being the two and twentieth daie of the same moneth: at which place they made humble sute vnto his highnesse, that as he had vouchsafed to giue his oth to the states of Brabant and the marquesdome of the sacred empire, and likewise to receiue theirs; so it might please him to giue his oth that daie peculiarie to the citie of Antwerpe, and likewise to take theirs at the place of old time accustomed. Wherevnto when the duke had assented, they took their waie in the same order that had bene obserued at his entring into the towne; saying that the lord Edward de Castre ambassador for Don Antonio king of Portugall, was that daie in the latter companie of the princes and lords. And so they marched along the said street of saint Michaele to the great market-
The night resembled the daie.

Solemnities used whiles the monseigneur was taking his peculiar oth to Antwerpe.

place, where the sumptuous common house of the citie is. And because that on the daie of his entrance in, it was not possible for him to take a perfect view of all the thews, by reason that the night ouertooke them, they were presented vnto his highnesse againe, as well in the place before the mint, as in other places. Also there were two pageants more prepared, which were deuised both in one daie; the one was mount Parnassus whereon sat Apollo appaile like the sun, and accompanied with the nine muses playing vpon diuerse kinds of instruments, and with sweet voice singing a certaine dittie together written in commendation of his highnesse. This pageant was in the street called the High street, ouer against the street named Keiner street. Right ouer against this pageant was an other on the side of the street called the Flar market, which was a mossie rocke overgrown with ozie and withered trees, wherein appeared a caue verie hideous, darke, and diuerse to behold, & in the same laie lurking the three hellhounds, Discord, Violence, and Tyrannie: who feeling Apollos beames, and hearing the sweetnesse and harmonie of the voices and instruments, shooke alwaie and hid themselves in the deepest of the dungeon, and afterward peered out againe to harken whether that melodie and harmonie continued still or no, minding to haue come forth againe, and to haue troubled the common wealth, if the same had ceased.

Two pageants, one of mount Parnassus, and the other a mossie rocke.

His highnesse passed on, and with verie much adom came to the great market place, by reason of the infinite multitude of people, which could not be put asunder without great paine. As soone as he was alighted from his horse, he went vnto a scaffold which had bene set vp for the same purpose, in the midst of the market place hard by the towne house; before whome went the magistrate of the citie, and a great number of princes, lords, and gentlemen. This scaffold being great and large of the height of forty foot, was hanged with scarlet. Upon it was a cloth of estate, the backe whereof was cloth of gold frized, under the which was a chaire of the same. The daie of his first comming thither, there had bene presented vnto him on the right side, Wisdom offering him a golden scepter: on his left side, Justice offering him the sword of iustice from above the chaire: and behind him Clemencie offering him the cap of the dukedome. Before the chaire as it were at the foot of it, were Obedience, Faithfulness, Love of God, & Reuerence. And by the chaire sides there were with them, Concord, Sagenesse, Chastities, Good will, Truth, Pitifulnesse, Perseuerance, and Reason, of whome two on either side held ech of them a torch of virgin war, & they were all appareled like nymphes. But on this daie when his highnesse went vp to this stage, the nymphes were alwaie; and in stead of them, the chaire was garnished on both sides with pillars. On the right side betwene the pillars was a lion holding a naked sword, to betoken the authoritie of the magistrate. Above the lion was an eagle feeding hir young, and turning hir selfe towards the shining of the sunne, as taking hir force of the prince. On the left side was an ox with a yoke on his necke, and above him a hen brooding hir chickens, and by hir a cocke. The ox with his yoke signified obedience: and the cocke and the hen betokened the watchfulnesse, care, and defense of the superiour. The said scaffold was garnished with banners of azure beaten with the armes of Anjou, and with banners of gewowes beaten with the armes of Antwerpe, and with cressets and torches. And about among the armes were written these verses in verie faire & legible letters:

At length thou art come,
and ioifull we bee,
Thy presence long look for
here present to see.

1 Of triumphs, though statelie,
kings boast but in vaine,
Vnlesse they by iustice
vprightlie doo raine.

2 Nought booteth law, authoritie,
or sage forecast of wit,
Vnlesse to lawfull gouernement
folke doo their force submit.

3 God, God is he the harts of kings
which holdeth in his hand,
He, He it is that highest things
dooth make too fall or stand.
When he with gracious looke beholds
a people: they inioy
A goodlie ruler, vnder whom
no troubles them annoy.

But

A scaffold hight with scarlet and richlie adorned.

A chaire of estate of cloth of gold frized.

Seantish emblems about the chaire of estate, & what they signified.

1 A little under, at the right hand under the armes of Brabant, were these verses.

2 On the left hand under the armes of Antwerpe was written thus.

3 This was written some what lower.

But if misliking make him frowne,
then makes he them a preie
To tyrants, vnder whom they taft
of sorrow euerie daie.

Sanctified and
condemned
men in fetters
crawling mer-
cie pardoned.

Scaffold hog
ith scarlet
id richlie
orned.

Chair of
State of cloth
& gold frized.

All promises
kept on the
monarchs
part, they
could doe no
hille.

Beautiful
emblems a-
bout the
chaire of e-
State, & what
they figured.

The mon-
archs ready
to take his oth
of the magi-
strate & people
of Antwerpe.

1 A little
under, at the
right hand
under the
armes of
Bababant,
were these
verses.

2 On the left
hand under
the armes of
Antwerpe
was writ-
ten thus.

3 This was
written some
what lower.

God success
with to the
catholick oth-
ners.

From this scaffold he might behold before him
an infinit number of people, ready to be sworn vn-
to him: and also three companies of banished and
condemned men in fetters, and bareheaded, cra-
ving mercie at his hand, which was granted vn-
to them. Whereouer all the houses about the market
stead had cressets burning on high before them. Now
then, after that some and silence was made, their
counsellors and recorder Wandertwerke propounded
the matter as followeth. Right gracious lord and
prince, the markegraue, the amptman, the borough-
masters, the skopons, the treasurers, the receivers,
the old deputies, the chiefe burgesses, the quarterma-
sters, the wardens, the ancientes of the handicrafts,
the colonels, the wardens of the guilds, and the cap-
taines of the citie, your highnesses most humble and
obedient subiects, are exceeding glad to see that you,
whome they have already received for duke of Bza-
bant, and for their sovereign lord and prince, are
ready to make your oth vnto this citie, and to re-
ceive it at the hand of the magistrats, burgesses and
citizens thereof, in respect of the citie it selfe, and of
the marquesdomme of the sacred empire: assuring
themselves that your highness will be vnto them a
god, righteous, and lawfull prince, to gouerne them
according to their franchises, lawes, and customes:
and promising mutuallie on their behalfe to your
highness, to be good, loiall, and faithfull subiects vn-
to you, to spend all their goods, yea and their liues
in your seruice, and in the maintenance of your
dignities, rights and preheminences. And like as
God hath put into your highness mind, to take vpon
you, first the protection and defense, and secondlie the
whole souereintie of the low countries and prouin-
ces, which have entered into league with you, vpon
hope that the same God will of his gracious god-
nesse and mercie so blesse and prosper your dealings
and enterprises: as that they shall out of hand see the
effect of that communication in the best degree, to
the accomplishment of your roiall and heroicall de-
sires, both in the generall, and also in the particular
deliuerance of the countrie from the calamities and
miseries of war: whereby they shall haue the better
cause to acknowledge the great good turnes and be-
nefits receiued at your highness hand, and to hono-
rour, and serue you, as the verie protector of the land
and father of their countrie.

When Wandertwerke had made an end, and the
dukes highness had answered him conformable to
that which he had spoken without the towne, the said
Wandertwerke told the people alowd, that the duke
was ready to take and receiue his oth, at the hand of
the magistrats, and of all the people and inhabitants
of the citie of Antwerpe: and that God had vouchsa-
fed to send them a prince of so rare and heroicall ver-
tues, of so great puissance, and the onelie brother of
so great a king; that they might well hope, that the
same God would enable him to rid these countries
within a while from the great number of calamities
and miseries wherewith they were oppressed. And for-
somuch as his highness had bene receiued with so
lemne deliberation of the states confederate, yea
and with solemne resolution of all the members of
that citie, and God had commanded men to loue, ho-
nour and obey their princes: he exhorted the people
to yeld him all humble obedience according to
Gods commandement. To which intent, the oth as
well which his highness should make to the people,
as which the people should make to his highness,
should be read vnto them; praising God to giue such

grace vnto his highness, as he following the same,
might well rule and gouerne; and vnto the burgesses
and citizens of Antwerpe, as they might performe
their obedience, like good, loiall, and faithfull sub-
iects: that Gods name might be sanctified, to the be-
nefit, prosperitie, and safeguard of the citie, and to the
great increase of the dukes puissance, honour, and
glozie. Then the same Wandertwerke read the oth
which was to be made by the duke, with the stile of
the duke of Bzabant, and all his other titles. Which
oth was read to his highness in French, and recei-
ued by sir Philip Schonehouen, lord of Maneroe,
boroughmaster without the citie.

Which being done, the said Wandertwerke read the
oth which the magistrats and people were to make,
which was repeated word for word by the magistrats
and a great number of people which were within the
hearing of it. And this oth was enacted of the ma-
gistrats and people of Antwerpe by the amptman
in the name and by the commandement of the duke.
Upon the finishing of these solemnities, the duke
himselfe did cast two or three handfuls of gold and sil-
uer among them, & then the heralds cried a largesse,
and the trumpets and drums were sounded euerie
where, and manie instruments of musike were plai-
ed vpon, as had bene done afore at his first arrivall.
When he was come downe from the scaffold, he
went to the townehouse with all the princes, lords,
and gentlemen, which were verie manie: where he
was receiued by the worshipfull of the citie, and di-
ned openlie at a verie sumptuous and roiall feast pre-
pared for him: and so that daie passed in great ioy,
contentation and admiration, as well of his high-
ness & his companie, as of all the rest of the people.
Towards night were shot off two peales of great
ordnance againe, and the fires of ioy were conti-
nued much greater, and more in number than afore.

Thus ended the iollull and roiall interteinement
of the right noble prince Francis, sonne and brother
to the king of France, by the grace of God duke of
Bzabant. The rest of the weeke and the daies follow-
ing, the lords of the priuie counsell, the officers of the
aides, of the exchequers, of the chambers of the ac-
counts, and of the other copozations, colleges, and
communalities came to visit his highness, and to offer
him their humble seruice, promising all faithfulness
and obedience: all whome he receiued verie grati-
oullie to their contentation, answering them so ad-
uisedlie, with so good grace & fitnesse, without omit-
ting anie point of that which he had purposed: that
all men not onelie wondered at him, but also were
inforced to honour and loue him, and to set forth his
praises among the people. Finally the deputies of
the reformed churches of both the languages, being
presented vnto him by the prince of Orange, were
gentlie heard, and they spake to him as followeth.

Sir, we be sent vnto your highness by the refo-
med churches of this citie, as well of the language
of low Dutchland, as of the French, to shew vnto
you with all humilitie, reuerence and subiection, that
we haue thanked and still doe thanke God with all
our hart, for vouchsaffing to bring your highness so
happilie hither. And this our ioy is matched with the
ioie of all other folks, as we hope your highness
hath vnderstood by the glad and iollull receiuing and
interteining of you. Also sir we hope, that as the
great honour and felicitie which these countries haue
attained vnto (wherein few countries are able to
match them) haue bene purchased vnder the soue-
raintie and gouernement of the right renowned
princes, the dukes of Burgognie, which issued out of
the most noble house of France: so vnder your gui-
ding and gouernement being of the same house, the
ancient renowne of the same dignitie shall be reco-
uered

The mon-
archs oth red
in French.

The mon-
archs largesse
of gold & siluer
among the
people.

Two peales
of great ordi-
nance with o-
ther signes of
iay.

What was
done by the
state of
courteous du-
tie when all
the triumphs
were ended.

Dukes of
Burgognie
issued out of
the house of
France.

Under whom
the state hath
bene aduanc-
ed.

Philip duke
of Burgonie
furnamed the
hardie.

Duke John
the second,
and Philip
the second,
aduancers of
the state.

Philip the se-
cond a verie
rich prince,
furnamed
Philip the
good.

He directeth
his speech to
the monseieur.

It saie moued
to y^e monseieur.

Francis the
monseieurs
grandfather
commended.

nered by your proffesse, and maintained by your
wisdom. It is little more than thre hundred yeres
ago, that these countries being gouerned by sundrie
dukes, earles, and lords, had not attained the re-
notorie which other nations haue since that time so
much wondered at. The first that began to giue in-
crease to it was Philip duke of Burgonie, furna-
med the hardie, who was brother to king Charles
the first, the sonne of king John, and grand sonne of
king Philip of Valois: of which kings your highnes
is lineallie descended from the father to the sonne.
For the first duke of Orleans, of whose your high-
nesse is lineallie descended from the father to the
sonne, was the sonne of king Charles the first; and as
now there be no more heires males of the said duke
of Orleans, but onelie your highnes and the king
your brother. Whereby it falleth out, that the dukes
of Burgonie are great vncles to your highnes by
the fathers side. And therefore we doubt not but you
will follow the footsteps of their vertues, in restoring
the state of the countrie to hir ancient renomie
and dignitie: and also mainteine and increase the ho-
nour whereunto it hath bene aduanced, by those no-
ble princes your vncles.

The second duke under whom this state hath bene
greatlie aduanced, was John the second: neuerthe-
lesse it came not to full perfection, untill the time of
Philip the second. In which perfection it was main-
teined by Charles the last duke of Burgonie so long
as he liued. The said Philip the second, to whom the
honour of stablishing that state most peculiarie be-
longeth, was one of the most knightlie and valiant
princes of his time. He was the victorie in nine
foughten fields, in most of the which he was put to
the trial and hazard of his person, by fighting with
his owne hands. He was a verie sage prince, and
such a one as had to deale with the greatest princes
in christendome: of whose some were his aduersa-
ries, and yet he behaued himselfe so wisely, that he
atchiued all things to his honour whatsoever he
tooke in hand. Also he was verie rich: insomuch that
for all his warres which lasted aboue thirtie yeres,
he left behind him more substance and readie monie,
than any other prince of his time, as the writers of
the histories of that age do witness vnto vs. And yet
notwithstanding, for all these great vertues & quali-
ties of his, he was not named Philip the sage, nor
Philip the valiant, nor Philip the rich, but Philip the
good. So well do all folke by generall consent be-
uerstand, which is the vertue that best becometh and
becometh a great prince, & is best liked of his peo-
ple: namely, that a prince be good and louing to his
subjects. Surely sir, all men hope that your highnes
will follow the example of that good prince, the first
pryncer of the state of this countrie to perfection, a
right noble and renowned prince of the house of
France. And we praise God, for that as manie as
haue had the honour to come into your highnes pre-
sence, yeld record that you haue verie great like-
hoods of these vertues, which we praise God so to ac-
complish and make perfect in you, as all his people
may to your great honor receiue the perfect and ripe
fruits of them. And this do all the rest of the people
desire as well as we.

Wherefore, we haue a most humble sute to make
peculiarlie to your highnes, which we most humbly
beseech you to grant. The thing that induceth vs to
do it, is that you beare the name of Francis. For as
oft as we heare that name named: the remem-
brance of that great king Francis your highnesse
grandfather cometh to our mind. He was a right
valiant, couragious, noble and godlie prince: and yet
notwithstanding all the nations of the earth did by
one common consent surname him the father of

learning. For of a truth, since that emperour and
great king of France, called Charles the great, there
was neuer any king of France that so highly fa-
moured learning, as this great king Francis. And
as the said king Charles was the founder of the fa-
mous vniuersitie of Paris, so was king Francis
the restorer thereof againe: and both of them to their
great costs & charges called men of excellent know-
ledge thither out of strange countries, to teach the
languages & all kinds of arts & sciences. The house
of this great king Francis was as an vniuersitie,
and his table was a place of conference concerning
all maner of learning. And like as other great prin-
ces of his time following his example, enriched their
dominions and kingdoms with learned men and
learning: so we most humbly beseech your highnes
to follow the example of this great king your grand-
father in doing the like, and to make singular ac-
count of learning, and to take the professors there-
of under your protection. True it is sir, that through
the malice of men, warre is commonlie the over-
thrower of learning. But if a great prince set him-
selfe against the mischiefe, he may easilie stop it. Our
desire is not that your highnesse should neglect the
exercise of chivalrie, for to giue your selfe to studie:
but to followe the one, as the other be not left off
and forgotten. For as we haue same manie com-
monweales flourish so long as they professed chivalrie
and learning together: and yet haue fallen into the
hands of their enemies, even in the chiefe flower
of their skill in sciences, by reason of their discontinu-
ing of their former trade of armes, after which ma-
ner it fell to the Athenians to come into subiection
to the kings of Spacedontie: so the people which haue
professed armes alone without learning, haue al-
waies become barbarous, cruel, and bitterlie despi-
tute of all humanitie, as we see at this daie by the
Tartars and Moscovites. And therefore to our se-
ming, a man may well saie, that chivalrie is the fun-
dation and linevves of a commonweale: and that
learning garnisheth and beautifieth the bodie there-
of with liuelie and fresh colours, seruing it for in-
richments and ornaments. In respect whereof, as we
meant not to desire your highnesse to forget those
which make profession of chivalrie, whom you ought
to embrace as your strength: so we most humbly
beseech you to boushase to succour learning, and
to mainteine learned men with your gracious fa-
uour.

Sir, verie needfull causes moue vs to make this
humble petition to your highnesse: for that we be-
lieue professors of learning, ought to haue learning
in singular estimation, and to procure (if it be possi-
ble for vs) that the frute of the things which we haue
inioied for a time, may be conueied to our posterity:
and secondlie for the othe sake which we haue ta-
ken at the time of our proceeding in our degrees,
which is, to mainteine and further the scholes and
learning of the vniuersitie, in what degree soeuer
we come vnto. And therefore we hope that your
highnesse will do vs the honour to take this most
humble request of ours in good part. As touching
our owne persons, we promise your highnesse all o-
bedience, faithfulness, and subiection: and that ac-
cording to our small abilitie, we will do our indenor
towards such as we may haue access vnto, that they
also may yeld obedience to your highnesse, and to
the magistrates whom it shall please you to set
ouer the people. And here to make an end, we parti-
lie praise God to preserve your highnes a long time
in happie estate among this people, and to giue you
the grace to rule and gouerne them iustlie and up-
rightlie, to rid them out of the hands of their eni-
mies, to mainteine them long in most happie peace,
and

A good sute to
the monseieur, a
the like of all
princes and
great men to
be preferred
and granted.

Learning and
chivalrie must
go together.

Causes that
moued the
making of
this sute.

He speaketh
in the behalfe
of all the rest
of the profess-
ion and sci-
ence.

and to restore this state againe to the ancient dignitie, greatnesse, renowne, and felicitie: that after your decesse you maie leaue a most blessed and famous remembrance among all nations. And for the bringing hereof to passe, we yet againe beseech the king of kings and great prince of princes, to make you as valiant as Dauid, as wise as Salomon, and as zealous of his glorie as Ezechias.

Whereunto the duke answered, that he was verie glad to see such a consent of all the people in the receiving of him: and that he hoped so to rust and governe them, as they should not be disappointed of the hope which they had conceived of his gouvernement, which he would fashion out after the paterne of his predecessors and great uncles, who had governed these countries so happilie. And he thanked them for their good will & loue, praising them to continue the same, and promising to take them into his protection together with the rest of the people in general: that as he had heretofore a singular regard of learned men, so would he be willing to continue the same hereafter.

After this maner began this great prince to governe that people with great authoritie and modestie; and the people to yield unto him verie willing and honorable obedience: and all men hope both generallie and particularlie, that God will give him the grace so to hold on in that so holie and commendable gouvernement, as that by his example he shall shew to all princes and to all others that come after him, how greatlie the fast and lawfull gouvernement availeth: and that the people on their side shall shew what manner of obedience, loue, and constancie is due to good princes: in which vertues there was neuer yet anie people that could skill to surmount them, neither shall anie hereafter, by the helpe of the great God, and everlasting father of our saviour Iesus Christ, to whome with the blisse of the holie spirit be all glorie for ever and ever, Amen.]

John Paine priest being indicted of high treason for words by him spoken, was arraigned and condemned at Chelmsford on the last daie of March, and was there executed on the second daie of Aprill, according to the qualitie of his offense, and as law had awarded. In the moneth of Maie, namely, on the sixtenth daie at night, about ten of the clocke, a blasing starre appeared, descending in the north-west, the beard whereof streamed into the southeast.

On mondaie being the eight & twentieth of Maie, Thomas Fowd, John Shert, and Robert Johnson priests, having bene before indicted, arraigned, and as well by their owne testimonie, as also sufficient witnesses produced to their faces, found guiltie, and condemned for high treason intended, praised, and appointed against hir maiesties most roiall person, as also for the utter ruine, overthrow, and subversion of hir peaceable and well governed realme, themselves being sent as instruments, to deale for and in the behalfe of the pope, in this dissolall and traitorous cause; according as iustice had before determined, were drawne upon hurdles from the Tower of London to the place appointed for execution; having ben so long time spared, by hir maiesties most roiall and princelie regard of mercie, to trie if either the feare of God would take place in them, consideration and respect of their owne duties moue them, or the mere loue and accustomed clemencie of hir maiestie might win them, to acknowledge hir to be their lawfull soveraigne, and themselves hir subiects bound to serve hir, not withstanding any pretence of authoritie to the contrary, & not for matter of their popish superstition. All this notwithstanding they remained given over to their owne wickednes, and

swallowed by in the gulfes of their vndutifull affection, which caused iustice to step before mercie, committing them to the reward of their lewd and vnnaturall dealing.

All the waie as they were drawne, they were accompanied with diuers zealous and godlie men, who in mild & louing speeches made knowne unto them, how iustlie God repaith the reprobate, how fatherlie againe he receiveth the obedient, how he overthroweth the vngodlie in their owne deuises, and protecteth his chosen in all stormes and afflictions. In remembrance of all these, to bethinke themselves of their wickednesse passed, and to shew such hartie and zealous repentance for the same, that albeit they had so greivouslie trespassed, yet in contrite and humble sorrowing they might be graciousely received into his heauenlie fauour, whome they had moued and stirred by their vnnuerent regard, to smite and chasten with the rod of his furie. Among which godlie persuasions, master Shirrke himselfe, both learnedlie and earnestlie labored unto them, mouing all good occasions he might deuise to change the obstinacie he perceived in them, into a christianlike humilitie and repentance; but these good inducers toke no wished effect, their owne euill disposition so blinded them, that there was no waie for grace to enter.

When they were come beyond saint Giles in the field, there approached unto the hurdle one of their owne sect, and a priest (as himselfe had confessed) who in this maner spake unto the prisoners: O gentlemen be sofull in the blood of Iesus Christ, for this is the daie of your triumph and ioie. Being asked whie he used such words, he said unto the prisoners againe; I pronounce unto you; yea, I pronounce a full remission and pardon unto your soules. Using these and other traitorous speeches, hold was laid on him. When as master Shirrke demanded what he was, he answered; He was the voice of a crier in the wilderness, and that he was sent to prepare the Lords waie. And notwithstanding such meanes of resistance as himselfe used, he was deliuered unto Thomas Foxris purueuant, who brought him unto Newgate, where he confessed unto him that he was a priest, and that he had so long dissembled, as he would now leaue off and do so no more.

Being come to the place of execution Thomas Fowd was first brought vp into the cart, when as he began in this maner. Whereas I am come hither to die, for matters laid unto my charge of treason, which should be conspired against the queene, within these two yeares or somewhat more: I giue you to vnderstand, that of ante such matter I am innocent & free, for that I can proue my coming into England to be five yeares since. Whereupon master Shirrke spake unto him and said; Fowd, haue mind on God, and aske him and hir maiestie heartilie forgiveness, whome thou hast so highlie offended; thou dost but delude the people, for it is manifestlie known how thou art guiltie of the matters laid to thy charge, here be thine owne answers to shew, affirmed under thine owne hand, and other witness to reprove thee. Whereupon I my selfe was called forth, who iustified the causes to his face, that at his arraignment was laid to his charge, and he euidentlie and plainelie found guiltie thereof. Then were his answers thereto he had subscribed read vnto him, which is in the booke latelie set forth by authoritie. Whereupon he toke occasion to tell a long circumstance of a certeine question moued at Oxford, as concerning taking armes against hir maiestie, which horrible treason he seemed to approve thereby. Then master Shirrke willed him to aske hir maiestie forgiveness, offering him to stand his friend

Consolation ministered to them as they went to their deaths.

The Shirrke himselfe trieth what he can do to conuert them.

He was the voice of a false and antichristian voice.

Thomas Fowd his words touching his innocence.

The writer of this pamphlet, who seemed to be acquainted with all their dealings.

good suite to: m'sieur, a like of all m'ces and eat men to preferred to granted.

Learning and humilitie must go together.

The mon: our speakereth well to hart: for his meaning was.

I god beginnng in p'pnce and people.

John Paine recruited at Chelmsford.

Blasing starre.

Causes that moued the making of this suite.

Execution of Thomas Fowd, John Shert, and Robert Johnson priests of the popes order.

To perseuerance in wickednes and contumacie but obduracy.

He speaketh in the behalfe of all the rest of like profession and fanaticie.

Thamelesse
negative
voice to a ma-
nifest charge
of offence, and
evident con-
demnation.

John Shert
his baine spee-
ches at the
sight of Com-
Fords dead
bodie dismen-
bered.

Sherts ora-
tion to the
people witness-
ing the forme
of a godlie
martyres
death.

Note Sherts
obstinacie.

Shert is pre-
emptorie in
his speech to
the like his re-
ligion.

in assevering his graces mercie, if he would change his former traitorous mind, to become a true and faithfull subiect, acknowledging him to be his lawfull soueraigne lable, notwithstanding anie thing that a nie pope could saie or do to the contrarie. Where to he answered, I haue not offended his maiestie, but if I haue, I aske his forgiveness and all the world; and in no other treason haue I offended than my religion, which is the catholike faith, wherein I will live and die. And as for the queenes maiestie, I do acknowledge his supremacie in all things temporall, but as concerning ecclesiasticall causes, I denie him; that onelie belongeth to the vicar of Christ, the pope. In briefe, he granted to nothing, but shewed himselfe an impious and obstinat traitor, and so he remained to the death, refusing to praise in the English tongue, mumbling a few Latine prayers, desiring those that were *Ex domo Dei* to praise with him, & so he died. In the meane time that behanged, which was till he was dead, so great is the mercie of our gratio-
10 nous princeesse, John Shert was brought from off the hurdle to the gallows, where seeing Ford hanging, he began with holding vp his hands, as the papists are wont to do before their images; *O sweet Com, O happie Com, O blessed Com.* Then being staied, Ford was cut downe & caried to the place where his bodie should be quartered. In which time Shert was brought vp into the cart, where looking towards the dead bodie of Ford, he fell downe on his knees, and held vp his hands vnto it, saieing againe: *O happie Com, O blessed Com, thy sweet soule praise for me; O deare Com, thy blessed soule praise for me.* For which words being rebuked, the executioner lifted him vp on his feet, when as he prepared him to his confession, saieing; I am brought hither to this place, to die a death which is both shamefull & ignominious, for which I thanke thee my Lord God, who framing me to thine owne similitude and likeness, hast blessed me to this good end. There being staied, because he seemed to prolong the time to small purpose, the
40 shiriffe tolled him to remember himselfe, for what cause he was come thither, how he had offended the queenes maiestie, and that he was now to aske his forgiveness. Besides, he might receiue his princelie mercie; whereto with an hypocriticall outward boldnesse, but an inward fainting feare (as afterward euery one plainelie beheld) he gaue this answer: What (maister shiriffe) shall I saie this fraile and vile carcasse, and damne mine owne soule? No, no, I am a catholike, in that faith I was borne, in that faith will I die, and here shall my blood seale it.
50 Then maister shiriffe spake vnto him, saieing; By the waie as we came you sware an oth, for which you willed me to beare witnesse that you were heartilie soie: now I praye you let me be a witnesse, that you are heartilie soie for offending the queenes maiestie. Whie he (quoth he) I haue not offended him, without it be in my religion; and if I haue offended him, then I aske his forgiveness. Maister shiriffe vpon this said vnto him; Is this the fruit of your religion, to kneele to the dead bodie of thy fellow, and to desire his soule to praise for thee? Alas, what can it either profit or hinder thee? Pray thou to God, and he will helpe thee. Maister shiriffe (quoth Shert) this is the true catholike religion, and whosoeuer is not of it is damned. I desire his soule to praise for me, the most glorious virgin Marie to praise for me, and all the holie companie of heauen to praise for me. At which words the people cried; Awaite with the traitor, hang him, hang him. O Shert (quoth maister shiriffe) for sake that whore of Rome, that wicked Antichrist, with all his abominable blasphemies and treacheries, and put thy whole confidence in Iesus Christ. Wherefore he answered; O maister shiriffe, you little

remember the date when as you & I shall stand both at one barre, and I come as witnesse against you, that you called that holie and blessed vicar of Christ the whore of Rome. At which words the people cried againe; Hang him, hang him, awaite with him. Then he beganne his *Pater noster* in Latine, and before he had fullie ended two petitions of it he fell into the Creed, and then to the *Pater noster* againe, afterward he said the *Aue Maria*, which done, knocking him-
10 selfe on the breast, saieing, *Te sum ego mihi Iesus*, the cart was drawn awaite, and he committed to the mercie of God. But then, to manifest that his former boldnesse was but mere dissembling and hypocrisie, he lifted vp his hands, and caught hold on the halter: so that euery one perceived his faire outward shew, and his soule inward disfigured nature, also how loth he was and unwilling to die. Whereby he shewed that he was not indued with the audacitie and stout resolution of the heathen, who for morall vertues sake cast themselves into dangers, manie times
20 deadlie, holding opinion, that he beareth but a counterfeit shew of vertue that shyneth at anie torment, at anie hazard, at anie death, & therefore saith;

*Virum
Per scopulos durum fortis anhelat iter.*

Robert Johnson being brought vp into the cart, maister shiriffe, according as he had before, both declared vnto him his maiesties mercie if he would repent; and also tolled him to be soie for his offences
30 against him: whereof he seemed to make small estimation, denieng the treasons according as the others had done, and appealing likewise vpon his religion. Then was the writer hereof called forth, who gaue him to vnderstand, how notable he was approued guiltie at his arraignment, & euery matter sufficientlie handled, how according as the rest were, he was confounded to his face. Wherevnto he would make no other answer, but said; Well well, (quoth he) calling the partie by his name, God for-
40 giue thee. Then were his answers read vnto him, as they had been before to the other two, he not yielding deniall, but said he spake them & would do it a gaine. Then was Athanasius Creed moued to him, which he granted to be the catholike faith, whereof the pope was vicar, and that there was no other catholike faith, but onelie his. While (quoth the preacher) the pope is not named in it. I know not that (quoth he againe) I haue not read it. Then maister shiriffe desired him to saie his prayers in English, and he with all the companie would praise with him: which he refusing to do, in his Latine prayers the cart was drawn awaite, and he committed to
50 Gods mercie. And thus was iustice ministered, and that execution to Gods glorie, & the ease of the common wealthe grasse dispatched.

On the wednesdaie following, which was the fifth date of Maie, in the same maner as I haue before expressed, Luke Airbie, William Filbie, Thomas Coteham, & Laurence Richardson, were committed from the tower of London, to the place of
60 execution; and as the other were on the mondaie before associated and accompanied with diuerse learned and godlie preachers; euen so were these, as to saie, maister Charke, maister Herne, and diuerse others, who all the waie applied such godlie and christi- an persuasions vnto them (as had not the child of perdition so maruellouslie blinded them) were of force to haue ioined them into grace and mercie. The speeches they vied to them by the waie were ad-
lesse here to set downe, for that they did especiallie concerne causes to root out that wicked opinion in them, and to establish a sound and perfect faith in place thereof; but euen as it was in the other, so it did agree in them. But Luke Airbie seemed to chal-
lenge

Shiriff by
prayers man-
gled and pe-
ced together
after the pop-
pish maner.

who seemed
acquainted
with all these
practices.

Execution of
Luke Airbie,
William Fil-
bie, Thomas
Coteham, and
Laurence
Richardson
preachers of the
popes errors.

Shiriff
said a
hand
here
more
to the
story

Shiriff
said a
hand
here
more
to the
story

Shiriff
said a
hand
here
more
to the
story

who was an
interpreter (as
he pretended)
of all their
sayings.

lenge the witer hereof as sufficient to proue no-
thing against him, which he did because it was suppo-
sed he was not there present: but what passed be-
twene him & the said witer, you shall heare hereaf-
ter. They being come to the place of execution, Wil-
liam sibilie was brought vp into the cart, where
conforming himselfe vnto the death, his wicked trea-
sons were moued vnto him, which obstinatelie and
impudentlie he denied. Then was he demanded if
he would acknowledge the queenes maiestie his so-
ueraigne princeesse, and supreme head vnder Christ of
the church of England: So (quoth he) I will acknow-
ledge no other head of the church than the pope onlie.
Whereupon his answers were read vnto him, and he
not denying them in anie point, euen as they were
wicked and impious, euen so he remained in them,
still appealing that it was for his religion that he di-
ed, and not for anie treason. But the contrarie was
proued vnto his face, as well by sufficient proofes, as
also by the traitorous answers, whereto he had sub-
scribed with his owne hand. At last, as he was desi-
red, he praised for the queenes maiestie, that God
might blesse hir, and incline hir heart to mercie to-
ward the catholikes, of which societie he was one.
Then they opening his bosome, found there two
crosses, which being taken from him were held vp,
and shewed to all the people, beside his crowne was
shaken. So after a few silent Latine prayers to him-
selfe, the cart was drawne awaie.

The next was Luke Kirbie, who being brought vp
into the cart, offered long circumstance of speech, as
concerning that he was come thither to die, hoping
to be saued in the blood of Christ: and much matter,
which were needlesse here to rehearse. Afterward, he
began to saie, that there were none could approue
him to be a traitor: neither had he at anie time at-
tempted anie thing prejudiciall to hir maiestie,
and that his aduersaries, naming them by speciall
name, could not vpbraid him with anie thing. Where-
upon master Shirriff told him that one of them was
there, and asked him if he would haue him called to
him. I see him (quoth he) ponder, and let him saie
what he can against me. Then was the partie bid-
den come somewhat nere him, to whom he began in
beheement foxt to saie, Consider with thy selfe how
vntuallie thou hast charged me, with that which I ne-
uer said nor thought. Besides, thou knowest that
when thou comest to the Tower to me, before master
lieutenant, & an other who was there present then,
thou wast demanded what thou thoughtest of me,
and what thou couldest saie against me: When as
thou madest answer, thou knewest no harme by
me, neither couldest thou at anie time saie otherwise
of me than well: whereupon thou wast asked, where-
fore thou reportedst otherwise at my arraignment:
Then the Shirriff said vnto him; Who can heare thee
witness of this: Dooth he againe; He spake it before
master lieutenant, and an other was by then. Then
was he demanded what other he was that was pre-
sent: Which (after long tridling) he said was a heper,
& named him. Whereto the said witer made answer
as followeth. Master Kirbie, I with and desire you,
in the feare of God, to remember your selfe: for this
is not a place to report an vntuallie, neither to flau-
der anie man otherwise than you are able to proue.
When as I came vnto the Tower, & made knowe
to master lieutenant for what cause I was sent to
speake with you, you were brought into a chamber
by your keeper: and what I then moued, your selfe
verie well knoweth, as concerning my allowance
being the popes scholer: where what answer you
made, I haue trulie, and according as you answer-
ed, already set downe in print. Master lieutenant
neither moued anie such words to me, as here you

reported, and I call God to my witness, that not a
motion of anie such matter was once offered to me
by master lieutenant, or by your keeper. Your selfe
then uttered, that at sundrie times in the seminarie
there were diuerse lewde words spoken, which might
better haue bene spared; and denied that you were
not in my chamber, when as I lieng sicke in my
bed, the traitorous speeches were moued by them,
which were then present, wherof your selfe was one;
with diuerse other matters which you spake vnto
me, which master lieutenant himselfe heard, and
your keeper being present. But if this be true which
you saie, that it may be proued there were either such
words moued vnto me, or anie such answer made
by me, I offer to susteine what punishment the law
shall affoord me. Then falling to an other matter,
for that this redounded to his owne confusion (as
master lieutenant can well witness) he began to
talke of my bring at Rome, what friendship he had
shewed vnto me, and had done the like vnto a num-
ber of Englishmen, whome he well knew not to be
of that religion, both by his owne purse, as also by
frending them to some of the popes chamber: he
made conuetance for them thence sometime going
fortie miles with them: when (quoth he) had my dea-
lings bin knowne, I should hardlie haue bin well
thought of: and I knew well enough that you were
neuer bent to that religion, albeit they thought the
contrarie. For I knew well enough when you de-
parted thence, that your disposition was contrarie to
ours, and concealed it to my selfe.

Master Kirbie (quoth master Shirriff) this is verie vn-
like, that you could affoord such fauour to anie, who
were contrarie to that religion that you professed.
So, no, if you knew anie such there, you would ra-
ther helpe to persecute them than pitie them, as it is
the nature of you all. Master Kirbie (quoth this witer) it
is verie unlike that you had anie such secret know-
ledge of me, either of my religion, or how I was se-
cretlie bent as you seme here to profess: for had I
bene such a one as you would persuaade these here
you knew me to be, would you haue deliuered me
those silken pictures hallowed by the pope which you
did: and moreover, make knowen vnto me sundrie
of your friends here in England, to whom I should
conueie them? Master Kirbie (quoth he) I confesse indeed I
deliuered to thee such pictures, but thou knowest I
gaue thee two Julies to go buy them with, I did it be-
cause I knew thee to be such a one, and therefore I did
misgouert thee, for I would not credit thee with my
hallowed pictures. Master Kirbie (quoth the other) to de-
nie your owne doings is marvellous impudentie:
did not you in your chamber deliuer me certeine
silken pictures, which you told me at Stukleis being
there, were hallowed by the pope, and that indul-
gences were allowed them: One of them, which was
a crucifix, you gaue me; the other you willed me de-
liuer to your friends at Rheimes and in England.
And because they were so few (as in deed I thinke
they were no more but five) you gaue me two Ju-
lies, to go into the citie to buy more, which I did: and
hauing brought them to you, there or foure of the said
crosse you took from me, promising to get them hal-
lowed at the next benediction: the other in deed you
gaue me, and I took them with me. How saie you
now Kirbie (quoth master Shirriff) would you haue
credited him with such matters, had you not suppo-
sed him to be one of your owne sect? Master Kirbie
(quoth he) what I haue said, I know verie well. And
after he was gone from Rome I sent sicke Phil-
lings to Rheimes to be deliuered to him, but he was
departed thence towards England, before it came.
When master Shirriff said to him againe; You stand
vpon these points verie much, which there is none
that

Repetitio bene-
ficio est expro-
batio

Master Kir-
riffes words
bittered by the
suaue of inter-
ception.

This was
great & verie
mercifull for
bearance to
let all this
talke passe to
and fro at the
place of exe-
cution.

When indeed
use to repose
their trust in
such, whom
they suppose
to be like
themselves.

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on of
Kirbie,
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said witer
was in a
state of error
and hol-
ly contra-
dicted not
his frach.

Mercie offered to Kirbie notwithstanding his confession of treason.

that are here, but will iudge to be untrue: thou hearest what he hath said unto thee, and we haue heard that thou deniedst euerie thing. What saiest thou to thy treasons, wherefore thou art come hither to die? Wilt thou be soke for them? alke God and his maiestie forgiuenesse, for she is mercifull, and we will carrie thee backe againe if we shall perceiue in thee any such motion, that thou wilt forsake thy former wickednesse, and become a god and faithfull subiect. At these words the people among themselves almost generally said: O exceeding mercie and fauour! what a gracious pynesse haue we, who affoordeth such mercie unto those that haue so ill deserued: Can there be a pynesse of greater pittie, of more clemencie or tendernesse to be found in all the world? *Principe nil ista mitius orbi habet.*

Then field the preacher in the booke read his answers to him, whereto he had subscribed with his owne hand: Whether the pope might lawfullie depose his maiestie, or had anye authoritie to take the title of his crowne and dignitie awaie from him? Wherto Kirbie answered: This is a matter disputable in scholes, and therefore I may not iudge of it. I thinke this with my selfe, that if anye pynce fall by infidelitie into turkisme, athelisme, paganisme, or anye such like, that the pope hath authoritie to depose such a pynce. And being asked, if his maiestie were in anye such? He said, he knew his owne conscience. An other preacher being by said unto him, that the pynce receiued his authoritie from God, and that he was to be suppressed by none, but onelie by God. Againe, that Salomon said: By me (meaning by God) kings reigne, and pynces decrea iustice. By me pynces rule, and the nobles and all the iudges of the earth. Againe, S. Paule saith: Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be, are ordeined of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, they that resist, shall receiue to themselves iudgement. For pynces are not to be feared for god works but for euill. Wilt thou then be without feare of the power? do well, so shalt thou purchase praise of the same. For he is the minister of God for thy wealthe, but if thou do euill, feare, for he beareth a sword not for naught, for he is the minister of God to take vengeance on him that doth euill. If then the pope be a soule, he is to be obedient to the higher powers. And being a subiect unto God, as all other pynces be, he must not take vpon him what belongeth to God. As for the authoritie that his maiestie hath, she hath receiued it from God; neither is the pope, or anye earthlie pynce to depriue his thereof, but onelie God. Againe, when Iesus was brought before Pilat, Pilat said unto him; knowest thou not that I haue power to crucifie thee, and haue power to loose thee? To the which Iesus answered: Thou couldest haue no power at all against me, except it were giuen thee from above. Thus saie you se, that what pynce soeuer ruleth vpon earth, hath his power and authoritie onelie from God: and not that anye mortall man can vse the authoritie of a pynce at his pleasure. How saie you to this? Wherto he would make no answer, but

To such as are proditoriously minded it is a matter disputable: but to a god subiect a matter determinable.

20. 21. 22. 23. 24.

25. 26. 27. 28. 29.

This counsel of the apostle they had not the grace to follow.

30. 31. 32. 33. 34.

This demand implicitly a kind of suspicion or secret charge that his maiestie is such a one.

seemed to demand of them, if they would denie that if a pynce were in paganism, athelism, or gouerned by infidelitie: that such a pynce might not lawfullie be deposed? Which the learned preachers answered in learned sort, approving that as the power was of God, so pynces were not to be deposed by anye, but onelie by God.

So (quoth Kirbie againe) hath it not bene disputed in scholes for these five hundred yeares, and will you denie it? O maister Cropleie, maister Cropleie; and there paused: as if that maister Cropleie

had agreed with him in such a monstrous error. But maister Cropleie himselfe gaue one to understand, that at such time as he conferred with the said Kirbie in the tower, about the same argument, that his answer was vnto him: If anye pynce fell into anye such kind of error, that pynce were corrigible, but of whome? Not of anye earthlie pynce, but of that heauenlie pynce, who gaue him his authoritie, and seeing him abuse it anye waie, correcteth him in his iustice. For by his attributing to the pope this authoritie, he witnessed him to be antichrist, in that he will depose pynces at his pleasure, and exalt himselfe aboue all that is called God, and forgie men their sinnes at his pleasure likewise. All this was not sufficient to mollifie the obstinate mind of Kirbie, but he would persist still in this diuelish imagination. Maister Thiriffe and the preachers, seeing him wauering, and not able to yeeld anye reason for his arrogant opinion, laboured as much as in them lay to change it: when all would not serue, they desired him in hartie and humble maner to praeise vnto God, to aske his maiestie forgiuenesse, for the treasons wherein he had offended him. Wherevnto he answered, that he had not offended in anye treason, to his knowledge. Whereupon they shewed him his treasons, which were adiudged by the people worthy of greater punishment, than he was at that time to suffer; yet would not he acknowledge them, but praied to God for his maiestie, that she might long rule in his authoritie, to confound all his enemies; and that his hart was free from anye treason to his maiestie. Then preparing himselfe vnto his prayers, the preachers desired him to praeise in English with them, and to saie a prayer after them; wherein, if he could find anye fault, he should be resolute thereof. O (quoth he againe) you and I were not one in faith, therefore I thinke I should offend God, if I should praeise with you: at which words, the people began to crie, Awaie with him: so he fateng his *Pater noster* in Latine, ended his life.

When was Laurence Richardson brought vp into the cart, & to him Thomas Coteham to be executed together. But Coteham seemed to bitter such words as though there had bene hope he would haue forsaken his wickednesse, so that the halter was tricke, and he brought downe out of the cart againe. In which time Laurence Richardson prepared him to death, confessing himselfe a catholike, and that he would beleue in all things as the catholike church of Rome did; vnto the pope he allowed the onelie Supremacie. In which traitorous opinion, after certaine Latine prayers, he was committed to God. When was Coteham brought vp to the cart againe, & the good opinion had of him before changed into that obstinate nature that was in them all, fateng to maister Thiriffe, that before he came into England, he was armed for India, and thither if he might be suffered he would passe with as much conuenient speed as might be. When looking to the bodie of Laurence Richardson, whereon the executioner was using his office, he lifted vp his hands and said; O blessed Laurence praeise for me, thy blessed soule Laurence praeise for me: for which words both the preachers and the people rebuked him, telling him that he ought to praeise to none, but to God onelie; all helpe of man was but in vaine. Whereto he answered, he was assured that he could praeise for him. In briefe, his treasons being moured to him, he denied all, albeit his owne handwriting was there to affirme it. He praeised for his maiestie, and said his *Pater noster* & Ave Maria: and as the cart was drawing away he said; *Manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum*, and then he died. Thus did the bountie of iustice sweepe awaie these noisome cobwebs, noisome both to church and

Most of the pope then, he said, who had not to care into other pynces pynnes, etc.

For popes did, was forme of death.

Laurence Richardson and Thomas Coteham their gestures and speeches at their deaths.

For he was not so furnished for England as some would say to callie to people.

He should haue said Deum.

common

commonwealth, as being of the diuels hatching, but nurtured and fostered of papperie, to infecte and trappe foules, as the spider doth the flie: from whence the Lord God deliuer euery member of his church.

Philip Price
hanged in
Westgate
street
for killing of a
burgant.

On the second daie of June, Philip Price was hanged in Fleetstreet for killing one of the chiriffes sergeants that had arrested him. This man at his death, as inwardlie touched with sorrow for the offence which he had committed and died, gaue such apparant tokens and notes of a repentant mind; that partly with his speeches which were pateticall, and partly with his teares which were plentifull, as also with his vehement sighs and grievous groines, joined with diuerse other gestures (great signes of inward grace) he so moued the beholders, that manie which beheld him, pitied his wofull end, most peain manner all (whereof some were such as a man would haue thought had neuer a teare to shed at such a sight, hauing viewed diuerse times like and more lamentable spectacles) with wet eyes beheld him, and yet in heart reioiced that he died reconciled to God.

Lord Willoughbie
ambassador
to Denmarke.

On the eight and twentieth of June, Bergrine Bartie lord Willoughbie of Goble appointed ambassador to Frederike the second king of Denmarke with the garter, whereunto he had bene elected & chosen a long time before, took his leaue of the queenes maiestie at Greenwich; with whom sir Gilbert Dethicke alias Carter principall king of armes was joined in commission, for the inuestring of the said king into the order; and Robert Clouer alias Summerfet herald was also present, and gaue his attendance in the same voyage, as likewise did a competent number of gentlemen and yeomen, in all to the number of six and fiftie persons, besides mariners, &c. The said lord ambassador prepared himselfe towards Kingstone vpon Hull, where he imbarcked with his whole traine on the fourteenth daie of Iulie, and prosperouly arrived at Elsemore in Denmarke on the one and twentieth daie of the same moneth, where he was honorablie entertained.

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The lord am-
bassadors o-
ration in Latine
before the king of
Denmarke, &c.

On the thirtieth daie of August he presented himselfe before the king in his castell of Cronenborough, and made his first speech vnto him in Latine; which speech being ended, the lord Willoughbie deliuered vnto the king his maiesties letters, and withall the commission for the kings inuestring into that honorable order of the garter. Which letters the king opened, and deliuered them to Henrie Kamelis his chancelor for Germanie to read, whom he commaunded to answer my lords former oration. From the king my lord was conueied to the queenes presence, vnto whom also he deliuered his maiesties letters with salutations. The next daie being thursdaie the fourteenth of August, the king roiallie prepared, received the robes of the order with his owne hands, and with great contentment accepted and ware the garter, the collar, and the George, when as my lord concluded the whole dedication with sundrie wel-wishings. In the end whereof he put the king in mind of the oath and thankfull acceptance of the order to be testified by a publike instrument, as was before promised, whereunto the king answered by his chancelor Nicholas Baas with manie effectfull words: and immediatlie in signe of ioie, a great boie was discharged of all the great shot in his castell, and the lord ambassador with all his traine was roiallie feasted & rewarded. On thursdaie the fiftenth daie of August, the king took my lord ambassador forth on hunting two leagues from Elsemore, and there in the dinner time uttered manie louing speeches. And after, to wit, on the one and twentieth of September the lord ambassador with all his traine imbarcked at Copen, and arrived at Wyneholme in Norfolk.

The king of
Denmarke
waited into
the night be-
fore the order
of the garter.

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he should
haue said
Denon.

on thursdaie the seauen and twentieth daie of September.

On the nineteenth daie of Iulie certeine serkins of gunpowder to the number of seauen, and as manie or more serkins of furgon laden in a car vpon Gallie keie nere vnto the Tower of London, some small portion of the same powder being shed on the ground, the horse in the said carre strooke fire with his foot, and fired all together, where-through the furgon was blown awaie, some into the Thames, some elsewhere: one serkin was blown through a home wall that was boarded ouer, but all was spoiled and lost, the crane on the wharffe with the houses nere adjoining shattered, manie men and horses sore blasted; the three men and seauen horses died thereof. On the twelue daie of August there arose a great tempest of lightening, thunder, whirlewind, and raine, with hallestones fashioned like to the rowels of spurs two or three inches about in the countie of Norfolk, betwene the market townes of north Walsham and Woxsted (the towne wherein the making of worsteds commonlie called Norfolk worsted was first practised and took their beginning) which tempest beat the corne flat vnto the ground, rent by manie great trees, and shiuered them in peces, or wound them like luthies. At Wening more than a mile from Woxsted, the west doore of the church, weighing more than three hundred pound weight, was lifted off the hokes, and throught ouer the font, within one yarde of the chancel doore; the top of the church was riuen by, and the lead as it were blown awaie; five webs of lead were ruffled by together, like as they had bene clouts of linnen cloth, and blown into the field without the churchyard. Also at east Kissen were manie barnes blown downe, and houses vncouered.

Shiffordaine
by gunpow-
der.

Strange
tempest in
Norfolk.

This yeare Michaelmasse terme was resorted from the vtas thereof, vntill the fourth returne of the same called *Menfe Michaelis*, and from the said returne vntill the returne commonlie called *Crasino animarum* next ensuing, & then reioined from *Westminster* to the castell of Hertford in Hertfordshire, there to begin in the said *Crasino animarum*, and to be continued till the end of the same terme, which was done accordinglie, where was plenty of good viands to be had for monie, but lodging hard and scant; besides the long and plachie waie that manie had vnto their hokes, and then peraduenture slepe in the chimney corner, or vpon the hard boards with a pillow vnder their heads. Was not this a god amends?

Anno reg. 25.

Terme kept
at Hertford.

This yeare Peter Morris free denison, having made an engine for that purpose, conueied Thames water in pipes of lead out the steeple of saint Agnus church, at the north end of London bridge, and so into diuerse mens houses in Thames street, new Fifth street, and Gasse street, by vnto the north-west corner of Leaden hall (the highest ground of the citie of London) where the walke of the first maine pipe ran first this yeare one thousand five hundred eightie and two on Chislmassie euen: which maine pipe being since at the charges of the citie brought by into a standarde there made for that purpose, and diuided into foure severall spouts ran foure waies, plentifullie serving to the vse of the inhabitants nere adjoining that will fetch the same into their houses, and also clensted the chanel of the streets, north towards Bishopsgate, east towards Aldgate, south towards the Bridge, and west towards the Stocks market. No doubt a great commoditie to that part of the citie, and would be farre greater, if the said water were mainteined to run continually, or at the least, at euery tide some reasonable quantitie, as at the first it did; but since is much assailed, though whole default I know not, fith the engine is sufficient.

Thames wa-
ter conueied
ouer saint
Agnus
steeple.

Do o o o o f.

Justice Barn-
dolph is chas-
tise.

sufficient to conueie water plentifully: which being well considered by Barnard Randolph esquier, common sergeant of the citie of London: he being alive, gaue and deliuered to the companie of the fishmongers in London a round sum to be imployed toward the conducting of Thames water for the good seruice of the commonwealth in convenient order. Other legacies berie liberallie and bountifullie he gaue by his testament to be laid out in works of charitie, as I haue noted more at large hereafter in due place, vpon occasion of recording the daie of his death. The publication of whose acts, as also of diuerse others, if they may moue the rich of this world to part with some small portion of their store to the like christian uses, I shall be glad, and thinke my paines worth the printing: otherwise I saie with one that perswading this age to walke worthe of their calling, and doubting his words should be but wind, concluded with this interrogatiue diffinition:

Sed quid verba miser non proficientia perdo?

Quid inuit in vacuos missa loquela notos?

Publike lecture of surgerye founded in London, & presentlie red (as also in the life of the founder) by doctor Fossier, to his high praise & credit.

This yeare 1582 was there instituted and first founded a publike lecture or lesson in surgerye, to begin to be read in the college of physicians in London, in Anno 1584, the first daie of Maie, against that time new recodified in a part of the house that doctor Linacre gaue by testament to them, by John Lamleie lord Lamleie, and Richard Caldwell doctor in physike, to the honour of God, the common profit of his maiesties subiects, and god fame, with increase of estimation and credit of all the surgians of this realme. The reader thereof to be a doctor of physike, and of good practise and knowledge, and to haue an honest stipend, no lesse than those of the vniuersities erected by king Henrie the eight, namely of law, diuinitie, and physike, and lands assured to the said college for the maintenance of the publike lesson; whereunto such statutes be annexed as be for the great commoditie of those which shall giue and incline themselves to be diligent hearers for the obtaining of knowledge in surgerye, as whether he be learned or vnlearned that shall become an auditor or hearer of the lecture, he may find himselfe not to repent the time so imployed. First twice a weeke thorough out the yeare; to wit, on wednesdaies and fridaies, at ten of the clocke till eleuen, shall the reader read three quarters of an houre in Latine, and the other quarter in English, wherein that shall be plainlie declared for those that vnderstand not Latine, what was said in Latine. And the first yeare to read Horatius Morus tables, an epitome or brieue handling of all the whole art of surgerye, that is, of swellings or apoplems, wounds, vlcers, bone setting, and healing of bones broken, termed commonlie fraxions, and to read Orbasius of knots and Callen of hands, such workes as haue bene long hid, and are scarce now a daies among the learned knownen, and yet are (as the anatomies) to the first enterers in surgerye and nouices in physike; but amongst the ancient writers and Grecians well knowne. At the end of the yeare in winter to disiect openlie in the reading place all the bodie of man especiallie the inward parts for five daies together, as well before as after dinner, if the bodie may so last without annoie.

The second yeares exercises.

The third yeares, and fourth yeares exercises.

The second yeare to read Tagaulcius institutions of surgerye, and onelie of swellings or apoplems, and in the winter to dissect the trunke onelie of the bodie, namely from the head to the lowest part where the members are, and to handle the muscles especiallie. The third yeare to read of wounds onelie of Tagaulcius, and in winter to make publike dissection of the head onelie. The fourth yeare to read of vlcers onelie the same author, and to anatomize or

dissect a leg and an arme for the knowledge of muscles, sinewes, arteries, veines, gristles, ligaments, and tendons. The fifth yeare to read the first booke of Paulus Aegineta, and in winter to make anatomic of a skeleton, & therewithall to shew & declare the vse of certeine instruments; as Scamnum Hippocratis, and other instruments for setting in of bones. The sixth yeare to read Holerius of the matter of surgerye, as of medicines for surgians to vse. And the seventh yeare to begin againe, and continue still. A godlie and charitable creation doubtlesse, such as was the more needfull, as hitherto hath bene the want and lacke so hurtfull: sith that onelie in ech vniuersities by the foundation of the ordinarie and publike lessons, there is one of physike, but none of surgerye, and this onelie of surgerye and not of physike, I meane so as physike is now taken separatelye from surgerye, and that part which onelie vseth the hand as it is sorted from the apothecarie. So that now England may reioice for those happy benefactors & singular wellwillers to their countrie, who furnish hir so in all respects, that now she may as compare for the knowledge of physike so by means to come to it, with France, Italie, and Spaine, and in no case behind them but for a lecture in simples, which God at his pleasure may procure, in mouing some hereafter in like motion and instinct to be as carefull and beneficiall as these were to the helpe and furtherance of their countrie. ¶ At the publication of this foundation, which was celebrated with a godlie assemblie of doctors collegiats and licentiats, as also some masters of surgerye, with other students, some whereof had bene academically, doctor Caldwell so aged that his number of yeeres with his white head adding double reuerence to his person (whereof I may well saie no lesse than is left written of a doctor of the same facultie berie famous while he liued,

Conspectuenda aetate, sed et arsproneior annis,

Famæque Peonio non remuenda choro)

euene he, notwithstanding his age and impotencie, made an oration in Latine to the auditoz, the same by occasion of his manifold debilities unfinished at the direction speciallie of the president, who (after a few words, shortlie and sweetlie vttered) gaue occasion and oportunitie to D. Fossier, then and yet the appointed lecturer, to deliuer his matter, which he discharged in such methodicall maner, that ech one present indured with iudgement, conceiued such hope of the doctor, touching the performance of all actions incident vnto him by that place, as some of them continued his auditoz in all weather, and still hold out; whose diligence he requiteth with the imparting of further knowledge than the said publike lecture doth afford. When the assemblie was dissolved, and the founder accompanied home, diligent care was taken for the due preferring of this established exercise: insomuch that D. Caldwell, and D. Fossier, to furnish the auditoz with such bookes as he was to read, caused to be printed the epitome of Horatius Morus first in Latine: then in English, which was translated by the said doctor Caldwell. But before it was halfe perfected, the good old doctor fell sicke, and as a candle goeth out of it selfe, or a ripe apple falling from the tree, so departed he out of this world at the doctors commons, where his usuall lodging was; & was verie worshipfullie buried. But of his death hereafter, in the yeare 1584: where the date of his decease being mentioned, matter worth the reading shall be remembered.]

Francis of Malois, the kings onlie brother, duke of Louthier, Habant, Limbourg, Gelders, Arton, Alançon, &c: earle of Flanders, Holland, Zeeland, &c: marquess of the sacred empire, lord of Friesland, &c: hauing now indifferentlie well (with his

The first and first yeares exercises, out to continue with the same

Ch
curs
sp
aca

Ch
curs
sp
aca

Ch
curs
sp
aca

Ab. Fl. Specie.
101 & audior.

Doctor Gifford president of the college of physicians.

Francis of Malois at- tempteth to verse epigrams, the issue whereof fell out to his misfortune.

and
ex-
and
the
crist

The mon-
ambition
spreading like
ambition.

The French
gentlemen
were armed
under their
garments:
with good
meaning no
doubt.

Spee-
culation.

2 Will-
resident
college
sicians,

The mon-
was glad
to retire not-
withstanding
his confident
demeanor.

Applauds
the French
in prison
all.

icid of
its at-
teth dis-
exploits,
due
reof his
o his
nature,

his good successes had in the bittelling, and removing
the sieges of Cambrie and Lochem, and winning
the townes of Maest and Endonan gotten the hearts
of the people, and by that means placed his French
men in Dunkirke, Calenderburgh, Dirmide, Wer-
mond, Wilmond, and other places, thought now (be-
lieving yong & cunill counsell) to make himselfe a more
absolute prince, as though it were to base a thing for
his highnesse to rule with the aduise of the estates
of the countries. Wherefore hauing come to him out
of France the marshall Biron, with great troops of
Swissers and Frenchmen, he now causeth them all
at one time; to wit, on the seuenth of Januarie, to
inuaide so manie townes as they could make them-
selues maistors of; which with them toke effect in the
aboue named townes, but at Bridges they were put
out. And at Antwerpe on the said seuenth date, vnder
the pretense to muster his armie without the
towne, vpon the verie none time of the date, when
the citizens were at dinner, he causeth two gates (as
vncertaine by which he would go) to be opened for
him, and the chaines ouerthwart the streets to be un-
chained, which (for some suspicion had of the French-
men without) were locked: then he issued out with all
his court and a great number of gentlemen, verie
braue, mounted on great horses about two hun-
dred, manie of them being secretlie armed vnder
their garments, and comming to saint James gate.
At the bridge without met him certaine of his com-
panies of horsemen and footmen, who staied them-
selues on both sides the waie, making as it were a
lane for the duke to passe by with a few of his: who
being past them, made a token to them with his cap,
to inuaide the cite: whereupon his men killed the
watch, with the coronell Hierendell, that stood bare
headed to see their prince passe. Then entered the gate
seuentens ensignes of footmen, and foure coronels
of horsemen, the Swissers following, & the duke cri-
eng to them, March, march, La ville est gaignee, mais
me pillon point. Being thus stronglie entred they
cried, Ville gaignee viue la messe, and toke in on both
sides the bulwarks, & turned the ordinance towards
the cite, & came by diuers streets almost to the midst
of the cite. The citizens at dinner hearing the al-
larum, verie furiously issued out, with such weapons
as first came to their hands, and set vpon them, first,
by the bylanes, other some chained by the streets,
and so barred them from going any further. They
turne all against the soldiers that were entred the ci-
tie with most violent shot. In the meane space the
citizens nere and about the gate with their harque-
bussers bestow their small shot as thicke as hails out
of windowes vpon the gate, where first they killed a
horse, and then diuers men entring, which troubled
the other following, that a great number was euen
in the verie gate killed, and so heaped one vpon ano-
ther that the gate was stopped; whereby all that were
entred within the cite, in lesse than in one houres
space were killed or taken prisoners. Wherein the
citizens behaued themselves so vallantlie, & so man-
lie, that manie for lacke of leaden pellets, toke their
monie out of their purses, bowed it with their teeth,
and put it in stead of pellets in their harquebussers:

*Sic sese & sobolem charam, cum vxore mariti
Defendant, Gallis ne preda voracibus essent.*

In this skirmish of so little space were slain aboue
1530 Frenchmen horsemen and footmen, told at the
burieng, and more than two thousand prisoners ta-
ken, amongst the which were the earle Fernaugus,
the bishop of Constance, and manie other notable
personages. And amongst the dead were the earle of
saint Agnan and his sonne, the earle of Chasteau-
roulle, the sonne of the marshall of France Biron:
monsieur de Salsonnall gouernor of Wilmond, the

sonne of the lord Spiranbeau, and others. A mar-
uellous act of citizens in their defense without any
soldiers, against old soldiers and tried men of armes,
and number of so great nobilitie. A maruellous con-
tinencie & clemencie of rough citizens against their
enimies, in keeping their hands from the killing of
prisoners whom they had in their power, and surelie
a wonderfull worke of God.

The prince of Orange with others had refused to
go forth, and his danger was not small; with other
gentlemen more, and lords of the religion. The
prince Dolphin, the earle Lamall and others were
with the duke lookers on, and intercessors for their
friends whom they reckoned dead. After that fact, the
duke with his campe was forced for lacke of vittels
and necessaries, to retire him with his armie toward
Spachlin, and from thence with great difficultie
passing great waters, with losse of manie a man got
to Wermond, where he was kept in by the generall
sports, with three and twentie ensignes English,
men and Scots, so that he lacked vittels and neces-
saries, whereby he was forced, as also to haue his
prisoners restored, to enter into a treatie with the es-
tates, to surrender all the townes by his men pos-
sessed, and to retire him to Dunkirke: where further
with the estates, by intercession of princes was ho-
ped a reconcilment to be made. But he seeing the
countrie unwilling, and finding himselfe sicke (as it
was thought) of melancholie, he retired from Dun-
kirke toward France. And so as he was retired, the
prince of Parma for king Philip, caused Dunkirke
to be besieged, few Frenchmen left within it. And as
the states Generall and the prince of Orange would
haue sent thither to rescue the towne, the marshall
Biron with his Frenchmen and Swissers, the Fle-
mings chafie they of Gaunt, partlie for hatred of
the French, and partlie that manie now were be-
come Spanish, would not suffer him to come ouer
into Flanders, whereby Dunkirke was forced to
surrender: and this losse being imputed to the duke,
increased his sicknesse, so that he died at Chasteau
Thierie the tenth of Iulie 1583, & was totallie buri-
ed at saint Dionis by Paris.

¶ But before we passe the absolute comemoracion
of the monsieur, sith in some remembrances we haue
attained to a perfection, it shall not be amisse here
to annex the manner of his sicknesse, as also the ve-
rie speeches which he bittered, as they are reported by
James Werson Parisien, preacher to the French
king, and to the said monsieur, in a discourse by him
published, vnder the title of A funerall complaint, &c.
Wherein whatsoever is spoken, deserueth the grea-
ter credit, for that the said Werson was vpon his
owne certaine knowledge able to giue out the truth,
and therfore intimateth to the readers of his treatise,
that they are not to loke for either flatteries, or hau-
tie, proud, and streng arguments: he being the man
who assuredlie was able to answer and beare witness
of the pietie, religion, and departure of monsieur, a
sonne of France, and the kings onelie brother in the
fauor of God, as the same vpon whom he reposed
himselfe concerning his conscience, soule and salua-
tion; and hauing from the beginning of his sicknes
administred vnto him the holie sacrament, and did
assist him to the end. You are therfore to vnderstand,
that after * my said lords crosse haps and danger of
life in the low countries, and his returne into his du-
chy of Castile Thierie, his naturall & brotherlie resolu-
tion taken to go alone to Paris, there to yield him-
selfe to his maiesties armes, a dead to be accounted
and taken as a strong bulwicke against whatsoeuer
the popular and enuious standers: after his returne
home he conceived an extreame contentation in
dailie hearing of sermons, yea not satisfied with the
onelie

Francis duke
of Anjou and
Blanchon re-
tireth.

Generall
sports with
23. ensignes.

Francis duke
of Anjou
and of Annon
sicknesse.

Abr. Fl. ex
lib. cui tit.
Regres funebre,
contenant le dis-
cours de la mort
de Monseigneur
fils de France,
frere unique,
du roy.

* Meaning
Werson the
monsieur's
preacher and
the writer of
this discourse.

Persons
words to the
monieur in
the hearing of
the gentle
man ppe-
sent.

I shal
n ba-
cer-
remo-
dent
ne
office.

hope
en of
scur
d nos
queene
th

his will
(meaning
Gods) be
done, faith
the monieur
with a forced
speech on his
kneel bed.

nonsene
into an
title of
alabre,
all hope
pures.

The insti-
tution and use
of the sacrament
of the bodie
and blood of
Christ.

men doe
s faith
monieur
wing te
end.

which (belike) was not for cherie care & sic to heare
or see. In the end, Berfon perceiving by manifest
indications, that death pleased upon him, bled these
words to the monieur: some (of likelihood) being
then within the hearing. My lord, in the beginning
of your sicknesse, you & I made a joint promise unto
God, wherewith I am burdened: now therefore I do
unburden my selfe thereof, vntil you will helpe to
burden me againe. We are witnesses that you haue
loued God: now is the time that you must acknow-
ledge him, you are verie sicke, but your soule is
sound in your bodie. If it please our good God to
grant you life, he granteth it to the end you should
amend; so should your selfe be happie, and we content
that you should liue. If he vouchsafe to call you in-
to paradise, how blessed shall you be, or wher may
you be better? So that whatsoeuer happen, be it life,
be it death, still shall you be content and happie. Re-
solue your selfe therefore wholie in the will of God.
All we here are your faithfull seruants, and those who
euer more haue desired to be so fortunate as to be ho-
nored with your commandements; whose eyes and
eares haue alwaies bene open to heare and obeie
you, and to fulfill your will; neuer did you command
anie thing, but you were immediatlie obeyed. Now
know you, that your selfe are Gods seruant; him
you must obeie, and to his will must you wholie re-
solue your selfe: whether it be his will you should
liue, or is his pleasure you should die still saie: His
will be done.

Then with a forced speech this good prince said:
His will be done. Take no care my lord said I, for
anie worldlie matters. Greatnesse, riches, and re-
nowme doe perish. Paradise is to be found and pos-
sessed. It is a great matter to be a kings sonne, but
it is much greater to be the child of God. You are
now as a child new borne, you want nothing but
the fod of the children of God: you haue no more to
do, but to communicat in the pretious bodie of our
Lord: it is here ready, would you not gladlie haue
it? I will cause you easilie to vse it. He answered
yes. When taking the holie sacrament I began to
saie vnto him: My Lord Iesus the heauenlie word
and euertlasting sonne of God, in old time inuisible,
did in the end visible manifest himselfe to the world
in humane flesh, by taking vpon him our visible and
passible nature: but because he was not perpetuallie
to remaine in this humane vale, remiuing and as-
cending into heauen, we had him no longer to touch
and handle carnallie and visible. And therefore to
the end not to faile of his promise, that he would be
still with vs untill the consummation of the world;
he hath giuen vs inuisible his pretious bodie & blood
vnder these holie signes and sacraments, that by the
communion in such and so pretious a gift, we might
be strengthened in his loue, & through his grace be de-
fended against all temptations & stumbling blocks
of our saluation: like as Elias, who in the strength
of the God for him miraculously ordeined, after his
leape travelled long iournies, euen vntill he did see
God. Receiue therefore this signe and testimonie
of the remission of your sinnes, and when you shall
be presented before the maiestie of God, it shall be
vnto you a badge and token that you belong vnto
him.

When lifting vp his eyes and looking all about him,
this good prince opened his mouth, which presentlie
I moistened with his drinke, & so gaue him the holie
sacrament, and againe poured in some of his drinke
to swallow it withall, which he did both deuotlie
and couragiously; in somuch that afterward he did
eat & speake better than he had done all the night &
morning before, to the great contentation of all the
company: in whose presence I did againe exhort

him saieing: Now my lord, behold you are armed
with the cheefe of all your desire, I beseech you com-
fort your selfe in the Lord. It is a great fauour
that he hath shewed you, in making you (as it appea-
reth) inheritor vnto the faith, pietie, and christianitie
of the kings of France, whose faith and descent you
do hold.

Let your soule now resolue, yea although you
should now die. Thinke that a contentation vnto
you it shall be; to be discharged from so manie
worldlie affaires, what a pleasure to exchange this
mortal life for an immortal; glorious and perdnra-
ble life; cease no lets: the waie is already beaten,
already are they passed the same, whose greatnesse
& faith you do inherit. The patriarchs do saie for you,
the prophets do call you: the apostles do stretch
forth their armes vnto you: the martyrs do insult
you: the confessors do solicit you: the virgins do
giue you place: all the saints do looke for you. We
haue discharged all the duties of faithfull seruants,
and such as loue you hartlie. And hauing thus spo-
ken, with a demand or twode made, and their answers
added: Berfon, being the mouth of the residue, said
of the monieur dialing on; that they (meaning
himselfe and the companie present) waited but for
the houre of his death: yet had he one houre and a
halfe to liue. So soone as we were gone, he desired
to haue his head laid lower: his chamberleine im-
mediatlie called to vs for helpe, & suddenlie he gaue
vp the ghost: my selfe James Berfon, at the dissolu-
tion of his sweet soule from his louclie bodie, vling
these words: Go and passe on christian soule, and re-
turne to him that hath created thee, &c.

He went awaie so sweetlie that it could hardlie
be perceived, in somuch that some who could not be
persuaded that he was dead (for his eyes were open
and cleere, and his countenance no whit changed)
held a looking glasse to his mouth, but there was no
signe of life: others feeling his pulses, imagined
they did beat, but that was because they were strati-
ned euen to the nailes ends. At this word, he is
gone, oh what pittie! oh God what tears! what sighes!
what sobbs! all was dissolved into howling and cries:
those that in armes were forwardest, were now re-
died in teares, sundrie summoned in the chamber, at
the sound hereof the towne quaked, the castell found-
ded most lamentable voices: yea my selfe hauing
lost all courage was forced to open the pole of my
head, and to vntop the gate of my hart, to the end
with teares and lamentations to discharge that af-
fection which I bare vnto him.

About foure of the clocke, when all were departed
I took the linnen wherein he was laped from about
the bodie of this good prince, then did I laie and order
it honestlie and with reuerence handled it, some of
vs also had so good hap as to kisse his hands & head.
Oh my good lord and master, neuer durst I haue
borne so bold, had it not bene for the conscience you
reposed in me: alas whie was it so late before I did
know you, to serue you so small a time? Inanitie
am I forced to print you in my remembrance, in-
grame you in my soule, and to burie you in my hart,
for that you vouchsafed to make mine eares gardi-
ans of that which rested in your conscience. Yourne,
mourne with me my masters, and all ye the officers
of his house: we haue lost the best master in the
world. For euer shall the tenth daie of June beare
witness of our misgapp: hereafter shall we neuer
vpon that daie haue occasion to hold merie feast be-
tweene twelve and one of the clocke, the houre of the
decease of so desired a prince. The yeare 1584 is in-
ded a yeare of resolution. France, France, quar-
ter thine armes. & in lieu of lions sow in teares: for
the Lord taketh from vs all our noble & honorable,

Berfons ex-
hortation
speeches to the
monieur,
preparing and
leading him-
selfe to God-
ward.

The mon-
ieur. Lepara-
ture out of
this world like
a lamp. Whose
light smelteth
for want of
oile.

Questions
liken of in-
ward loue &
reuerend
to the monieur be-
parted.

These be
the words
of the
monieur.

For he was
preacher, &c.
to the moun-
taine and lost
dimidium ani-
mae suae by his
death.

Ground re-
moued.

Eight per-
sons killed by
the fall of a
scaffold at the
beare garden,
a warning to
prophaners of
the sabbath
daye.

Eob. Hiff. in
Psal. 50.

William Wals-
lar and Ma-
rie Brame
smothered to
death.

and takest the god to depriue vs of them, for my
part I will beare the companie. Wherefor his
trespasses I doe giue him sorrowes, and for his bodie
in ashes the lamentations of Flanders; at the least
I inherit in his right an example of vertue, accom-
ting my selfe infinitlie bounden vnto their maie-
sties, who gaue me to doe the seruice appertaining to
my ministrie, vnto a prince that loued me so much,
and in whose house all men honored me, whose or-
der I doe most deuoutlie rest, desiring them to haue
patience, though for recompense they haue no more
but my selfe. *Requiescat in pace.* This is all that was
purposed to saie touching the monseur, hauing o-
mitted much that is not communicable, & now will
we turne our pen vpon passage to England, noting
occurrences of our owne.]

The thirteenth daie of Januarie, in the parish of
Cernitage in a place called Blache moze in Dorset-
shire, a peece of ground containing thre acres re-
moued from the place where it was first planted,
and was caried cleane ouer an other close, where al-
der and willow trees grew, the space of fortye goad
(euery goad containing fiftene fot) and hath stop-
ped vp an high waie that directed towards the mar-
ket towne of Cerne; and yet notwithstanding the
hedges wherewith it was inclosed, inuiron it still,
and the trees stand thereon bolt vpight, sauing one
oke tree, that is well nigh twentie goads remoued:
the place whereas the ground had his being at the
first is left like vnto a great hollow pit. The same
thirteenth daie of Januarie, being sundae, about
four of the clocke in the afternone, the old and
derpopped scaffolds round about the beare garden,
commonlie called Paris garden, on the southside
the Thames, ouer against the citie of London, ouer-
charged with people fell suddenlie doونه, whereby to
the number of eight persons men and women were
slaine, and manie other soze hurt and bzused. A friend-
lie warning to all such as moze delight themselves
in the crueltie of beastes, to see them rent one an o-
ther, than in the works of mercie, which are the fruits
of a true professed faith, and ought to be the sabbath
daies exercise: and not onelie a warning to works
of mercie, but a watchword to put vs in mind how
we violate the sabbath daie, the Lords owne daie,
which he sanctified himselfe, that we by his example
might sanctifie the same, and not prophane it with
such gentilline as we doe, as though God would not
call vs to a reckoning for abusing his holie ordina-
ces, and falsifying the glorious title of christians in
our obious actions: for the which God will seuerelie
erpostulat with vs, and with indignation demand of
vs why we take his lawes in our mouths, & renounce
them in our minds; why we let them swim in our
lips, and slip from our liues, as the vaine Iewes did,
vnto whome God said in displeasure as followeth:

Quid de lege mea declamas ore profano?

Non hoc officij debuit esse tui:

Cum tamen & mores & leges oderis aequas,

Et verbi officium negligis omne me.

On the third of Februarie being sundae, Wil-
lam Walslar haberdasher (a man of moze than
thre score yeares old) being lodged ouer the south-
west porch of saint Brides church in Fleetstreet, with
a woman named Marie Brame (whome the same
Walslar had bailed out of Wydeuwell) were both
found smothered to death, in maner following. On
the same sundae in the morning, a marriage being
solemnized in that church, a strong sauour was felt,
which was thought to haue bene the burning of old
shoes or such like, in some gentlemans chamber
there about, thereby to suppress the infection of the
plague. But in the afternone before euening pray-
er, the parishioners espied a smoke to issue out of

Walslars chamber, and thereupon made hast to the
doze, which they found fast locked, and were forced to
breake it open, but could not enter, till they had rip-
ped vp the lead and rose of the chamber to let out the
smothering stench: which being done, they found
Walslar dead, sitting on a settle by his beds side (in
his apparell, and close trussed) his right thigh & right
arme vp to the elbow burnt or scorched with the fire
of a small pan of coales that stood before him, but
not being cleane quenched with the dampe or lacke
of aife. The woman also laie dead ouer the pan, so
that hir armes were likewise burnt, with the nether
part of hir bodie before to hir bzelt; and behind to the
shoulders, and nothing else in the chamber burnt, but
the bottome of the settle wheron Walslar sat. Of this
lamentable accident people talked diuerlie, and
pamphlets were published to make the same moze
knolune: holpeth, to leaue the certeine meanes of
the euent to his knowledge that vnderstandeth and
seeth all things, let it be a warning to all ages so to
liue, as that an honest report may attend their death,
& shame sie from them as a cloud before the wind:

Sic sapient, sic non insipientes erunt.

On the sixteenth of Aprill about six of the clocke
in the morning, Thomas Moxth & Alice Shepheard,
were hanged on a gibbet at Sholane end in Fleet-
street, for killing of a prentice in the same Sholane.
Also on the same daie about eight of the clocke in the
morning, a gunpowder house, called the signe of the
gun in Fetterlane nere vnto Fleetstreet, and di-
uerse other houses nere adiaining, were blowne
vp, with the spoire of fiftie hundred weight of pow-
der: two men and one woman were slaine, & diuerse
other persons, as well men as women and children
were soze hurt; some blasted with the flame, some
bzused with the fall of timber vpon them, &c.

Albertus Alasco, fr & baron of Alasco, Maistore of
palatine of Stradia in Poland, arrived at Har-
wich in Essex, and on the last of Aprill came by wa-
ter to Wynchester house in Southwoke, where he
remained for the most part of his abode here: of
whome moze hereafter at his returne into his owne
countrie. Elias Thacker tailor was hanged at saint
Edmunds burie in Suffolke on the fourth of June,
and John Copping thomaker on the first of the same
moneth, for spreading and mainteining certeine
booke seditionlie penned by one Robert Browne
against the receiued boke of English common
prayer, established by the lawes of this realme their
booke (so manie as could be found) were burned be-
fore them. This yeare on the ninth of June decea-
sed Thomas Katcliffe earle of Souther, lord chamber-
leine to hir maiestie, and knight of the garter, at
Warmundseie in the bozough of Southwoke be-
sides London, and was on the eight of Julie next
following conueied through the same citie of Lon-
don toward Petuall in Essex, there to be buried in
soyme following. First went on foot before him fortye
and five poze men in blacke gownes, then on horse-
backe one hundred and twentie seruicemen in
blacke coats, then ninetie and five gentlemen in
blacke gownes or clokes, besides the heralds at
armes and other, which bare his helme, creast, sword,
coat of armes, and banners of armes, &c. Then the
deceased earle, couered with a pall of blacke veluet,
in a chariot likewise couered with blacke veluet,
drawne with foure goodlie geldings; next after was
led the earles freed couered with blacke veluet, then
sir Henrie Katcliffe the succeeding erle chiefe moun-
tainer, and eight other lords all in blacke, then the lord
maior and his brethren the aldermen of London ri-
ding in murreate gownes, then on foot the gentle-
men of Greis in, and last of all the worshipfull com-
panie of the merchant tailors of London in their li-
beries,

1583
A man and a
woman han-
ged at Shor-
lane end.
The gun-
powder house
in Fetterlane
blowne bp.

Palatine of
Stradia in
Poland came
into England.

Elias Thack-
er, and John
Copping han-
ged at Wynch-
ester.

Thomas
Katcliffe earle
of Souther de-
ceased.

1510.

ueries, for that the said earle was a brother of their companie, as manie noble men, and famous princes, kings of this realme before him had bene; as more at large is declared in * the summarie of the chronicles of England, in the eighteenth yeare of king Henrie the seventh. The maior and aldermen, the gentlemen of Greis in, and the merchant tailors accompanied the corps to the barres without Aldgate, and returned. This was the end of that noble man, who (whiles he lived) adventured lim and life against the enmities of the English commonwelth, and therefore in respect of his excellent seruices, deserved no lesse remembrance than is already extant of him in print, whereof this following is a parcell:

*Satrapas præclarus, fortis & audax,
Elisabetha tui speciosi corporis acer
Et fidus custos, discrimen adire paratus
Quodlibet, immo Maoris pectore campo:
Cui virtus persæpe herbas porrexit Hibernus,
Quem pugna fulgens ornat victoria parva
Sanguine, sed laus huic maxima iudicii æqui.*

Edmund Grindall doctor of diuinitie archbishop of Canturburie deceased at Croidon in Surrey on the first daie of Julie, & was there buried. This good man in his life time was so studious, that his booke was his bedde, and his studie his bedchamber, whereupon he spent both his eyesight, his strength, and his health, and therefore might verie well not actiuelie but passiuely be named as (he was) Grindall: for he ground himselfe euen to his grave by mortification. Of whome much might be spoken for others imitation (as the vse of the historie, is to instruct succeeding ages) but this shall suffice, that as his learning & vertue were inseparable companions; so the reward of both is the good name which he hath left behind him as a monument perpetuall, because vertue was the founder of the same: according to the true saying of the late poet importing no lesse:

*Virtutis merces eadem & labor, illa tropæum est,
Solique dat nigra vincere mortis iter:
Nam nisi virtutis queratur gloria factis,
Omnis in extremis est abitura rogos.*

Barnard Kambolfe esquier, common fargeant to the citie of London, deceased on the seauenth of August. This man in his life time, somewhat before his death, gaue and deliuered to the companie of the Fishmongers in London the summe of nine hundred pounds, of good and lawfull monie of England to be imploied towards the conducing of Thames water, ceterning the same in lead, and casting with stone in the parishes of saint Marie Magdalene, and saint Nicholas cold abbey, nere unto old Fishstreet, seauen hundred pounds. The other two hundred pounds, to paie for ever yearely the summe of ten pounds, that is, towards the maintenance of a poore scholar in the vniuersitie of Orenford yearely foure pounds. Towards the mending of the high waies in the parish of Tishhurst, in the countie of Suffe, where the said Barnard was borne, euerie yeare foure pounds. And to the poore people of the parishes of saint Nicholas Olue in Fishstreet and saint Marie Magdalene nere to old Fishstreet foure shillings, to wit, twentie shillings to either parish for ever. More he willed and bequeathed by his last will and testament to be bestowed in land or annuities, to the reliefe of the poore inhabiting in the wards of Quenehuie, and castell Baintard in the citie of London, and in the aforesaid parish of Tishhurst in the countie of Suffe, the summe of one thousand pounds.

This yeare in the moneth of June, were sent to the seas, a ship called the barke Talbot, and a small barke, both manned with a hundred men, vnder the charge of William Brough esquier, clerke of his

maiesties naue, for the apprehending of cerseine outrageous searouers, who for that they were manie in number, and well appointed (containing the small strength that was set out against them) so boldly behaued themselves, as that shortly after it was confidentlie hunted, that they had banquished in sight the said ship and barke. But within few daies after, beyond all expectation, they were by the said William Brough and his companie discomfited and taken, to the number of ten saile (whereof three were pilles) & some of the chiefe pirats, namely Thomas Walton alias Purser, Clinton Atkinson, William Ellis, William Valentine alias Bagh, Thomas Beuen and foure more, on the thirtieth of August were hanged at Wapping in the oze besides London. Walton as he went to the gallows rent his venetian breeches of crimsin taffata, and distributed the same pæcemeale, to such his old acquaintance as stood nere about him: but Atkinson had before giuen his murrie velvet doublet with great gold buttons, and the like coloured velvet venetians laid with great gold lace (apparell so sumptuous for searouers) which he had toozine at the seas, & therein he was brought by prisoner from Corse castell in the Ile of Porbecke to London, vnto such his friends as pleased him, before he went to Wapping.

This Clinton Atkinson (a personable fellow, tall of stature and well proportioned, of acceptable behaviour when he kept shop for himselfe, being a free man of London, and like enough to doe well if he had taken good waies) had his name of the late earle of Lincolne now deceased, who christened him being an infant, & by whose speciall meanes (being growne a proper man) he was not long before sau'd from the like death, and yet thorough want of grace making relapse, fell within danger of law. He descended of honest parents, his father spectallie being a man of verie honest name, one that loved the truth, for the testimonie whereof he forsoke his owne nature contrary, leading a hard life with his familie beyond the seas in quene Maries daies: & returning to England at the inthronization of our gracious quene Elisabeth in the seat of fall, was made minister, in which vocation he died in Gods fauour, and the good opinion of his neighbors, leuing behind him (among other sonnes) this his eldest, sorted (as you see) to the shame, which malefactors of that qualitie, and so convinced, can not auoid. This auoweth he that knew the man as well as the right hand from the left. Where (to conclude) we are to marke that it is not alwaies true, that good parents haue good children: for here is an example of degeneracion, procured not by euill education (for this Clinton wanted no good bzinging up) but by bad companie and libertie, the verie spoile of many a one that otherwile might liue & thine. Wherein by the way we are to wonder at the counsels of God, who suffereth children so much to varie from their parents in qualitie, as if they had not receiued their birthright, but were bastards & changelings: but to end with the prophet Dauid saing:

Intima consilij non penetranda Dei.

On the eighteenth daie of September, John Lewes, who named himselfe Abbot, an obstinate heretike, denieng the godhead of Christ, and holding diuers other detestable heresies (much like to his predecessor Mattheu Hamont) was burned at Norwich. On the two and twentieth of September Alberthus de Alaco, palatine of Stradia in Poland, before spoken of, now when he had well viewed the order of our English court and nobilitie; with other places of this realme, especiallie the vniuersitie of Orenford, &c: taking leaue of his maiestie, and of the nobilitie, he departed towards Poland. But before we make entrance into further occurrences, it shall not be amisse

A briefe description of Clinton Atkinson and his parents age.

Companie & libertie bring name to miserie.

In heretike John Lewes burned at Norwich. See pag. 1299.

Palatine of Stradia in Poland returned.

Edmund Grindall archbishop of Canturburie deceased.

Abt Hartia R.L.

Justice Barnard Kambolfe esquier, common fargeant to the citie of London, deceased on the seauenth of August.

83 and a 1 hand d. un- house terlane bp.

ine of in in d came ngland,

Thara id John ig han- Berrie,

1354 the cerke 1355 by

Heretics apprehended and executed.

amisse to touch some necessarie circumstances of remembrance.

A description of Albertus his person, apparel, &c.

This Albertus in the eyes of the most, wherof some knew him, that might hardlie commend him, esteemed him a man for making well proportioned, of an indifferent tall stature, of countenance amiable, and complexion English like, having a white beard of such length and breadth, as that lieng in his bed, and parting it with his hands, the same covered all his breast and shoulders, himselfe greatly delighting therein, and reputing it an ornament: as for his qualities (apparent unto the world) they were generous, his biterance sweet, his wit plausible, in the knowledge of tongues well sene: his ordinarie attire scarlet, but when he presented himselfe to his maiestie, a robe or gowne of purple velvet, with other habiliments and furniture agreeable; his shoes of a strange fashion, supposed of some not altogether unlike Chaucers. Finallie, a gallant fellow he was, & (as might be gathered by some words spoken by him in open audience) more partiall than Mercuriall; verie active in respect of his age, and also studious in diuerse faculties, &c.

"At Orenford, where he termed the Latine that he spake Militaire Latine, that is, soldiers Latine. The lord Porris his daughter married to sir A. Paulet his eldest sonne.

Touching the interteinement which he had at Orenford, and how the vniuersitie did congratulate his coming, it is somewhat worth the noting. In the moneth of June, the said Albertus de Lasco, coming from the marriage of the lord Porris his daughter, with sir A. Paulets eldest sonne at Nicot, he put himselfe on the waie to Orenford, wherof the vniuersitie (doctor Hounden then vicechancellor, & maister Leison with maister Cdes proctors) hauing intelligence, provided for his conuenient receiving: insomuch that in the waie to Orenford, there met him doctor Wellfailing, who greeted him with a pithie salutation. In like sort did the maior and his brethren, in whose behalfe for the whole citie, the towne clerke a worshipfull maister of art, pronounced his short and sententious speech in Latine, not without some gratulatorie gift from that corporation. On the east gate wherat he entered, stood a consort of musicians, who for a long space made verie sweet harmonie, which could not but moue & delight:

*Inscia plebs populisque arrectis auribus astat,
Dulciferumque rudi suscipit aure melos.*

All by the high street vnto saint Maries church, on either side the waie, were decentlie marshalled scholars in their gownes & caps, batchelors and maisters in their habits and hoods. At saint Maries the orator of the vniuersitie (notable in his facultie) presented him a booke, in which were closelie couched verie rich and gorgeous gloues. From thence he marched to Chypps church, where he was whilst he abode in the vniuersitie most honourable interteined. And the first night being vacant, as in which he sought rather rest in his lodging than recreation in anie academicall pastimes, strange fire works were shewed, in the great quadrangle, besides rockets and a number such maner of deuises. On the second daie, his first dinner was made him at Aloules college, where (besides dutifull receiving of him) he was solemnelie satisfied with scholerlie exercises and courtlie fare. This night & the night insuing, after sumptuous suppers in his lodging, he personally was presented with his traine in the hall, first at the plaing of a pleasant comedie intituled *Ruades*; then at the setting out of a verie statelie tragedie named *Dido*, wherein the queenes banquet (with Cneas narration of the destruction of Troie) was liuelie described in a marchpaine patterne, there was also a goodlie sight of hunters with full crie of a kennell of hounds, percurte and Iris descending and ascending from and to an high place, the tempest wherein it hailed small confects, rained rosewater, and shewed an arti-

ficaine of roses water, and haile of sugar confects, &c.

ficiall kind of snow, all strange, marvellous, & abundant.

Most of the actors were of the same house, six or seauen of them were of saint Johns, & thre or foure of other colleges & halls. His second dinner the third daie was at Dagdalen college, with oratorie welcomming & bountifull feasting. His third dinner the fourth daie at Jello college. The eloquent speech in Greeke Latine and Dutch with his owne vnstudied answer therunto, & all other before rehearsed, are not to be omitted; nor the publike philosophie, physike, and diuinitie disputations, in all which those learned opponents, respondents, & moderators, quitted themselves like themselves, sharple and soundlie, besides all other solemne sermons & lectures. At afternone the fourth & last daie, he went towards Woodstocke manour, and without the north gate by the waie he was inuited vnto a banquet at saint Johns college, where the gates & outward wals ouercovered with thousands of verses, & other emblematicall poetries then offered him, argued their hartie goodwills; but his hastening to his iournies end caused him not to taste the delicat banquet; yet onelie stating the decline of a sweet oration and his owne quicke witte replied therunto, he departed immediatlie, accompanied for a mile or two with the most of those reuerend doctors and heads of houses all on horsebacke, where the orator againe gaue him an orators farewell. And this is the summe of his interteinement, not deliuered in such sort as the dignitie of the same requireth; howbeit sufficient for a sudden remembrance.

On the thre & twentieth daie of September, John Whittegift doctor of diuinitie, sometimes maister of Trinitie colledge in Cambridge, and afterwards bishop of Worcester, was at Lambhith translated to the archbishopricke of Canturburie, where he at his coming to Lambhith (as also elswhere he alwaies did) gaue euident testimonies both of mindfullnesse and thankefullnesse for his advancements: as by the thre tables hanging at the upper end of his great chamber appeareth: their position in this sort. In the midst his maiesties armes rotall artificiallie wrought, with as much cunning as the painter by his pencil could describe them: and vnder them this distichon of thankesgiving, and wellwishing:

*Nestoreos felix regat Elisabetha per annos,
Qua mihi munificæ Candida dona dedit.*

Allyssa, ad D.
archiep. nonum.

On the right side, the armes of the see of Canturburie of azure, a pall siluer garnished with crosses forme like sable ouer a crosse portatile gold: to the lower end whereof this distichon is fairelie fixed:

*En leue multiplici premeretur cuspide corpus,
Ni baculus Christi grande leuaret onus.*

Ab. Hart. quodam Cant. & Trinitarini.

On the left side are placed the ancient armes of the see of Worcester, from the which he was translated, which are of siluer, ten torteaur, foure, thre, two, one: with this distichon thereunto annexed:

*Qui crucis arumnas patitur, post fata triumphat,
Lilia sic spendent fuluis coniuncta talentis.*

ouer & above the arms of both the said sees is his graces poise, *Vincit qui patitur*: a deserued poise, and iustified by his actions. The tenth of October at Caister, a towne in Norfolk neere the sea coast, about two miles from Warrmouth, there was a fish of wonderfull length, by force of the wind (being then easterlie) drituen a shore, the length whereof was from the necke vnto the taile seuentene yards and one foote, hauing a big head; for the chap of the fish was thre yards and a quarter in length, with teeth of thre quarters of a yard compas, great eyes, and two great holes ouer them to spout out water, his taile was fourtene foot broad, &c: the taile in the sands, and was sunken therein a yard and a halfe deepe,

Shade
Bodie
red.

An Re
posed
hanged
at once
Smithy

Drismo
head
for
London
bridge.

Parke
in
Ches
burne.

Somerset
Arden,
there
at
no.

Emonifrom
fish taken in
Norfolk.

Arden
e
na

Slade and
Bodie execut-
ed.

deepe, and yet was she above the sands so high, that a lather of fourtene staves would but reach to the top of his backe; so that in thickeesse from the backe to the bellie, she was foure yards and a halfe. John Slade, sometime a scholemaster, and John Bodie a maister of art of Oxford, being both indicted and condemned of high treason, were drawne, hanged, and quartered: Slade at Winchester on the thirtieth daie of October, and Bodie at Andouar on the second daie of Nouember.

An. Reg. 26.
hanged, ten
at once in
Smithfield.

About this time, one named Ditch a notable horsestealer, was apprehended at the sessions holden for the goale deliuerie at Newgate, on the fourth of December, nineteene times indicted, whereof he confessed eighteene: who also betwene the time of his apprehension and the said sessions, appeached manie for stealing of horses, whereof (diuerse being apprehended) ten of them were condemned, and hanged in Smithfield on the first daie of December, being Friday, and horse market there. He also holpe diuerse more to their horses againe which had bene stolne from them, taking of euerie one of them ten shillings the pece or more that so recovered their horses: wherby he made fiftene pounds of currant monie towards his charges. James earle of Desmond in Ireland, secretlie wandering without any succour as a miserable begger, being taken in his cabbin by one of the Irishie, his head was cut off, and sent into England, where the same (as the head of an archbell) was set vpon London bridge on the thirteenth daie of December. Loke for the manner of his rebellion and his death more at large set downe in the historie of Ireland.

Desmonds
head set on
London
bridge.

Pantwich
in Cheshire
burnt.

The tenth daie of December, through negligence of vndiscreet persons, betwix in the towne of Pantwich, in a place called Waterlode; the fire being careleslie left, took hold (as should seme) vpon some straw, or such light matter, & so burst forth to the rofes of the house, and in short time so increased, that from the west end of the towne (the wind at south-west) the flame was disperfed so furiously into the towne on the southside, that in short space a great part of the said southside and some of the eastside was burned downe to the ground. Which fire beginning at six of the clocke in the evening, and continuing till six of the clocke in the morning following, neuer ceased burning, till it had consumed above the number of two hundred houses, besides brewe houses, barnes, stables, &c: in all about six hundred houses, so that by estimation of manie, the losse of houses and goods amounted to about thirtie thousand pounds, as more at large appeared by a particular booke printed of that matter. About this time, John Someruille a furious young man of Cheshire in Warwicksheire, of late discouered and taken in his waie committing with full intent to kill the queenes maiestie (whom God long prosper to reighe ouer vs) confessed the treason, and that he was moued thereunto in his wicked spirit, by certeine traitorous persons his kinsmen and allies, and also by often reading of certeine seditious bookes lately published, for the which the said Someruille, Edward Arden a squire of Parkehall in Warwicksheire, Marie Arden his wife (father and mother in law to the said Someruille) and Hugh Hall priest, being with other before indicted at Warwicke, were on the sixteenth of December arraigned in the Guildhall of London, where they were found guiltie and condemned of high treason. On the nineteenth of December, John Someruille, and Edward Arden, being brought from the tower of London to Newgate of the same citie, and there shut vp in severall places: within two hours after, Someruille was found (desperatlie) to haue strangled himselfe. And

Someruille,
Arden, and o-
thers arraign-
ed.

Arden execut-
ed.

on the morrow being the twentieth of December, Edward Arden was drawne from Newgate into Smithfield, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered: whose head with Someruelles was set on London bridge, and his quarters on the gates of the citie; but the bodie of Someruille was buried in the Fozefelds, nere vnto the windmills without Newgate. A breadfull example of Gods heauie iudgement vpon those two offenders; but speciallie against the last, whom God deliuered to a reprobate mind, in somuch that his owne hands became his hangman, preventing the office of the common executioner, who should haue performed that last action vpon him: whereof the iustice of God in vengeance made himselfe the finisher and fulfiller. Thus much by the waie of terro, that the remembrance hereof, by the reading & reporting of the same, maie make men euill minded, amazed at the rigorous reuengement which God taketh (when he seeth his due time) vpon the wicked: after his long sufferance and patience most wickedlie abused; wherof the poet saith:

*Plinio procedit (fateor) diuina gradatim,
Nec quoties peccant fulmina vibrat eis:
Supplicij vero iusta grauitate pendit
Turpia, quae longo tempore facta tulit.*

In this yeare 1583 (which should haue bene noted in the fore part of the yeare) by the meanes of a certeine astrologicall discourse, vpon the great and notable conjunction of the two superior planets, Saturne and Jupiter, prognosticated to be the eight and twentieth of April; the common sort of people yea and no small multitude of such as thinke coine to be called soles, or counted beggers, whilst they were in expectation of this conjunction, were in no small imaginations, supposing that no lesse would haue bene effected, than by the said discourse was prophesied. Into these fantasies not void of feare and mistrust they were drawne with the more facilitie, for that they had read, and heard, & pondered, and suspected, and in part belieued the predictions of such euents as should insue by influence of that conjunction. For it was termed the great and notable conjunction, which should be manifested to the ignorant sort, by manie fierce and boisterous winds then suddenly breaking out. It was called the greatest and most soveraigne conjunction among the seven planets: why so? Because lawes, and empires, and regions are ruled by the same: which foretellethe the coming of a prophet, & the destruction of certeine climates and parts of the earth, and new found hereties, and a new founded kingdome, and damages through the pestilence, and abundant showers: which doth prognosticate the destinie of a great and mightie king, much sorrow & heauinesse to men, losses to rich and noble men, yea and those too which are accounted and reputed like to prophets, and a multitude of locusts: which doth foretelle that weightie and wonderfull things shall come into the world: which doth threaten continuall ouerflows of waters, and particular deluges in some countries: finally, which menaceth much mischief. The publication, off reading, and talking of this conjunction, with the remembrance of the instant wherein it should be, made manie (when the daie foretold was come) to loke for some strange apparition or vision in the aire; and withall, put them in mind of an old and common prophesie, touching the yeare 1588, which is now so rise in euerie mans mouth. That yeare was manie hundred yeares ago foretold and much spoken of amongst astrologers, who haue as it were, *Vnanimi consensu*, prognosticated, that either a marvellous fearful & horrible alteration of empires, kingdoms, seignories and estates, together likewise with other most wonderfull, and verie extraordinary accidents,

This booke
for the time
that it was
in request, set
people wrongs
on worke,
and filled
their minds
with strange
conceits.

why it was
called the
great conjunction.

Touching
the yeare of
1588, which
gathered to
be 1588.

dents, as extreme hunger and pestilence, desperat treasons and commotions shall then fall out, to the miserable affliction and oppression of huge multitudes: or else, that an bitter and final ouerthrowe and destruction of the whole world shall insue: which prophesie is contained in these verses following:

Coniunctus Re-
giomontanus.

*Post mille expletos a partu Virginis annos,
Et post quingentos rursus ab orbe datos:
Octogimus octauum mirabilis annus
Ingruet, is secum tristitia fatu feret.
Si non hoc anno totum malum occidet orbis,
Si non in nihilum terra, fretumque ruet:
Cuncta tamen mundi sussum ibunt atque retrosum,
Imperia, & luctus undique grandis erit.*

The great
peare of
1588 is
more talked of
than feared.

So that by this prophesie, either a small dissolu-
tion, or a wonderfull horrible alteration of the world
is then to be expected. All these considerations laid
together, as well the prediction of the confusion in
expectation, as also the dreadfull events, which were
to insue thereupon: and upon the necke of these, the
great peare of 1588 in euery mans mouth, the
more frequent and common by occasion of a booke
recent under the title of the end of the world, and the
second comming of Christ, made diuerse diuersitie
affected; inso much that some conuensing and confer-
ring, looked for no lesse than was prophesied; and
talking verie religiouslie, seemed as though they
would become sanctified people: howbeit, the day of
the confusion being past, with a certeine counter-
checke against the said astrological discourse in
some points defectiue, and no such euents palpable
perceiued as were prognosticated; people fell to their
former securitie, and condemned the discourser of
extreme madnesse and follie: whereof no more but
this, *Scientia nullum habet sibi inimicum prater ignoran-
tem.*

when people
saw nothing
in the aere (as
they looked
for) they fell
to derision.

1584
Cartar execu-
ted for print-
ing a traito-
rous booke.

On the tenth of Januarie in the peare 1584 at a
sessions holden in the iustice hall in the old bailie of
London for goale deliuerie of Newgate, William
Cartar of the citie of London was there indicted, ar-
reigned, and condemned of high treason, for printing
a seditious and traitorous booke in English, intituled
A treatise of schisme: and was for the same (ac-
cording to sentence pronounced against him) on the
next morrow, which was the eleuenth of Januarie,
drawne from Newgate to Tibborne, and there han-
ged, bowelled, and quartered. And shortly after against
slanderous reports, spread abroad in seditious books,
letters and libels, thereby to inflame the hearts of
our countrymen, and hir maiesties subjects: a booke
was published, intituled, A declaration of the fauor-
able dealing of hir maiesties commissioners, &c.
Which booke I haue thought good in this place to set
downe (for the better instruction of the reader) even
as the same was printed and published, and thus it
followeth.

A declaration
of the fauor-
able dealing of
hir maiesties
commissioners,
for the
examining of
traitors.

A declaration of the fauourable deal-
ing of hir maiesties commissioners appointed for
the examination of certeine traitors, and of tor-
tures vniuersallie reported to be done vpon them
for matters of religion.

To the read-
er.

GOOD reader, although hir maiesties most
mild and gracious gouernement be suf-
ficient to defend it selfe against those
most slanderous reports of heathenish
and vnnaturall tyrannie and cruell tortures, preten-
ded to haue bene executed vpon certeine traitors,
who latelie suffered for their treason, and others, at
well spread abroad by rungages, Iesuits, and semi-
narie men in their seditious bookes, letters, and li-
bels, in forren countries and princes courts, as al-
so insinuated into the hearts of some of our owne

countrymen and hir maiesties subjects: yet for thy
better satisfaction I haue conferred with a vertie ho-
nest gentleman, whom I knew to haue good and suf-
ficient meanes to deliuer the truth against such for-
gers of lies and shamelesse slanders in that behalfe,
which he and other that do know and haue affirmed
the same will at all times iustifie. And for thy fur-
ther assurance and satisfaction herein, he hath set
downe to the view of all men these necessarie notes
following.

Touching the racke and torments vsed to such
traitors as pretended themselves to be catholikes,
vpon whom the same haue bene exercised, it is asser-
med for truth, and is offered vpon due examination
so to be proued, to be as followeth. First, that the
formes of torture in their seueritie or rigour of exe-
cution, haue not bene such and in such maner perfo-
med, as the slanderers and seditious libellers haue
slanderouslie & maliciouslie published. And that euen
the principall offender, Campion himselfe, who was
sent & came from Rome, and continued here in sun-
drie corners of the realme, hauing secretlie wander-
ed in the greatest part of the shires of England in
a disguised sort, to the intent to make speciall prepa-
ration of treasons; and to that end and for further-
ance of those his labours, sent ouer for more helpe
and assistance, and cunninglie and traitorouslie at
Rome before he came from thence, procured tolera-
tion for such prepared rebels to keepe themselves co-
uert vnder pretense of temporarie and permissiue o-
bedience to hir maiestie the state standing as it doth;
but so sone as there were sufficient force whereby
the bull of hir maiesties depination might be pub-
likelie executed, they should then ioine all together
with that force vpon paine of curse and damnation:
that verie Campion, I saie, before the conference
had with him by learned men in the Towre, wherein
he was charitable vsed, was neuer so racked, but
that he was presentlie able to walke, and to write,
and did presentlie write and subscribe all his confes-
sions, as by the originals thereof may euidentlie
appeare.

The slander-
ous report
concerning
the extreme
vse of racke
continued.

Sigo l
talle &
the int
libeller
call al
religio
non ma
fuit.

This
sonant
report
downe
in the
re of
Camp

Campion and
Briant were
too fauora-
ble vsed: and
far vnder the
proportion of
their treasons
able offences.

A horrible matter is also made of the starving of
one Alexander Briant, how he should eat claie out of
the wals, gathered water to drinke from the drop-
pings of houses, with such other false ostentations of
immanitie: where the truth is this, that that sener
Briant suffered in want of food, he suffered the same
willfullie & of extreme impudent obstinacie, against
the mind and liking of those that dealt with him.
For certeine traitorous writings being found a-
bout him, it was thought convenient by conference
of hands to order stand whose writing they were, and
therupon he being in hir maiesties name comma-
ded to write, which he could verie well do, and being
permitted to him to write what he would himselfe,
in these termes, that if he liked not to write one
thing, he might write another, or what he liked (which
to do being charged in hir maiesties name was his
dutie, and to refuse was dishonour and vndutifull) yet
the man would by no meanes be induced to write a-
nie thing at all. Then was it commanded to his keep-
er to giue vnto him such meat, drinke, and other
conuenient necessities as he would write for, and
to forbear to giue him anie thing for which he would
not write.

But Briant being thereof aduertised and off-
moued to write, persisting so in his curst heart by
almost two daies and two nights, made chosse ra-
ther to lacke food, than to write for the sustenance
which he might readilie haue had for writing, & which
he had indeed readilie and plentifullie so sone as he
wrote. And as it is said of these two, so is it to be
said of other; with this, that there was a perpetuall

The curst &
stubborne
heart of Bri-
ant.

what
grace
follows
to his
may as
by the
words
Campion
the
strife.

rate had, & the quene's seruants the warders, whose office and act it is to handle the racke, were euer by those that attended the examinations speciallie charged, to vse it in as charitable manner as such a thing might be.

Secondlie it is said, and likewise offered to be iustified, that neuer anie of these seminaries, or such o-
ther pretended catholikes, which at anie time in hir
maiesties reigne haue bene put to the racke, were
vpon the racke: or in other torture demanded anie
question of their supposed conscience; as that they
beloued in anie point of doctrine or faith, as the
masse, transubstantiation, or such like: but onelie
with what persons at home, or abroad, and touching
what plats, practises and conferences they had dealt
about attempts against hir maiesties estate or per-
son, or to alter the lawes of the realme: or matters
of religion, by treason or by force, and how they were

Thirlike, that none of them haue bene put to the racke or torture, no not for the matters of treason, or partnership of treason or such like, but where it was first knownen and euidentlie probable by former detestations, confessions, and otherwise, that the partie so racked, or tortured, was guiltie, and did know, and could deliuer truth of the things wherewith he was charged: so as it was first assured, that no innocent was at anie time tormented, and the racke was ne-

uer bled to trying out confessions at adventure by
on uncertainties, in which doing it might be possible
that an innocent in that case might have bin racked.

Fourthly, that none of them hath bene racked or
tortured, vnlesse he had first said expresselie, or amount-
ing to as much, that he will not tell the truth, though
the queene commaund him. And if anie of them be-
ing examined did saie he could not tell, or did not re-
member, if he would so affirme in such maner as
christians among christians are beleueed; such his an-
swer was accepted, if there were not apparant eui-
dence to proue that he wilfullie said vntrolic. But if
he said that his answer in deliuering truth, should
hurt a catholike, & so be an offense against the chari-
tie, which they said to be sine, & that the queene could
not command them to sin, & therfore how soeuer the
queene commanded, they would not tell the truth,
which they were knowen to know, or to such effect:
they were then put to the torture, or else not.

Ifittie, that the proceeding to torture was alwaies
 so slowlie, so bruiwillinglie, & with so manie preparati-
 ons of persuasions to spare themselves, and so ma-
 nie meanes to let them know that the truth was by
 them to be uttered, both in dutie to hir maiestie, and
 in wisdome for themselves, as whosoever was pre-
 sent at those actions, must needs acknowledge in
 hir maiesties ministers, a full purpose to follow the
 example of hir owne most gracions disposition :
 Whome God long preserve.

Thus it appeareth, that albeit by the more generall labors of nations, torture hath bene, and is lawfullie iudged to be vsed in lesser cases, and in sharper manner for inquisition of truth in crimes not so neere extending to publike danger, as these vngratious persons haue committed, whose conspiracies and the particularities thereof it did so much import and behooue to haue disclosed : yet euen in that necessarie bise of such proceeding, inforced by the offendors not toxiuous obstinacie, is neuertheless to be acknowledged the swet temperatoure of hir maiesties mild and grations clemencie, and their vnderstands leuynesse to be the more condemned, that haue in fauour of hainous malefactours, and subbugne traitors, spread vntreue rumors and vanders, to make hir mercifull gouernement disliked, vnder false pretense and rumors of sharpenesse and crueltie to those, against whom nothing can be cruell, and yet vpon whom nothing hath bene done but gentle and mercifull.

The execution of justice in England

*for maintenance of publike and christian peace,
against certaine stirrers of sedition, and adherents to
the traitors and enimies of the realme, without anie per-
secution of them for questions of religion, as is
falslie reported and published by the fauours
and fosterers of their treasons,*



Thath bene in all ages and in all countries a common vsage of all offenders, for the most part, both great and small, to make defense of their lewd and unlawful facts by vntruths, and by colouring and couering their dedes (were they neuer so vile) with ppretenses of some other causes of contrarie operations or effects; to the intent not onelie to auoid punishment or shame, but to continue, uphold, and prosecute their wicked attempts, to the full satisfaction of their disordered and malicious appetites. And though such hath bene the vse of all offenders, yet of none with moze danger than of rebels and traitors to their lawful princes, kings, and countries. Of which sort of late yeares are speciallie to be noted certeine persons naturalie borne subiects in the realme of England and Ireland, who hauing for some good time profes-

As Nathaniel
Champion, of
whom an in-
famous libel-
ler reporteth
(in commen-
tation for
tith of his
constancie)
Non fecerit mee
inimicū ore
fabor.

All offenders
cover their
faults with
contrarie
causes.

**Rebels do
most danger-
ous things
their faults.**

Rebellion in
England and
Ireland.

professed outwardlie their obedience to their soveraigne ladie queene Elisabeth, haue neuertheless afterwards bene stirred by and seduced by wicked spirits, first in England sundrie yeares past, and secondlie and of later time in Ireland, to enter into open rebellion, taking armes and coming into the field against hir maiestie and hir lieutenants, with their forces under banners displayed, inducing by notable vntuths manie simple people to follow and assist them in their traitorous actions.

The rebels
vanquished
by the queens
power.

Some of the
rebels fled in-
to forreine
countries.

Rebels pre-
tend religion
for their de-
fence.

Ringleaders
of rebels,
Charles se-
cond earle of
Westmerland,
and Thomas
Stukeleie.

The effect of
the popes bull
against the
queene of
England.

And though it is verie well knowen, that both their intentions and manifest actions were bent to haue deposed the queenes maiestie from hir crowne, and to haue traitorously set in hir place some other whome they liked, whereby if they had not bene spied, they would haue committed great bloodsheds and slaughters of hir maiesties faithfull subjects, and ruined their native countrie: yet by Gods power giuen vnto hir maiestie, they were so speedilie vanquished, as some few of them suffered by order of law according to their deserts, manie & the greatest part vpon confession of their faultes were pardoned, the rest (but they not manie) of the principall, escaped into forreine countries, & there, because in none of few places rebels and traitors to their naturall princes and countries dare for their treasons challenge at their first muster open comfort or succour, these notable traitors and rebels haue falselie informed manie kings, princes and states, and speciallie the bishop of Rome, commonlie called the pope (from whom they all had secretlie their first comfort to rebell) that the cause of their fleeing from their countries was for the religion of Rome, and for maintenance of the said popes authoritie: whereas diuerse of them before their rebellion liued so notoriouse, the most part of their liues, out of all good rule, either for honest manners, or for antient sense in religion, as they might haue bene rather familiar with Catiline, or fauourers to Sardanapalus, than accounted good subjects vnder anie christan princes. As for some examples of the heads of these rebellions, out of England fled Charles the ninth earle of Westmerland, a person bitterlie wasted by losse of life, and by Gods punishment euen in the time of his rebellion bereaued of his children that should haue succeeded him in the earledome, and his bodie now eaten with vlcers of lewd carles (as his comparisons doe saie) that no entrie he hath can with him a viler punishment: a pittifull losse to the realme of so noble a horse, neuer before in antient age atteinted for disloyaltie. And out of Ireland ran awaie one Thomas Stukeleie, a defamed person almost thorough all christendome, and a faithlesse beast rather than a man, fleeing first out of England for notable piracies, and out of Ireland for trecheries not pardonable, which two were the first ringleaders of the rest of the rebels, the one for England, the other for Ireland.

But notwithstanding the notorious euill and wicked liues of these & others their confederats, bold of all christian religion, it liked the bishop of Rome, as in fauour of their treasons, not to colour their offences, as themselves openlie pretend to doe, for auoiding of common shame of the world: but flatlie to animate them to continue their former wicked purposes, that is, to take armes against their lawfull queene, to invade hir realme with forren forces, to pursue all hir good subjects & their native countries with fire and sword: for maintenance whereof there had some yeares before, at sundrie times, proceeded in a thundering sort, bulls, excommunications, and other publicke writings, denouncing hir maiestie being the lawfull queene, and Gods anointed seruant not to be the queene of the realme, charging and by

an paines of excommunication commanding all hir subjects to depart from their naturall allegiances, whereto by birth and by oath they were bound: prohibiting also and authorizing all persons of all degrees within both the realmes to rebel. And vpon this antichristian warrant, being contrarie to all the lawes of God and man, & nothing agreeable to a pastorall officer, not onelie all the rabble of the forsaide traitors that were before fled; but also all other persons that had forsaken their native countries, being of diuerse conditions and qualities, some not able to liue at home but in beggerie, some discontented for lacke of preferments, which they gaped for vnto; some in vniuersities and other places, some bankrupt merchants, some in a sort learned to contentions, being not contented to learne to obey the lawes of the land, haue manie yeares running by and dole, from countrie to countrie, practised some in one corner, some in an other, some with seeking to gather forces and monie for forces, some with instigation of princes by vntuths, to make warre vpon their naturall countrie, some with inward practices to murder the greatest, some with seditious writings, and verie manie of late with publicke infamous libels, full of despitefull vile termes and poisoned lies, altogether to uphold the forsaide antichristian and tyrannous warrant of the popes bull.

And yet also by some other meanes, to further these intentions, because they could not readilie penetrate by waie of force, finding forren princes rather consideration & not readilie inclined to their wicked purposes, it was deuised to erect by certeine scholes which they called seminaries, to nourish and bring vp persons disposed naturallie to sedition, to continue their race & trade, and to become sedimen in their tillage of sedition, and them to send secretlie into these the queenes maiesties realmes of England & Ireland vnder secret masques, some of priests hood, some of other inferiour orders, with titles of seminaries for some of the meaner sort, and of Jesuits for the faggers and ranker sort and such like, but yet so warlike they crept into the land, as none brought the markes of their priesthood with them. But in diuers corners of hir maiesties dominions these seminaries or sedimen and Jesuits, hying with them certeine Romish trash, as of their hallowed war, their *Agnus Dei*, their graines, and manie kind of beads, and such like, haue as tillagemen laboured secretlie to periuade the people to allow of the popes forsaide bulls and warrants, & of his absolute authoritie ouer all princes and countries, and striking manie with prickes of conscience to obey the same; whereby in proceesse of small time, if this wicked and dangerous, traitorous, & craftie course had not bene by Gods godnesse espyed and staied, there had followed imminent danger of horrible bypoxes in the realmes, and a manifest bloudie destruction of great multitudes of christians.

For it can not be denied but that so manie as should haue bene induced & thoroughlie persuaded to haue obeyed that wicked warrant of the popes, and the contents thereof, should haue bene forthwith in their hearts and consciences secret traitors, and for to be in deed errant and open traitors: there should haue wanted nothing but opportunitie to sale their strength & to assemble themselves in such numbers with armour and weapons, as they might haue presumed to haue bene the greater part, and so by open ciuill warre to haue come to their wicked purposes. But Gods godnesse, by whome kings doe rule, and by whose blasse traitors are commonlie waisted and confounded, hath otherwise giuen to hir maiestie as to his handmaid and deare seruant, ruling vnder him, the spirit of wise dome and power, where

Howe
rebellion
hath, cau-
sed, & ex-
posed it.

The practices
of the traitors
rebels, and fa-
uourers to re-
store the bull.

The se-
minaries
domi-
nant
of the r-
made t-
humble
paid.

Seminaries
erected to
nurture secke-
dious fugi-
tues.

Perfo-
danne
sedition
refusal
their di-
noble c-
ous.

The semina-
ries ingenu-
come secretlie
into the realme
to induce the
people to obey
the popes
bull.

The se-
minaries
ingenu-
come
secretlie
into the
realme
to induce
the people
to obey
the popes
bull.

The se-
minaries
ingenu-
come
secretlie
into the
realme
to induce
the people
to obey
the popes
bull.

Some of
the
ancient
lawes
of the
realme
made two
hundred
yeares
past.

by the hath caused some of these seditious sedition
and powers of rebellion, to be discovered for all their
secret lurkings, and to be taken and charged with
these former points of high treason, not being dealt
withall upon questions of religion, but iustlie by or-
der of lawes, openlie condemned as traitors.

At which times, notwithstanding all maner gen-
tle waies of persuasions used, to moue them to de-
stie from such manifest traitorous courses and opini-
ons with offer of mercie; yet was the canker of their
rebellious humors so deepe entered and graven in-
to the hearts of manie of them, as they would not be
reioined from their traitorous determinations.
And therefore as manifest traitors in mainteining
and adhering to the capitall enemie of hir maiestie
& hir crowne (who hath not onelie bene the cause of
two rebellions already passed in England and Ire-
land, but in that of Ireland did manifestlie wage
and mainteine his owne people, capteins, and sould-
iers under the banner of Rome, against hir mai-
estie, so as no enemie could doe more) these I saie
haue iustlie suffered death not by force or forme of a-
nie new lawes established, either for religion or a-
gainst the popes supremacie, as the slanderous libel-
lers would haue it seeme to be; but by the ancient
temporall lawes of the realme, and namelie by the
lawes of parlement made in king Edward the third
his time, about the yeare of our Lord 1330, which is
about two hundred yeares and more past, when the
bishops of Rome and popes were suffered to haue
their authoritie ecclesiasticall in this realme, as they
had in manie other countreies. But yet of this kind
of offenders, as manie of them, as after their con-
demnations were contented to renounce their for-
mer traitorous assertions; so manie were spared
from execution, & doe liue still at this daie: such was
the unwillingnes in hir maiestie to haue anie blood
spilt, without this verie urgent, iust, and necessarie
cause proceeding from themselves.

And yet neuerthelesse, such of the rest of the tra-
itors as remaine in foreign parts, continuing still
their rebellious minds, and craftilie keeping them-
selves aloofe off from dangers, cease not to promoue
fundie other inferiour seditious persons, newlie to
scale secretlie into the realme, to reuue the former
seditious practices, to the execution of the popes fore-
said bull against hir maiestie and the realme, pte-
nding when they are apprehended, that they came one-
lie into the realme by the commandement of their
superiours, the heads of the Iesuits, to whom they
are bound (as they saie) by oth against either king
or countrie, and here to informe or refoirme mens
consciencs from errors in some points of religi-
on, as they thinke meet. But yet in verie truth, the
whole scope of their secret labours is manifestlie
proued, to be secretlie to win all people, with whom
they dare deale; so to aliove of the popes said bulls,
and of his authoritie without exception, as in obser-
uing thereof, they take themselves fullie discharged
of their allegiance and obedience to their lawfull
prince and countrie: yea, and to be well warranted
to take armes to rebell against hir maiestie, when
they shall be thereunto called; and to be readie so-
cretlie to ioin with any foreign force that can be pro-
cured to invade the realme, whereof also they haue a
long time giuen, and yet doe for their advantage, no
small comfort of successe. And so consequentie the
effect of their labours is to bring the realme not one-
lie into a dangerous warre against the forces of
strangers (from which it hath bene free about thre
and twentie or foure and twentie yeares, a case ve-
rie memorabile and hard to be matched with an ex-
ample of the like) but into a warre domesticall and
civill, wherein no blood is vsuallie spared, nor mer-

cie yielded, and therein neither the vanquished nor
the vanquished can haue iust cause of triumph.

And forsomuch as these are the most evident perils
that necessarilie should followe, if these kind of ver-
mine were suffered to creepe by stealth into the
realme, and to spread their poison within the same,
howsoever when they are taken, like hypocrites, they
colour and counterfeite the same with profession of
deuotion in religion: it is of all persons to be pe-
ded in reason, that hir maiestie and all hir gouer-
nours and magistrats of iustice, hauing care to
mainteine the peace of the realme (which God hath
giuen in hir time, to continue longer than euer in a-
nie time of hir progenitors) ought of dutie to al-
mightie God the author of peace, and according to
the naturall loue and charge due to their countrie,
and for auoiding of the floods of blood, which in ci-
uill warres are seene to run and flow, by all lawfull
meanes possible, as well by the sword as by law, in
their fencerall seasons to impeach and repell these so
manifest and dangerous colourable practices, and
works of sedition and rebellion.

And though there are manie subjects knowne in
the realme, that differ in some opinions of religion
from the church of England and that doe also not for-
beare to professe the same: yet in that they doe also
professe loialtie and obedience to hir maiestie, and
offer readilie to hir maiesties defense, to impagne &
resist anie foreign force, though it should come or be
procured from the pope himselfe: none of these sort
are for their contrarie opinions in religion persecu-
ted or charged with anie crimes or paines of treason,
nor yet willingly searched in their consciences for
their contrarie opinions, that saue not of treason.
And of these sorts, there haue bene and are a num-
ber of persons, not of such base and vulgar note as
those which of late haue bene executed, as in particu-
lar, some by name are well knowne, and not unfit
to be remembred. The first and chiefest by office was
doctor Heth, that was archbishop of Yorke, and lord
chancellor of England in queene Maries time; who
at the first comming of hir maiestie to the crowne,
shewing himselfe a faithfull and quiet subiect, conti-
nued in both the said offices, though in religion then
manifestlie differing; and yet was he not restrained
of his libertie, nor deprived of his proper lands and
goods, but leauing willingly both his offices, liued in
his owne house verie discretlie, and inioied all his
purchased lands during all his naturall life, untill his
verie age he departed this world, and then left his
house and liuing to his friends. An example of gen-
tleness neuer matched in queene Maries time.

The like did one doctor Pole that had bene bi-
shop of Peterborough, an ancient graue person, and
a verie quiet subiect. There were also others that
had bene bishops and in great estimation, as doc-
tor Tunstall bishop of Duresme, a person of great
reputation, and also whilst he liued of verie quiet be-
haviour. There were also other, as doctor White & do-
ctor Dylethorpe, the one of Winchester, the other of
Carlill, bishops, persons of courteous natures, and
he of Carlill so inclined to dutifullnes to the queenes
maiestie, as he did the office at the consecration and
coronation of hir maiestie in the church of West-
minster: and doctor Thurbie, & doctor Watson yet
liuing, one of Ely, the other of Lincolne, bishops:
the one of nature affable, the other altogether lowe,
and yet liuing. Whereunto may be added the bishop
then of Exeter, Turchenille, an honest gentleman,
but a simple bishop, who liued at his owne libertie
to the end of his life: and none of all these pte-
stied with anie capitall paine, though they mainteined
the popes authoritie against the lawes of the realme.
And some abbats, as master Feckenam yet liuing,

The dutie of
the queene and
all hir gouer-
nours to God
and their
countrie, is
to repell prac-
tises of rebel-
lion.

None char-
ged with capi-
tall crimes,
being of a con-
trarie reli-
gion, and pro-
fessing to
withstand
foreignes for-
ces.

Names of bi-
shops ecclesi-
asticall persons
professing
contrarie re-
ligion, neuer
charged with
capitall
crimes.

a person also of quiet and courteous behaviour, for a great time. Some also were deanes, as doctor Worall deane of Windſore, a person of great modestie, learning and knowledge: doctor Cole deane of Paules, a person more earnest than discret: doctor Keinolds deane of Exceſter, not vnlearned, and manie such others, hauing bozne office & dignities in the church, & that had made profession against the pope, which they onelie began in quene Maries time to change: yet were these neuer to this daie burdened with capitall peanes, nor yet deprived of anie their goods or proper liuelods; but onelie removed from their ecclesiasticall offices, which they would not exercise according to the lawes. And most of them, & manie other of their sort for a great time were detained in bishops houses in verie ciuill and courteous manner, without charge to themselves or their friends, vntill the time that the pope began by his bulls & messages, to offer trouble to the realme by stirring of rebellion. About which time onlie, some of these aforesaid, being found busier in matters of state tending to stir troubles, than was mete for the common quiet of the realme, were removed to other more priuat places, where such other wanderers as were men knowne to moue sedition, might be restrained from common resorting to them to increase trouble, as the popes bull gaue manifest occasion to doubt: and yet without charging them in their consciences or otherwise, by anie inquisition to bring them into danger of anie capitall law: so as no one was called to anie capitall or bloudie question vpon matters of religion, but haue all inioied their life as the course of nature would: and such of them as yet remaine, may (if they will not be authors or instruments of rebellion or sedition) inioie the time that God and nature shall yield them without danger of life or member.

The late fauourers of the popes authoritie were the chiefe aduersaries of the same, by their doctrines and writings.

And yet it is worthy to be well marked, that the chiefe of all these and the most of them, had in time of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the first, either by preaching, writing, reading, or arguing, taught all people to condemne, yea to abhorre the authoritie of the pope: for which purpose they had many times giuen their othes publickly, against the popes authoritie, and had also yielded to both the said kings the stile of supreme head of the church of England next vnder Christ, which title the aduersaries do most falselie write and affirme, that the queenes maiestie now vseth: a manifest lie & vntuth, to be seene by the verie acts of parlement, and at the beginning of hir reigne omitted in hir stile. And for proofe that these foresaid bishops and learned men had so long time disauowed the popes authoritie, manie of their books and sermons against the popes authoritie remaine printed both in English and Latin to be seene in these times, to their great shame and reproche to change so often, but speciallie in persecuting such as themselves had taught and stablished to hold the contrarie. A sin, nere the sin against the holie ghost.

A great number of laie persons of liuelods being of a contrarie religion, neuer charged with capitall crime.

There were also and yet be a great number of others, being laie men of god possessions and lands, men of god credit in their countries, manifestlie of late time seduced to hold contrarie opinions in religion for the popes authoritie: and yet none of them haue bene sought hitherto to be impeached in anie point or quarrell of treason, or of losse of life, member or inheritance. So as it may plainelie appeare, that it is not, nor hath bene for contrarious opinions in religion, or for the popes authoritie alone, as the aduersaries do boldlie and falslie publish, that anie persons haue suffered death since hir maiesties reigne. And yet some of these sort are well knowne to hold opinion, that the pope ought by authoritie of Gods word to be supreme and onelie head of the

catholike church through the whole world, and onelie to rule in all causes ecclesiasticall, and that the queenes maiestie ought not to be the gouernour ouer anie hir subiects in hir realme being persons ecclesiasticall: which opinions are neuertheless in some part by the lawes of the realme punishable in their degrees. And yet for none of these points haue anie persons bene prosecuted with the charge of treason, or in danger of life.

And if then it be inquired, for what cause these others haue of late suffered death, it is trulie to be answered as afoze is often remembred, that none at all were impeached for treason to the danger of their life, but such as did obstinatlie mainteine the contents of the popes bull afoze mentioned; which do import, that hir maiestie is not the lawfull queene of England, the first and highest point of treason: and that all hir subiects are discharged of their othes and obedience; a second high point of treason: and all warranted to disobey hir and hir lawes; a third and a verie large point of treason. And thereto is to be added a fourth point most manifest, in that they would not disallow the popes hostile proceedings in open warres against hir maiestie in hir realme of Ireland, where one of their companie doctor Sanders, a lewd scholer and subiect of England, a fugitiue and a principall companion and conspirator with the traitors and rebels at Rome, was by the popes speciall commission a commander, as in forme of a legat, and sometime a barbor or patenmaster for those wars. Which doctor Sanders in his booke of his church monarchie, did afoze his passing into Ireland openlie by writing, gloriouslie auow the foresaid bull of *Pius Quintus* against hir maiestie, to be lawfull; and affirmeth that by vertue thereof one doctor *Apotton*, an old English fugitiue and conspirator, was sent from Rome into the north parts of England, which was true, to stirre up the first rebellion there, whereof Charles *Jenill* the late earle of *Westmerland* was a head capteine.

And thereby it may manifestlie appere to all men, how this bull was the ground of the rebellions both in England and Ireland, and how for maintenance thereof, and for solving of sedition by warrant and allowance of the same, these persons were iustlie condemned of treason, and lawfullie executed by the ancient lawes tempo:all of the realme, without charging them for anie other matter than for their practices and conspiracies both abroad and at home against the queene and the realme; and for the mainteining of the popes foresaid authoritie and bull, published to depriue hir maiestie of hir crowne, and for withdrawing and reconciling of hir subiects from their naturall allegiance due to hir maiestie and to their countrie, and for mouing them to sedition: and for no other causes or questions of religion were these persons condemned; although true it is, that when they were charged & conuined of these points of conspiracies and treasons, they would still in their answers colourable pretend their actions to haue bene for religion: but in deed and truth they were manifest to be for the procurement and maintenance of the rebellions and wars against hir maiestie and hir realme.

And herein is now the manifest diuersitie to be seene and well considered betwixt the truth of hir maiesties actions, & the falshood of the blasphemous aduersaries: that where the factious partie of the pope the principall author of the innovations of hir maiesties dominions, do falslie allege that a number of persons, whom they terme as martyrs, haue died for defense of the catholike religion; the same in verie truth may manifestlie appere to haue died (if they will haue it) as martyrs for the pope, but yet as traitors

No person charged with capitall crime for the maintenance of the popes supplicat.

Four points of treason. Such condemned onelie for treason, as mainteine the effects of the popes bull against hir maiestie and the realme.

Doctor Sanders mainteines the force of the popes bull.

The persons that suffered death, were condemned for treason & not for religion.

The diuersitie betwixt truth and falshood.

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in guilt of
a rebellion.

toys against their soveraigne and quene in adhering to him, being the notable and onelie open hostile enemie in all actions of warre against hir maiestie, hir kingdomes and people: and that this is the meaning of all these that have so obstinatie maintained the authoritie and contents of this bull, the verie words of the bull doe declare in this sort, as docto Sanders reporteth them.

Pius Quintus pontifex maximus, de apostolica potestate plenitudine, declaravit Elisabetham praetensi regni iure, necnon omne & quoscunque dominis, dignitate, privilegioque priuatum: itaque proceres, subditos & populos dicti regni, ac ceteros omnes qui illi quomodocunque irruerant, a iuramento huiusmodi ac omni fidelitatis debito perpetuo absolutos: That is to saie, Pius Quintus the greatest bishop, of the fulnesse of the apostolike power, declared Elisabeth to be bereaued or depriued of hir pretended right of hir kingdome, and also of all and whatsoeuer dominion, dignitie and priuilege: and also the nobles, subditos and people of the said kingdome, and all others which had sworne to hir anie manner of waies, to be absolved for euer from such oath, and from all debt or dutie of fealtie, &c: with manie threatening curfings, to all that durst obeie hir or hir lawes. As for execution hereof, to proue, that the effect of the popes bull and message was a flat rebellion, it is not amisse to heare what the same docto Sanders the popes firebrand in Ireland also writeth in his visible church monarchie, which is thus.

Docto Sanders
thus saith
ambassage
come to fire
the rebellion
in the north.

Pius Quintus pontifex maximus Anno Domini 1569 commendans presbyterum Nicolaum Mortonum Anglum in Angliam missi, ut certis illustribus viris auctoritate apostolica denuntiaret, Elisabetham quae tunc rerum potiebatur, haereticam esse: ob eamque causam, omni dominio & potestate excludi, immoque ab illa velut ethnicam haberi posse, nec eam illius legibus aut mandatis deinceps obedire cogi: That is to saie, Pius Quintus the greatest bishop, in the yeare of our Lord 1569, sent the reuerend priest Nicholas Morton an Englishman into England, that he should denounce or declare by the apostolike authoritie to certaine noblemen, Elisabeth, who then was in possession, to be an heretike: & for that cause, to haue fallen from all dominion and power, and that she may be had or reputed of them as an ethnike, and that they are not to be compelled to obeie hir lawes or commandements, &c. Thus pouce an ambassage of rebellion from the popes holiness, the ambassado, an old dotting English priest, a fugitive and conspirator, sent as he saith to some noble men, and these were the two earles of Shorthum, Berkeley and Westmerland, heads of the rebellion. And after this, he followeth to declare the successe thereof, which I dare saie he was forie it was to euill, with these words.

Qui demeritatione multi nobiles viri adducti sunt, ut de futuris liberandis cogitare auderent, ac sperabant illi quidem catholicos minus summi viribus affuturos esse: Verum est aliter quam illi expectabant res euenit, quia catholici omnes nobilium probi conuerterant, Elisabetham haereticam esse declarati, tamen laudanda illorum nobilium consilia erant: That is to say which demeritation, manie noblemen were induced or led, that they were boldened to thinke of the freeing of their brethren, and they hoped certeinlie that all the catholikes would haue assisted them with all their strength: but although the matter happened otherwise than they hoped for, because all the catholikes knew not that Elisabeth was declared to be an heretike, yet the counsels and intents of those noblemen were to be praised. A rebellion and a banefitting of rebels verie monstrous described.

This noble fact here mentioned was the rebellion in the north: the noblemen were the earles of Shor-

thumbarland and Westmerland: the lache of the content or successe was, that the traitors were banquished, and the quenes maiestie and hir subiects had by Gods ordinance the victorie: and the cause why the rebels prevailed not, was because all the catholikes had not bene duly informed that the quenes maiestie was declared to be as they terme it) an heretike: which want of information, to the intent to make the rebels mightier in number and power, was diligentlie and cunninglie supplied by the sending into the realme of a great multitude of the seminaries and Jesuits, whose speciall charge was to informe the people thereof, as by their actions hath manifestlie appeared. A supplement to amend the former error.

And though docto Sanders hath thus written, yet it may be said by such as favoured the two notable Jesuits, one named Robert Persons (who yet heareth himselfe in corners to continue his traitorous practise) the other named Edmund Campion (who was found out being disguised like a roister and suffered for his treasons, that docto Sanders treason is his proper treason in allowing of the said bull, and not to be imputed to Persons and Campion. Therefore to make it plaine that these two by speciall authoritie had charge to execute the sentence of this bull, these acts in writing following shall make manifest, which are not fained or imagined, but are the verie writings taken about one of their complices, euen immediatlie after Campions death: although Campion before his death would not be knownen of anie such matter. Whereby may appeere that trust is to be giuen to the wordes of such pious domartyes.

Persons and
Campion are
offenders as
docto Sanders
is, for al-
lowance of the
bull.

Facultates concessae pp. Roberto Personio &
Edmundo Campiano, pro Anglia,
die 14 Aprilis, 1580.

Petatur a summo domino nostro explicatio bullae declaratoriae per Pium Quintum contra Elisabetham & ea adherentes, quam catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, ut obliget semper illon & haereticos, catholicos vero nullo modo obliget rebus sistantibus, sed tum demum quando publica eiusdem bullae executio fieri poterit. Then followed manie other petitions of faculties for their further authorities, which are not needfull for this purpose to be recited: but in the end followeth this sentence as an answer of the popes. *Hae praedictae gratiae concessae summo pontifici patri Roberto Personio, & Edmundo Campiano in Angliam profecturi, die 14 Aprilis, 1580. Praesente patre Oliverio Manarca assistente. The English of which Latine sentences is as followeth.*

Faculties granted to the two fathers Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, for England, the fourteenth daie of Aprill, 1580.

Let it be asked or required of our most holie lord, the explication or meaning of the bull declaratorie made by Pius the fifth against Elisabeth, & such as do adhere or obeie hir, which bull the catholikes desire to be understood in this manner: that the same bull shal alwaies bind hir and the heretikes; but the catholikes it shall by no means bind, as matters of things doe now stand or be: but hereafter, when the publike execution of that bull may be had or made. Then in the end the conclusion was thus added. The highest pontiffe or bishop granted these foresaid graces to father Robert Persons & Edmund Campion, who are now to take their iournies into England, the 14 daie of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and eightie. Being present the father Oliverius Manarke assistant.

Faculties
granted to
Persons and
Campion by
pope Grego-
rie the thir-
teenth Anno
1580.

By what an-
theistic Cam-
pion came in
to England.

pppppp.

hereby

Hereby it is manifest, what authoritie Campion had to impart the contents of the bull against the queens maiestie, howsoever he himselfe denied the same: for this was his errand.

And though it be manifest that these two Jesuits, Parsons and Campion, not onelie required to haue the popes mind declared for the bull; but also in their owne petitions shewed how they and other catholikes did desire to haue the said bull to be vnderstood against the queene of England: yet to make the matter more plaine how all other Jesuits and seminaries; yea how all papists naming themselves catholikes, doe or are warranted to interpret the said bull against hir maiestie and hir good subiects, howsoever they will disguise it, you shall see what one of their fellowes, named Hart, who was condemned with Campion and yet liueth, did amongst manie other things declare his knowledge thereof the last daie of December in the same yeare one thousand five hundred and eightie, in these words following. The bull of *Pius Quintus* (for so much as it is against the queene) is holden amongst the English catholikes for a lawfull sentence, and a sufficient discharge of hir subiects fidelitie, and so remaineth in force: but in some points touching the subiects, it is altered by the present pope. For where in that bull all hir subiects are commanded not to obeie hir, and she being excommunicate and deposed, all that doe obeie hir are likewise innodate and accursed, which point is perillous to the catholikes: for if they obeie hir, they be in the popes curse, and if they disobeie hir, they are in the queenes danger: therefore the present pope to releue them hath altered that part of the bull, and disperised with them to obeie and serue hir, without perill of excommunication: which dispensation is to endure but till it please the pope other wise to determine.

Harts confession of the interpretation of the bull of *Pius Quintus*.

A conclusion that all the infamous books against the queene and the realme, are false.

Difference of the small numbers that haue bene executed in the space of five and twentie yeares, from the great numbers in five yeares of queene Maries reigne.

Wherefore to make some conclusion of the matters before mentioned, all persons both within the realme and abroad, maie plainelie perceiue that all the infamous libels lately published abroad in sundrie languages, and the slanderous reports made in other princes courts of a multitude of persons, to haue bene of late put to torments and death onelie for profession of the catholike religion, and not for matters of state against the queenes maiestie, are false and shamelesse, and published to the maintenance of traitors and rebels. And to make the matter some more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular names of all the persons, which by their owne catalog exceed not for these five and twentie yeares space, above the number of three score, forgetting or rather with their stonie and senselesse hearts not regarding, in what cruell sort in the time of queene Marie, which little exceeded the space of five yeares, the queenes maiesties reigne beinge five times as manie, there were by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children, almost the number of foure hundred, besides such as were secretly murdered in prisons: and of that number, above twentie that had bene archbishops, bishops, and principall prelates or officers in the church lamentable destroyed; and of women about three score, and of children about forty, and one, out of whose bodie the child by fire was expelled alive, and yet also cruellie burned: examples beyond all beathen recelie.

And most of the youth that then suffered cruell death, both men, women, and children (which is to be noted) were such, as had neuer by the sacrament of baptism, or by confirmation, professed, or was ener taught or instructed, or ener had heard of anie

other kind of religion, but onelie of that which by their blood and death in the fire they did as true martyrs testifie. A matter of an other sort to be lamented in a christian charitie with simplicitie of words, and not with puffed eloquence, than the execution in this time of a verie few traitors; who also in their time, if they exceeded thirtie yeares of age, had in their baptism professed, and in their youth had learned the same religion which they now so bitterlie oppugned. And besides that, in their opinions they differ much from the martyrs of queene Maries time: for though they which suffered in queene Maries time continued in the profession of the religion wherein they were christened, and as they were perpetuallie taught; yet they neuer at their death denied their lawfull queene, nor maintained anie of hir open and foren enemies, nor anie procured rebellion or ciuill warre, nor did sow anie sedition in secret corners, nor withdrew anie subiects from their obedience, as these twoque seruants of the pope haue continuallie done.

And therefore all these things well considered, there is no doubt, but all good subiects within the realme doe manifestlie see, and all waivering persons (not being led cleane out of the waie by the seditions) will hereafter perceiue, how they haue bene abused to go astray. And all strangers, but speciallie all christian potentats, as emperours, kings, princes, and such like, hauing their sovereigne estates, either in succession hereditarie, or by consent of their people, being acquainted with the verie truth of these hir maiesties late lust and necessarie actions, onelie for defense of hir selfe, hir crowne, and people, against open inuadours, and for eschewing of ciuill warres, stirred up by rebellion, will allow in their owne like cases, for a trust and rule (as it is not to be doubted but they will) that it belongeth not vnto a bishop of Rome as successour of saint Peter, and therein a pastor spirituall, or if he were the bishop of all christendome; as by the name of pope he claimeth, first by his bulles or excommunications, in this sort at his will in fauour of traitors and rebels, to depose anie sovereigne princes, being lawfullie inuessed in their crownes by succession in blood, or by lawfull election; and then to arme subiects against their naturall lords, to make warres, and to dispense with them for their oaths in so doing, or to excommunicat faithfull subiects for obeying of their naturall princes, & lastlie himselfe to make open warre, with his owne souldiers, against princes meaning no force against him.

For if these high tragicall powers should be permitted to him to exercise, then should no empire, no kingdome, no countrie, no citie or towne be possessed by anie lawfull title, longer than one such onelie an earthlie man, sitting (as he saith) in saint Peters chaire at Rome, should for his will and appetite (without warrant from God or man) thinke meet and determine: an authoritie neuer chalenged by the Lord of lords the sonne of God, Jesus Christ our onelie Lord and saviour, and the onelie head of his church, whilst he was in his humanitie vpon the earth; nor yet deliuered by anie writing or certeine tradition from saint Peter, from whome the pope pretendeth to deriue all his authoritie; nor yet from saint Paule the apostle of the gentils: but contrariwise by all preachings, precepts and writings, contained in the gospel and other scriptures of the apostles, obedience is prescribed commanded vnto all earthlie princes; yea, enen vnto kings by especiall name, and that so generallie, as no person is excepted from such

An advertisement vnto all princes of countreys abroad.

The authoritie proclaimed by the pope, not warranted by Christ, or by the two apostles Peter and Paule.

due of obedience, as by the sentence of saint Paul euen to the Romans, appeareth, *omnis anima sublimibus potestatibus sit subdita*, that is, Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers: within the compasse of which law or precept, saint Chrysostome being bishop of Constantinople writeth, that such apostles, prophets, euangelists, and monks are comprehended.

And for proofe of saint Peters mind herein, from thence these popes claime their authoritie, it can not be plainelie exprest, than when he writeth thus, *Proinde subiecti estote cuiuslibet auctoritati, propter Dominum, siue regi, siue qui supereminet, siue presulibus ab eo missis*, that is, Therefore be you subiect to euery humane ordinance or creature for the Lords sake, whether it be to the king, as to him that is supereminent, or above the rest, or to his presidents sent by him. By which two principall apostles of Christ, these popes the pretended successors, but chiefe by that which Christ the sonne of God the onelie maister of truth said to Peter and his fellow apostles, *Reges gentium dominantur, vos autem non sic*, that is, The kings of the gentils haue rule ouer them, but you not so, maie learne to forsake their arrogant and tyrannous authorities in earthlie and temporall causes ouer kings and princes, and exercise their pastozall office: as saint Peter was charged thise at one time by his Lord and maister, *Pasce oues meas*, Feed my shepe, and peremptorie forbidden to vse a sword, in sauing to him, *Certe gladium tuum in scutum tuum*, or *Mitte gladium tuum in uaginam*, that is, Turne thy sword into his place: or, Put thy sword into the scabbard.

All which precepts of Christ and his apostles were duly followed and obserued manie hundred yeares after their death, by the faithfull and goodly bishops of Rome, that duly followed the doctrine and humilitie of the apostles, and the doctrine of Christ, and were holie martyrs, and thereby dilated the limits of Christs church and the faith more in the compasse of an hundred yeares, than the latter popes haue done with their swords and curses these five hundred yeares, and so continued until the time of one pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregorie the seuenth, about the yeare of our Lord, one thousand three score and fourtene; who first began to vsurpe that kind of tyrannie, which of late the late pope called *Pius Quintus*, and since that time Gregorie now the thirtieth hath followed, for some example as it seemeth: that is, where Gregorie the seuenth, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three score and fourtene, or thereabout, presumed to depose Henrie the fourth, a noble emperor then being; Gregorie the thirtieth now at this time, would attempt the like against king Henrie the eighth daughter and heire queene Elisabeth, a souereigne, and a maiden queene, holding hir crowne immediatlie of God.

And to the end it may appeare to princes, or to their good counsellors in one example, what was the fortunat successe that God gaue to this good christian emperor Henrie, against the proud pope Hildebrand, it is to be noted, that when the pope Gregorie attempted to depose this noble emperor Henrie, there was one Rodolph a noble man, by some named the count of Hainfield, that by the popes procurement vsurped the name of the emperor, who was overcome by the said Henrie the lawfull emperor, and in fight hauing lost his right hand, he, the said Rodolph, lamented his case to certeine bishops, who in the popes name had erected him up, and to them he said, that the selfe same right hand which he had lost, was the same hand wherewith he had before sworne obedience to his lord and maister the emperor Henrie; and that in following their vngodlie

counsels, he had brought vpon him Gods heauie and iust iudgements. And so Henrie the emperor, preuailling by Gods power, caused Gregorie the pope by a synod in Italie to be deposed, as in like times before him his predecessor who the emperor had deposed one pope John for manie heinous crimes: & so were also within a short time three other popes, namelie, Syluester, Bennet, and Gregorie the first, vsed by the emperor Henrie the third, about the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fortye and seuen, for their like presumptuous attempts in temporall actions against the said emperor.

Manie other examples might be shewed to the emperors maiestie, and the prince of the holie empire now being, after the tyme of Henrie the fourth: as of Henrie the first, and Frederike the first, and Frederike the second, and then of Lewis of Bavar, all emperors, cristlie and tyrannous persecuted by the popes, and by their bulls, curses, and by open wars, and likewise to manie other the great kings and monarchs of christendome, of their noble progenitors, kings of their severall dominions. Wherby they may see how this kind of tyrannous authoritie in popes to make warres vpon emperors & kings, and to command them to be depriued, toke hold at the first by pope Hildebrand, though the same neuer had ante lawfull example or warrant from the lawes of God of the old or new testament: but yet the successe of their tyrannies were by Gods goodness for the most part made frustrat, as by Gods goodness there is no doubt, but the like will followe to these confusions at all times to come.

And therefore, as there is no doubt, but the like violent tyrannous proceedings by anye pope in maintenance of traitors and rebels, would be withstood by euery souereigne prince in christendome in defence of their persons and crownes, and maintenance of their subiects in peace: so is there at this present a like iust cause that the emperors maiestie, with the princes of the holie empire, and all other souereigne kings & princes in christendome, should iudge the same to be lawfull for hir maiestie being a queene, and holding the vertie place of a king and a prince souereigne ouer diuers kingdoms and nations; the being also most lawfullie inacted in hir crowne: and as for good governing of hir people, with such applause and generall allowance, loved, and obeyed of them; sauing a few ragged traitors, or rebels, or persons discontented, whereof no other realme is free, as continuallie for these five & thientie yeares past hath bene notable sene, and so publickly marked, even by strangers repairing into this realme, as it were no cause of disgrace to anye monarchy and king in christendome, to haue hir maiesties felicitie compared with anye of theirs whatsoever: and it maie be, there are manie kings and princes could be well contented with the fruition of some proportion of hir felicitie.

And though the popes be now suffered by the emperor, in the lands of his owne peculiar patrimonie, and by the two great monarchs, the French king and the king of Spaine, in their dominions and territories (although by manie other kings not so allowed) to continue his authoritie in sundrie cases, and his glorious title to be the vniuersall bishop of the world, which title Gregorie the great about nine hundred yeares past, called a prophane title, full of sacrilege, and a preamble of antichrist: yet in all their dominions & kingdoms, as also in the realme of England, most notable by manie ancient lawes it is well knowne, how manie waies the tyrannous power of this his excessive authoritie hath bene, and still is restrained, checked and limited by lawes and pragmatikes, both ancient and new, both in France

Pope Gregorie the fourth deposed by Henrie the fourth.

Henrie the first.
Frederike the first.
Frederike the second.
Lewis of Bavar, emperor.

Whatsoever is lawfull for other princes, is lawfull for the queene and crowne of England.

The title of vniuersall bishop is a preamble of antichrist.

Pope Hildebrand the first that made warre against the emperor.

An. Do. 1574.
The iudge-ment of God against the pope false erected emperor.

and Spaine and other dominions : a verie large field for the lawyers of those countries to walke in and discourse.

And howsoever the popes canonists, being as his bombardiers, do make his excommunications and curses appeare fearefull to the multitude and simple people: yet all great emperors and kings sometime, in their owne cases, of their rights and of all preeminences, though the same concerned but a citie or a poze towne, and sometime but the not allowance of some unworthie person to a bishopricke or to an abbete, never restrained to despise all popes curses or forces; but attempted alwaies, either by their swordes to compell them to desist from their furious actions, or without any feare of themselves, in boote, soule, or conscience, stoutlie to withstand their curses, and that sometime by force, sometime by ordinances and lawes: the ancient histories thereof are too many to be repeated, and of none more frequent and effectfull than of the kings of France. And in the records of England doth appeare, how stoutlie the kings & the baronage of England from age to age, by extreme penall lawes have repelled the popes usurpations, as with the verie name of preeminences his proctors haue bene terrified, and his cleargie haue quaked, as of late cardinall Wolseye did proue.

1527
Rome sacked,
and the pope
Clement take
prisoner by
the emperors
armie.

1550
King Henrie
the second of
France his
courts against
the pope and
his courts of
Rome.
The besie-
ging of Rome
and the pope
by the duke
of Alva and
king Philips
armie.

Queene Ma-
rie and cardi-
nall Pole re-
sisted the pope.

But leaving those that are ancient, we may remember how in this our owne present or late age, it hath bene manifestlie seene, how the armie of the late noble emperor Charles the fifth, father to king Philip that now reigneth, was not afraid of his curses, when in the yeare of our Lord 1527, Rome it selfe was besieged and sacked, and the pope then called Clement, and his cardinals, to the number of about thirtie and thre, in his mount Adrian or castell S. Angelo, taken prisoners and detained seauen moneths or more, and after ransomed by Don Vgo di Moncada a Spaniard, and the marquesse of Guasto, at about foure hundred thousand ducquets, besides the ransomes of the cardinals which was much greater; hauing not long before time bene also (notwithstanding his curses) besieged in the same castell by the familie of the Colonies and their sutors his next neighbours being then imperialists, and forced to yeeld to all their demands. Neither did king Henrie the second of France, father to Henrie now king of France, about the yeare 1550, feare or regard the pope or his court of Rome, when he made severall strict edicts against manie parts of the popes claimes in pretence of the crowne and cleargie of France, retracting the authoritie of the court of Rome greatlie to the hinderance of the popes former profits. Neither was the armie of king Philip now of Spaine, whereof the duke of Alva was generall, stricken with any feare of cursing, when it was brought afore Rome against the pope, in the yeare of our Lord 1555, where great destruction was made by the said armie, and all the delicat buildings, gardens, and orchards, next to Rome walles overthrowne, wherewith his holinesse was more terrified than he was able to remoue with any his curses. Neither was queene Marie the queenes maiesties noble late sister, a person not a little deuoted to the Romane religion, so afraid of the popes cursings; but that both she and her whole counsell, and that with the assent of all the iudges of the realme, according to the ancient lawes, in fauour of cardinall Pole her kinsman, did most straitlie forbid the cursing of his bulles, and of a cardinals hat at Calls, that was sent from the pope for one frater Deito, an obseruant pleasant frater, whom the pope had assigned to be a cardinall in disgrace of cardinall Pole: neither did cardinall Pole himselfe at the same time or

beie the popes commandments, nor shewd him selfe afraid, being assisted by the queene, when the pope did threaten him with paine of curses and excommunications; but did still oppose himselfe against the popes commandment, for the said pretended cardinall Deito (who notwithstanding all the threatenings of the pope, was forced to go by and done in the streets of London like a begging frater, without his red hat: a stout resistance in a queene for a poze cardinall, wherein she followed the example of her grandfather king Henrie the seventh, for a matter of Giltum, wherein the king vsed verie great severitie against the pope.

D. Deito a
begging frater.

So as howsoever the christian kings for some respects in pollicie can induce the pope to command there as he hath no disadvantage groweth to them selves, yet for the most part, and the popes are not ignorant, but where they shall in any sort attempt to take from christian princes any part of their dominions, or shall giue aid to their enemies, or to any other their rebels, in those cases, their bulles, their curses, their excommunications, their sentences and most solemn anathematiks, no nor their crose keys, or double edged sword, will serue their turnes to compass their intentions. And now, where the pope hath manifestlie by his bulles and excommunications attempted as much as he could, to depriue his maiestie of his kingdome, to withhold from his the obedience of his subjects, to procure rebellions in his realmes, yea to make both rebellions and open warres with his owne capteines, souldiers, banners, ensignes, and all other things belonging to warre: shall this pope Gregorie or any other pope after him, thinke that a soveraigne queene, possessed of the two realmes of England and Ireland, stablished so many yeares in his kingdome as thre or foure popes haue sit in their chaires at Rome, fortified with so much dutie, loue and strength of his subjects, acknowledging no superiour ouer his realmes, but the mightie hand of God: shall he feare, or be so feare to withstand and make frustrate his unlawfull attempts, either by his sword or by his lawes; or to put his souldiers inuaders of his realme to the sword martialle, or to execute his lawes upon his owne rebellious subjects civille, that are proued to be his chiefe instruments for rebellion, & for his open war? This is sure, that howsoever either he sitting in his chaire with a triple crowne at Rome, or any other his proctors in any part of christendome, shall renews these unlawfull attempts: almightie God the king of kings whom his maiestie onlie honoureth and acknowledgeth to be his onlie soveraigne Lord and protector, whose lawes and gospel of his son Iesus Christ he seeketh to defend, will no doubt but deliuer sufficient power into his maiesties hand his seruant queene Elisabeth, to withstand and confound them all.

The kings of
christendome
never suffer
popes to as-
surge their
titles or
rights,
though they
suffer them to
haue rule ouer
their people.

The queene
of England
may not suffer
the pope by any
means to
make rebellions
in his
realmes.

And where the seditious trumpetors of infamie & lies haue sounded forth and intitled certaine that haue suffered for treason, to be martyrs for religion: so may they also at this time (if they list) ad to their forged catalog the headlesse bodie of the late miserable earle of Desmond, the head of the Irish rebellion: who of late, secretlie wandering without succour, as a miserable begger, was taken by one of the Irish in his caben, and in an Irish sort, after his owne accustomed sauege manner, his head cut off from his bodie: an end due to such an archrebell. And herewith to remember the end of his chiefe confederats, may be noted for example to others, the strange manner of the death of doctor Sanders, the popes Irish legat, who also wandering in the mountains in Ireland without succour, bid raising in a frensie. And before him, one James Fitzmorris the

abolishment
to the popes
martyrdom.

The strange
ends of
James earle
of Desmond,
D. Sanders,
James Fitz-
morris.

the first traitour of Ireland next to Shukeleie the rakehell, a man not unknown in the popes palace for a wicked craftie traitor, was slain at one blow by an Irish noble young gentleman, in defense of his fathers countrie, which the traitor sought to burne. A fourth man of singular note was John of Desmond, brother to the earle, a verie bloudie faithlesse traitor, & a notable murderer of his familiar friends, who also wandring to seeke some preie like a Wolfe in the woods, was taken & beheaded after his owne usage, being (as he thought) sufficientlie armed with the popes buls and certeine *Agnus Dei*, & one notable ring with a pretious stone about his necke sent from the popes finger (as it was said) but these he sawe saved not his life. And such were the fatall ends of all these, being the principall heads of the Irish warre and rebellion, so as no one person remaineth at this date in Ireland a known traitor: a worke of God and not of man.

To this number they may (if they seeke number) also ad a furious young man of Warwickshire, by name Somerville, to increase their kalendar of the popes martyrs, who of late was discovered and taken in his waile, coming with a fall intent to haue killed hir maiestie, whose life God alwaies haue in his custodie. The attempt not denied by the traitor himselfe, but confessed, and that he was moued thereto in his wicked spirit, by insulements of certeine seditious and traitorous persons his kinsmen and allies, & also by often reading of sundrie seditious vile bookes latelie published against hir maiestie, and his end was in desperation to strangle himselfe to death: an example of Gods seueritie against such as presume to offer violence to his anointed. But as God of his godnesse hath of long time hitherto preserved hir maiestie from these and the like treacheries: so hath she no cause to feare, being vnder his protection, she saing with king David in the psalme: *App God is my helper and I will trust in him, he is my protection, and the strength of the power of my salvation.* And for the more comfort of all good subiects against the shadowes of the popes bulles, it is manifest to the world, that from the beginning of hir maiesties reigne, by Gods singular godnesse, hir kingdom hath insoted more vniuersall peace, hir people increased in more numbers, in more strength, and with greater riches, & with lesse sickness, the earth of hir kingdomes hath yielded more fruits, and generally all kind of woollie felicitie hath more abounded since and during the time of the popes thunders, bulles, curses and maledictions, than in anie other long times before, when the popes pardons and blessings came yearelie into the realme: so as his curses and maledictions haue turned backe to himselfe and his fautors, that it may be said to the blessed queene Elisabeth of England and of hir people, as was said in Deuteronomie of Balaam: *The Lord thy God would not heare Balaam, but did turne his maledictions or curses into benedictions or blessings: the reason is, for because thy God loved thee.*

Although these former reasons are sufficient to perswade all kind of reasonable persons to allow of hir maiesties actions, to be good, reasonable, lawfull and necessarie: yet because it may be, that such as haue by frequent reading of false artificiall libels; and by giuing credit to them, vpon a prejudice or foreiudgement afore grounded, by their rated opinions in fauour of the pope, will reasse unsatisfied: therefore as much as may be, to satisfie all persons as farre forth as common reason may warrant, that hir maiesties late action in executing certeine seditious traitors, hath not proceeded for the holding of opinions, either for the popes supremacie, or against hir maiesties regalitie; but for the verie crimes of

sedition and treason: it shall suffice brieflie, in manner of a repetition of the former reasons, to remember these things following.

First, it cannot be denied, but that hir maiestie did for manie yeares suffer quietlie the popes bulles and excommunications without punishment of the fautors thereof, accounting of them but as of words or wind, or of writings in parchment waied downe with lead, or as of water bubbles, commonlie called in Latine *Bulle*, & such like: but yet after some proofe that courage was taken therof by some bold and bad subiects, she could not but then esteeme them to be verie preambles, or as forerunners of greater danger; and therefore, with what reason could anie mislike, that hir maiestie did for a bare defense against them, without other action or force, use the helpe of reuening of former lawes, to prohibit the publication or execution of such kind of bulles within hir realme?

Secondlie, when notwithstanding the prohibition by hir lawes, the same bulles were plentifulle (but in secret sort) brought into the realme, and at length arrogantly set vpon the gates of the bishop of Londons palace nere to the cathedrall church of Pauls, the principall citie of the realme, by a lewd person, vsing the same like a herald sent from the pope: who can in anie common reason mislike, that hir maiestie finding this kind of denunciation of warre, as a defiance to be made in hir principall citie by one of hir subiects, aduising and obstinatie mainteining the same, should according to iustice cause the offender to haue the reward due to such a fact: And this was the first action of anie capitall punishment inflicted for matter sent from Rome to moue rebellion, which was after hir maiestie had reigned about the space of twelue yeares or more: a time sufficient to proue hir maiesties patience.

Thirdlie, when the pope had risen vp out of his chaire in his wrath, from words and writings to actions, and had contrarie to the aduise given by saint Barnard to one of his predecessors, that is, when by his messages he left *Verbum*, and took *Ferrum*, that is, left to sed by the word, which was his office, and began to strike with the sword which was forbidden him, and stirred hir noblemen and people directlie to disobedience and to open rebellion, which was the offence of Nathan and Abiram, and that hir lewd subiects by his commandement had executed the same with all the forces which they could make or bring into the field: who with common reason can disallow that hir maiestie bled hir roiall lawfull authoritie, and by hir forces lawfull subdued rebels forces vnlawfull, and punished the authors thereof no otherwise than the pope himselfe doeth to do with his owne rebellious subiects, in the patrimonie of his church, as not manie moneths passed he had bene forced to intend: And if anie prince of people in the world would otherwise neglect his office, and suffer his rebels to haue their wills; none ought to pittie him, if for want of resistance and courage he lost both his crowne, his head, his life, and his kingdom.

Fourthlie, when hir maiestie beheld a further increase of the popes malice, notwithstanding that the first rebellion was in hir north parts banquished, in that he interteined abroad out of this realme, the traitors and rebels that fled from the rebellion, and all the rabble of other the fugitiues of the realme, & that he sent a number of the same in sorts disguised into both the realmes of England and Ireland, who there secretlie allured hir people to new rebellions, and at the same time spared not his charges to send also out of Italie by sea, certeine ships with capteines of his owne, with their bands of soldiers, furnished with treasure, munition, bittels, ensignes, banners, and

Reasons to perswade by reason the fauourers of the pope, that none hath bene executed for rebellion but for treason. The first reason.

The second reason.

The bull of Pius Quintus set up at Pauls.

The first punishment for the bull.

The third reason.

Rebellion in the north.

The fourth reason.

The invasion of Ireland by the pope.

Deito a
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kinge of
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ir people.

he quene
England
ay not suffer
e pope by a
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ns in hir
realme.

The popes
me of Eng
land, during
the popes
curles.

Additaments
to the popes
martyrologe.

The strange
ends of
James earle
of Desmond,
D. Shandels,
James Fitz
morris.

and all other things requisite to the warre, into his realme of Ireland, where the same forces with other auxilliar companies out of Spaine landed, and fortified themselves verie strongly on the sea side, and proclaimed open warre, erecting the popes banner against his maiestie: may it be now asked of these persons, fauourers of the Romish authoritie, what in reason should haue bene done by his maiestie otherwise, than first to apprehend all such fugitives so fallen into the realme, and dispersed in disguising habits to sow sedition, as some priests in their secret profession, but all in their apparell as rusticks or rustians, some scholars, like to the basest common people, and them to commit to prisons; and upon their examinations of their trades and habits, to conuince them of their conspiracies abroad, by testimony of their owne companions, and of sowing sedition secretly at home in the realme: What may be reasonable thought was meet to be done with such seditious persons, but by the lawes of the realme to trie, condemn and execute them: And speciallie hauing regard to the dangerous time, when the popes forces were in the realme of Ireland, and moze in preparation to follow as well into England as into Ireland, to the resistance whereof his maiestie and his realme was forced to be at greater charges, than euer he had bene since he was quene thereof. And so by Gods power, which he gaue to him on the one part, he did by his lawes suppress the seditious stirrers of rebellion in his realme of England, and by his sword banquished all the popes forces in his realme of Ireland, excepting certeine capitaines of marke that were saved from the sword, as persons that did renounce their quarrell, and seemed to curse or to blame such as sent them to so vnfortunate and desperate a voyage.

The popes
forces banquished
in Ire-
land.

The poitthe
aduersaries
satisfied.

Objection of
the papists,
that the per-
sons executed,
are but scho-
lers and dis-
armed.

But though these reasons, grounded vpon rules of naturall reason, shall satisfie a great number of the aduersaries (who will yeeld that by godd order of ciuill and christian policie and gouernement his maiestie could not can doe no lesse than the hath done), first to subdue with his forces his rebels and traitors, and next by order of his lawes to correct the aiders & abettors, & lastlie to put also to the sword such forces as the pope sent into his dominions) yet there are certeine other persons, more nicelie addicted to the pope, that will yet seeme to be unsatisfied: for that, as they will tearme the matter, a number of stille pore wretches were put to death as traitors, being but in profession scholars or priests, by the names of seminaries, Jesuits, or simple scholemasters, that came not into the realme with any armour or weapon, by force to aid the rebels and traitors, either in England or in Ireland in their rebellions or wars; of which sort of wretches the commiseration is made, as though for their contrarie opinions in religion, or for teaching of the people to disobey the lawes of the realme, they might haue bene otherwise punished and corrected, but yet not with capitall paine. These kinds of defenses tend onelie to find fault rather with the severity of their punishments, than to acquit them as innocents or quiet subiects.

But for answer to the better satisfaction of these nice and scrupulous fauourers of traitors, it must be with reason demanded of them (if at least they will open their eares to reason) whether they thinke that when a king being established in his realme, hath a rebellion first secretly practised, and afterward openly raised in his realme by his owne seditious subiects; and when by a forein potentate or enimie the same rebellion is maintained, and the rebels by messages and promises comforted to continue, and their treasons against their naturall prince anowed; and consequentlie when the same potentat and en-

mie, being author of the said rebellion, shall with his owne proper forces invade the realme and subiects of the prince that is so lawfull and peaceable possessor: in these cases, shall no subiect fauouring these rebels, and yeelding obedience to the enimie the intruder, be committed or punished as a traitor; but onelie such of them, as shall be found openlie to carrie armour and weapon: Shall no subiect, that is a spiall and an explozer for the rebel or enimie against his naturall prince, be taken and punished as a traitor, because he is not found with armour or weapon; but yet is taken in his disguised apparell, with scrolles and writings, or other manifest tokens, to proue him a spie for traitors, after he hath wandered secretly in his souereignes campe, region, court, or citie: Shall no subiect be counted a traitor, that will secretly giue earnest and profit monie to persons to be rebels or enimies, or that will attempt to poison the vittels, or the founteins; or secretly set on fire the ships or munition, or that will secretly search and sound the hauens and cracks for landing, or measure the depth of ditches, or height of bulwarks and walles, because these offenders are not found with armour or weapon: The answer I thinke must needs be yeilded (if reason and experience shall haue rule with these aduersaries) that all these and such like are to be punished as traitors: and the principall reason is, because it can not be denied, but that the actions of all these are necessarie accessaries, and adherents proper to further and continue all rebellions and warres. But if they will denie, that none are traitors that are not armed, they will make Judas no traitor, that came to Christ without armour, colouring his treason with a kisse.

Now therefore it resteth to applie the facts of these late malefactors that are pretended to haue offended but as scholars, or bookemen; or at the most but as persons that onelie in words and doctrine, and not with armour did fauour and helpe the rebels and the enimies. For which purpose let these persons be termed as they list, scholars, scholemasters, bookemen, seminaries, priests, Jesuits, friers, beaumen, Romanists, pardoners, or what else you will; neither their titles, nor their apparell hath made them traitors, but their traitorous secret motions & practises: their persons haue not made the warre, but their directions and counsels haue set by the rebellions. It is trulie to be pondered, that the verie causes small of these rebellions and warres, haue bene to depose his maiestie from his crowne: the popes bull hath roared it so to be. The causes instrumentall are these kind of seminaries and sediments of sedition: their secret teachings and reconciliations haue confirmed it. The fruits and effects thereof are by rebellion to shed the blood of all his faithful subiects: the rewards of the intruders (if they could preuaile) should be the disinheritting of all the nobilitie, the clergie, and the whole communaltie, that should (as they are bound by the lawes of God, by their birth, and othes) defend their naturall grations quene, their native countrie, their wiues, their children, their familie, and their houses.

And now examine these which you call unarmed scholars and priests, wherefore they first fled out of the realme, why they liued and were conuerfant in companie of the principall rebels and traitors at Rome, and in their places, where it is proued that they were partakers of their conspiracies: Let it be answered why they came thus by stealth into the realme: Why they haue wandered by & downe in corners in disguised sort, changing their titles, names and manner of apparell: Why they haue intreated and sought to persuade by their secret false reasons, the people to allow and belue all the actions

Shir
ons t
traite
scholl

The applica-
tion of the
scholasticall
traitors, to
others, that
are traitors
without ar-
mour.

The
boys
for re-
not fi-
gion.

are
the
bible
more
now

the
office
of the
queen
was
to
be
the
same
as
the
king's

applicat
of the
scripture
to
the
state
of the
kingdome

The
office
of the
queen
was
to
be
the
same
as
the
king's

and attempts whatsoever the pope hath done, or shall
do, to be lawfull? Why they haue reconciled and
indifferented so manie people in conuers from the
lawes of the realme to the obedience of the pope, a
forerune potentate and open enimie, whom they
haue to haue already declared the queene to be no
lawfull queene, to haue maintained the knownde re-
bels and traitors, to haue increased hir maiesties do-
minions with open warre? Examine further, how
these vagabond disguised vnarmed spies haue answer-
ed, when they were taken and demanded what they
thought of the bull of pope *Pius Quintus*, which was
published to depriue the queenes maiestie, and to
warrant hir subjects to disobey hir: whether they
thought that all subjects ought to obey the same bull,
and so to rebell? Secondly, whether they thought
hir maiestie to be lawfull queene of the realme, not-
withstanding the said bull, or anie other bull of the
pope? Thirdlie, whether the pope might giue such li-
cence as he did to the earls of Northumberland and
Westmerland, and other hir maiesties subjects to
rebell as they did? Or giue power to doctor Sanders
a naturall borne scholer, but an vnaturall booke
priest, to take armes and moue warres as he did in
Ireland? Fourthlie, whether the pope may discharge
the subjects of hir maiestie, or of anie other princes
christened, of their othes of obedience? Fifthlie, whe-
ther the said traitorous priest doctor Sanders or one
Whitlow a rebellious fugitive, did in their bookes
write trauel or fallacie, in approuing the said bull of
Pius Quintus, and the contents thereof? Lastlie, what
were to be done, if the pope or anie other assigned by
him, should invade the realme of England, and what
part they would take, or what part anie faithfull sub-
jects of hir maiesties ought to take? So these few
questions were apt to trie the truth or fallshood of any
such seditious persons, being iustlie before condem-
ned for their disloyaltie, these lewd vnarmed traitors
I say would in no wise answer direalie herto, as all
other faithfull subjects to anie christian prince ought
to do.

And as they by refusall to answer direalie to these
questions onlie, might haue bene iustlie conuicted
as guilty of treason: so yet were they not thereupon
condemned, but upon all their other former actions
committed both abroad & in the realme, which were no
lesse traitorous than the actions of all other the spies
and traitors, and of Judas himselfe afore remem-
bered, which had no armes nor weapon, and yet at all
times ought to be aduinged traitors. For these dis-
guised persons (called scholers or priests) hauing
bene first conuict of long time with the traitors
beyond the sea in all their conspiracies, came hither
by stealth in time of war and rebellion by comman-
dement of the capitall enimie the pope or his legats,
to be secret espials and esploers in the realme for the
pope, to deliuer by secret, Romish tokens, as it were
an earnest or preft, to them that should be in readi-
nes to come with rebels or open enimies, and in like
sort with their halloved baggages from Rome to
poison the senses of the subjects, poisoning into their
hearts malicious and pestilent opinions against hir
maiestie and the lawes of the realme: and also to
kindle and set on fire the hearts of discontented sub-
jects with the flames of rebellion, & to search & sound
the depths and secrets of all mens inward inten-
tions, either against hir maiestie, or for hir: and fi-
nally, to bring into a headroll, or as it were into a
muster roll, the names and powers with the dwell-
lings of all them that should be ready to rebell, and
so to the further euasion.

These kinds of seditious actions for the seruice of
the pope and the traitors and rebels abroad, haue
made them traitors: not their backs, nor their braves,

nor nor their cakes of loare which they call *Agnes Dei*,
nor other their reliques, nor yet their opinions
for the ceremonies or rites of the church of Rome:
and therefore it is to be certeinly concluded, that
these did iustlie deserue their capitall punishments
as traitors, though they were not apprehended with
open armour or weapon. Now if this latter repe-
tion, as it were of all the former causes and reasons
afore recited, may not serue to stop the boisterous
mouthes, and the pestiferous tongues and venomous
breaths of those that are infected with so grosse er-
rors, as to defend seditious subsidies, stirrers of re-
bellion against their naturall prince and countrie:
then are they to be left without anie further argu-
ment of the almighty God, as persons that haue co-
uered their eyes against the sunnes light, stopped
their eares against the sound of iustice, and op-
pressed their hearts against the force of reason, and
as the psalmist saith: They speake lies, they are as
venomous as the poison of a serpent, even like the
deafe adder that stoppeth his eares.

Therefore with christian charitie to conclude, if
these rebels and traitors, and their factious words yet
take some remorse and compassion of their naturall
countrie, and would consider how vaine their at-
tempts haue bene so manie yeares; and how ma-
nie of their confederats are wasted by miseries and
calamities, and how none of all their attempts or
plots haue prospered, and therefore would desist
from their vnaturall practises abroad: and if these
seminaries, secret wanderers, and exploers in
the darke, would imploye their trauels in the works
of light and doctrine according to the vse of their
scholes, and content themselves with their profes-
sion and deuotion: and that the remnant of the wic-
ked stocke of the seedmen of sedition would cease
from their rebellious, false and infamous railings
and libellings, altogether contrarie to christian cha-
ritie: there is no doubt by Gods grace (hir maiestie
being so much giuen to mercie and deuoted to peace)
but all colour and occasion of shedding the blood of
anie more of hir naturall subjects of this land, yea
all further bodilie punishment should utterly cease.
Against whose malices, if they shall not desist, al-
mighty God continue hir maiestie with his spirit
and power long to reigne and liue in his seate, and
to be able to vanquish them all, being Gods eni-
mies, and especiallie hir rebels and traitors both at
home & abroad, & to mainteine & preserve all hir na-
turall god louing subjects, to the true seruice of the
same almighty God, according to his holie word &
will. Wante other things might be remembered for
defense of other hir maiesties princelie, honorable,
and godlie actions in sundrie other things, wherein
also these and the like seditious railors haue of late
time without all shame, by fained and false libels
sought to discredit hir maiestie & hir gouernement:
but at this time, these former causes and reasons al-
leaged by waie of aduertisements, onlie for main-
tenance of truth, are sufficient to iustifie hir mai-
esties actions to the whole world in the cases remem-
bered. *Magna est veritas, & praevalet*: Great is truth,
and the ouercometh.

On the two and twentieth of Januarie, John
Watson bishop of Winchester deceased at Winc-
ster, and was buried at Winchester on the firste
daie of Februarie; a man he was well taught by the
art which he professed and practised, to esteeme this
life as it is, even transitorie & verie vaine; wherein
as men are the further steep in age, so should they
be the lesse desirous to liue, and take death comming
timelie (which is, when as naturall heate and the moi-
sture radicall are decayed) in such good part, as no
thing

Unreasonable
and obstinate
persons are
left to Gods
iudgement,

Bishop of
Winchester
deceased.

thing more acceptable. But who thinks his death to come timely; but the godlie wise, who haue learned, that as men haue daies of life decreed, so they haue daies of death determined; according to the tradition, which that famous man Iohannus Camerarius (an excellent man and of singular note) made a little before his departing out of this world:

*Morte nihil tempestiua esse optatim aiunt,
sed tempestiua quis putat esse suam?
Qui putat ille sapit; quoniam ut solatia vita,
sic et quisque sua tempora mortis habet.*

Five executed
for treason.

A. F. ex add.
G. C.

Maister Walter
Kaleigh his biage for
the discouerie
of that land
which lieth
betwene Florida
and Florida.

Philip Amadis,
and Arthur Barlow.

Two savage
men and other
things
brought from
the said land
discouered.

Maister Walter
Kaleigh prepareth for
a second biage
to the said
land late discouered.

Gentlemen
that associated
with Humfreie
Gilbert in his
biage to Florida
remembred
1578.

The biage
hath not
succeeded.

Maister Walter
Kaleigh sailed as far
as Cape de Verde, &c.
and arriveth
in safety at
Plymouth.
Sir Humfreie
Gilbert sent
from his

On the seventh of Februarie were arraigned at Westminster, James Fenne, George Haddocks, John Hunden, John Putter, and Thomas Hounceford: all five were found guiltie of high treason; and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, bowelled, and quartered, and were executed at Tyborne on the twelvedate of Februarie. ¶ In this yeare, 1584, even at the prime of the yeare, namely in April, maister Walter Kaleigh esquier, a gentleman from his infancy brought up and trained in martial discipline, both by land and sea, and well inclined to all vertuous and honorable adventures, having built a ship and a pinelle, set them to the sea, furnished with all provisions necessarie for a long biage, and committed the charge of them to two gentlemen (his owne servants) the one called Philip Amadis, the other Arthur Barlow, with direction to discover that land which lieth betwene Floremberg and Florida in the west Indies; who according to their commission, made as sufficient a discouerie thereof as so short a time would permit: for they returned in August next following, and brought with them two savage men of that countrie, with sundrie other things, that did assure their maister of the goodnesse of the soile, and of great commodities that would arise to the realme of England, by traffique, if that the English had any habitation, and were planted to live there. Whereupon, he immediatly prepared for a second biage, which with all expedition (nothing at all regarding the charges that it would amount unto) did presently set in hand.

This countrie of Floremberg aforesaid (and the land on this side of it) sir Humfreie Gilbert, brother to sir Walter Kaleigh, a man both valiant and well experienced in martiall affaires, did attempt to discover, with intention to settle an English colonie there, in the yeare 1578: having in his companie his two brethren, Walter and Carew Kaleighs, Henrie Knolles, George Carew, William Carew, Edward Dennie, Henrie Powell, Miles Morgan, Francis Knolles, Henrie Poorth, and diuerse other gentlemen of good calling, and ten sailes of all sorts of shipping, well and sufficientlie furnished for such an enterprise, weighed anchor in the west countrie, & set to the sea. But God not fauoring his attempt, the iourneie toke no good successe: for all his ships enforced by some occasion or mischance, made their present returne againe; that onely excepted, where in his brother Walter Kaleigh was capitaine, who being desirous to do somewhat worthy hono^r, toke his course for the west Indies, but for want of victuals and other necessaries (needfull in so long a biage) when he had sailed as far as the Islands of Cape de Verde upon the coast of Africa, was enforced to set saile and returne for England. In this his biage he passed many dangerous adventures, as well by tempests as fights on the sea; but lastlie he arrived safely at Plymouth in the west countrie in Maie next following. Sir Humfreie Gilbert notwithstanding this unfortunate successe of his first attempt, enterprised the said biage the second time, and set to the sea with three ships and pinelles, in the yeare 1584, in the which iourneie he lost his life;

but in what sort no man can tell. For being by force of foule weather separated from his companie, he was neuer heard of after wards.

¶ In this yeare, and the twentieth daie of Maie departed out of this life that famous father of physike and surgerie, the English Hippocrates and Galen, I meane doctor Caldwel, and was buried on the first of June immediatly following at St. Benets church by Pauls tharfe, at the upper end of the chancel: his bodie was verie solemnely accompanied to the church with a traine of learned and grane doctors, besides others of that facultie, the heralds of armes doing him such honour at his funerall as to him of due respect. Of this mans rare loue to his countrie hath bene spoken before, where mention is made of the institution of a surgerie lecture perpetuallie to be continued for the common benefit of London, and consequentlie of all England: the like whereof is not established nor used in any vniuersitie of christendome. (Bononte and Padua excepted) and therefore the more to be esteemed. Anded the like institution was in towwardnesse, whiles Francis the French of that name the first liued: but when he died, as the court that he kept in his time was counted a vniuersitie, but after his death made an exchange thereof with another name: so likewise discontinued or rather utterly brake off that purposed institution of a surgerie lecture at Paris: so that in this point London hath a prerogative exceeding the vniuersities.

This Dr. Caldwell in his last will and testament gaue many great legacies to a great number of his poore kinsfolkes, as also unto others nothing alied unto him. He gaue in his life time two hundred pounds to be lent gratis for ever to the Clothiers in Burton, whereby clothing might be maintained, the poore artificers set on worke, and the poore citizens in Aldersfield also benefited: the corporation of the said towne being bound for the receiving and deliuering thereof euery five yeares to the yongest and poorest occupiers. He gaue great summes of monie to the poore towneships in Staffordshire where he was borne, both towards the relieving of their priuate estate, as also to the repairing of their bridges and amending of their high wates, for the commoditie of all the countrie. He left large summes of monie to be employed by his executors at their discretion, where charitable mooued; as also to the publishing of such learned booke of physike and surgerie (with sundrie chargeable tomes grauen in copper and finished in his life) as he meant (if he had liued) to see extant.

Diuerse good works in his daies he had done, and hath left order to be done after his death: which was verie mild and still, not unlike the decesse of a babe in the cradle; having bene assailed with no extremities of sicknesse (his ordinary infirmities excepted which was intermitting) that either might wing him or wearie him to make him impatient. So that he died as sleeping, having left behind him both credit of learning, cunning, & other good ornaments, the very beautie of his age, which was exactly found by true computation to be threescore and foure years, in which yeare he died; as may be gathered by his counterfet so naturallie conueied into colours, with his white beard, the hollownesse of his cheekes, the twinkles of his eyes, the luelle sight of his eyes, and other accessaries; and all within a moule, the circumference whereof exceedeth not six inches, if it amount to so much in exact measure, as a man beholding the said representation, would thinke that it were not possible for art to draw more nere in imitation to nature. So that this doctor, being in so ripe an age, was committed to holie ground, where he rested in peace, his cote armour bearing witness

Ab. Fl. person
communi
me confina.

The decesse
of Dr. Cald-
well, a physitian
of w^{ch} countie
is former me-
tio^d, pag. 1345.

The court of
Francis the
first a vniuers
situe, pag.
1342.

The discor-
dians of Dr.
Caldwell in
his life time
and his be-
quest after
his death.

This comment
aries upon
some part of
Paulus Aca-
gineta, and
other booke.

This ordina-
rie infirmities
was the col-
licke, which
tormented
him exco-
dingly.

His age and
counterfet
which seemed
to be made
1571, and in
the yeare of
his age 54.

C
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Do

Ch
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to
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murt
hich
the
ci
foile,
deter
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cr
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pauit
in the
plate,
mark
reter
their
and a
armes
said.

From
Chyo
ton and
of hug
son.

The arms
of Caldwell
blazoned.

* The crosse
forme fische
was the cote
of Cabral: as
for the last
king of 1531:
tains in An.
Dom. 630.

These figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, have relation to certain marks, namely the mallet, the triangle, the fleur-de-luce, the hâs, the crescent or ring, and the pail, granen in the copper plate, which marks are referred to their like, in and about the zones above said.

francis
Throckmorton
was arraigned
and condemned
of high trea-
son.

of his anceſſrie : for he beareth azure, a croſſe ſome
fiſhe or, withyn an ſyle of ſtars or : the ſecond argent,
a feſle indented ſable charged with foure leuſes
heads riant ſeſed or : the third as the ſecond, and
fourth as the fiſt quarterlie . Also he beareth to his
creſt on a toſſe or and azure, a cocks head argent,
couped, membered gules ſupporting * a croſſe ſome
fiſhe or, betwene two wings ſable, and mantled
gules doubled argent.

In further memorie of whome (so long as the church wherein he lieth buried doth stand, and the monuments therein blessed from sacrilegious hands) there remaineth fixed in the wall over his grave, a copper plate wherein his said cote armour is workmanlike grauen, with the armes of the physicians college so vnder it, as they are knit vnto it. On either side of this latter scutcheon are set certaine binding bands and other instruments of surgerie in their right formes, with their proper vse also to be practised vpon ech member; be the same hea, leg, arme, hand, or foot: all workmanlike wrought, & vnder the same a memorie shall grauen for wished perpetuities:

Calidius illis iacet hic patriæ studiosus alumnus,
Chirurgi Chiron, Hippocrates Medicus :
Heracles laqueis dum fasciâ membra reuincit,
Galenus prisca laudis et artis amans :
Chirurgi stabilem lecturam condidit, illi
Præfexit Medicos, quos ea turba colat :
Plintheus hinc astat laqueus, Carcæsius, inde
Fasciæque patrum sunt monumenta iusi :
Felix Chirurgus studij non qui tibi talem
Natus es, & felix qui dolet æger erit.

Laquei	{	Plintheus 1
	{	Charchesius 2
Eufcia	{	Totum caput cingens 3
	{	Rhombus 4
Machinamenta	{	Scamnum Hippocratis 5
	{	Glossocomium 6

Ric. Forsterus.

In this yeare of our Lord 1584, on the one and twentieth daie of Maie, Francis Throckmorton Esquier, was arreigned in the Guildhall of the citie of London, where being found guiltie of high treason, he was condemned and had iudgement accordingle, to be drawne, hanged, boweled, and quartered. A discoverie of whose treasons, practised and attempted against the quēns maiestie and the realme, were afterward; to wit, in the moneth of June, published as followeth.

A true and perfect declaration of the
treasons practised and attempted by Francis
Throckemorton, late of London, against
the quenees maiestie and the realme.

Wheras there haue bene verie lewd and
clauderous hutes and reports giuen out,
of the due and oderlie proceedings held
with Francis Throckemorton latelie ar-
raigned & condemned of high treason at the Guild-
hall in London, the one and twentieth daie of Maie
last, whereby such as are euill affected toward hir
maiestie, and the present gouernement, haue inde-
uoured falselie and iniuriously to charge hir maie-
stie and hir faithfull ministers with crueltie and in-
iustice vsed against the said Throckemorton, by ex-
torting from him by torture, such confessions as he
hath made against himselfe, & by insinuating the same
to make them lawfull euidence to convict him of
the treasons therein specified: albeit hir maiesties
iudges in generall, calling to mind the mild and

temperate course she hath held all the time of hir most happie reigne, might rather impute hir clemencie and lenitie bled towards all sorts of offenders to a kind of fault, than tax hir with the contrarie: yet such as allow of praictises and treasons against hir maiestie, doe alwaies interpret both of the one and of the other, according to the particular affections that doe possesse them, that is, to the worst. And forsomuch as the case of Throckmorton at this time hath bene subiect to their sinister constructions; and considering that lies and false brutes cast abroad are most commonlie beloeued, vntill they be controlled by the truth: it hath bene thought expedient in this short discourse to deliuer vnto your view and consideration, a true and perfect declaration of the treasons praictised and attempted by the said Throckmorton against hir maiestie and the realme, by him confessed before his arraignment, whereby hir maiestie was fustle and in reason perswaded to put him to his triall.

You shall likewise perceiue what course hath
 bene held with him by his commissioners to bring
 him to confesse the truth: with what impudencie and
 how falslie he hath denied his sayings and confes-
 sions: and lastlie, how by a new submission and con-
 fession of his said treasons since his condemna-
 tion, he endeauoreth to satisfie his maiestie, and to
 shew the reasons that moued him to denie the first,
 which he affirmeth and confirmeth by the last: which
 30 may in reason satisfie, though not all; yet such as are
 not foreseelable, or rather forepoisoned and infected
 with the lies and vntruths already spread and deliue-
 red in fauour of the traitor: & his treasons. You shall
 therefore vnderstand, that the cause of his apprehen-
 sion grew first vpon secret intelligence giuen to the
 quenes maiestie, that he was a priuie conuener and
 receiuer of letters to and from the Scottish quene:
 vpon which information neuerthelesse diuerse ma-
 ners were suffered to passe on, before he was called
 40 to answer the matter, to the end there might some
 purpose more apparant be had to charge him therewith
 directlie: which shortly after fell out, and there vpon
 there were sent vnto his houses in London, and at
 Leusham in Kent, to search and apprehend him, cer-
 teine gentlemen of no meane credit and reputation:
 of whome, two were sent to his house by Paules
 churche, where he was apprehended, & so by one of them
 conueied presentlie awaie; the other remaining in
 the chamber to make search for papers, writings, &c:
 50 which might alue purpose of his suspected practices.

In that search, there were found the two papers containing the names of certeine catholike noble men and gentlemen, expelling the hauens for landing of forren forces, with other particularities in the said papers mentioned, the one twittin in the secretarie hand (which he at the barre confessed to be his owne handwritting) and the other in the Roman hand, which he denied to be his, and would not shew how the same came vnto his hands: howbeit in his examinations he hath confessed them both to be his owne handwritting: and so they are in truth. There were also found among other of his papers, twelue pedigreees of the descent of the crowns of England, printed and published by the bishop of Ross, in the defense of the pretended title of the Scottish quæne his mistresse: with certeine infamous libels against hir maiestie printed and published beyond the seas: which being found in the hands of a man so euill affected, comparing the same with his doings and practises against hir maiestie, you will iudge the purpose wherefore he kept them.

Shorlie after his apprehension, he was examined
by some of his maiesties p^riuie counsell, how he
came by the said two papers of the haueus : and he
most

But how can
their interpreta-
tions be
sound, whose
judgements
are corrupt?

The premises
 les being all
 sufficient can-
 not but an-
 swer anie cir-
 cumstance
 touching this
 traitor.

The bishop of
Rome an enemi
to the
English state.

colour of
truth to coun-
tenance a ma-
nifest lie.

most impudentlie denied with manie protestations that he neuer saw them, affirming they were none of his, but were soisted in (as he termed it) among his papers by the gentlemen that searched his house. Forwithstanding being more earnestlie pressed to confesse the truth, he said they had bene left (he knew not how) in his chamber by a man of his, who not long before was departed out of the realme, named Edward Rogers, alias Puttebie, by whome they were written. And to make this deuise to carie some colour of truth, after his committing vnto the Tower, he found the meanes to get three cards, on the backside of which cards he wrote to his brother George Throckmorton to this effect. I haue bene examined by whome the two papers, containing the names of certaine noblemen and gentlemen, and of hauens, &c. were written; & I haue alleged them to haue bene written by Edward Puttebie my man, of whose handwritting you know them to be: meaning by this deuise to haue had his brother confirme his falshood.

These cards were intercepted, and thereby the suspicion before conceived of his practises increased. Whereupon, as vpon other iust cause and matter against him, hauing bene sundrie times brought before some of the principall personages of hir maiesties most honourable priuie counsell; and by them with all industrie examined, and perswaded in vertue mild and charitable maner, to confesse the truth, promising to procure pardon for him, in case he would bewaite the depth of his practises: but no persuasion preuailing, hir maiestie thought it agreeable with good policie, and the safetie of hir roiall person and state, to commit him ouer to the hands of some of hir learned counsell and others hir faithfull servants and ministers, with commission to them, to assaie by torture to draw from him the truth of the matters appearing so weightie as to concerne the inuading of the realme, &c. These men by vertue of that commission, proceeded with him, first as the counsell had formerly done by waie of perswasion, to induce him to confesse: but finding that course not to preuaile, they were constrained to commit him to such as are vsuallie appointed in the Tower to handle the racke, by whome he was laied vpon the same, and somewhat pinched, although not much: for at the end of three daies following, he had recovered himselfe, and was in as good plight as before the time of his racking: which if it had then or anie other time bene ministered vnto him with that violence that he and his fauourers haue indenoured slanderouslie to giue out, the signes thereof would haue appeared vpon his lims for manie yeares.

At this first time of torture he would confesse nothing, but continued in his former obstinacie and deniall of the truth. The second time that he was put to the racke, before he was strained by to anie purpose, he yielded to confesse anie thing he knew, in the matters objected against him: whereupon he was loosed. And then the commissioners proceeded with him according to such interrogatories as had bene deliuered vnto them: which for the more breuitie shall here be omitted, the intent of this declaration tending onelie to discover vnto you the treasons and treacherous dealings of the said Francis Throckmorton as well before as since his imprisonment, for your better knowledge of the man, and manifestation of the due and iust proceedings held with him by hir maiesties commissioners appointed vnto that seruice. And here you are to note, that when he was first pressed to discover by whome the plots of the hauens were set downe, and to what purpose; he began (without anie further interrogation ministered) by waie of an historிக்கal narration, to declare that at

The intent of
this declarati-
on what it is.

his being at Spaw in the countrie of Liege certaine yeares past, he entered into conference with one Jennie a notorious knowne traitor, touching the altering of the state of the realme here, and how the same might be attempted by forren inuasion, and to the like effect had sundrie conferences with sir Francis Englefield in the low countries, who daily solicited the Spanissh king in Spaine, and his gouernors in the said countries, to attempt the inuading of the realme, continued a course of practising against hir maiestie & the state, by letters betwene sir Francis Englefield & himselfe, till within these two yeares last past, and that he did from time to time acquaint sir John Throckmorton his late father with his traitorous practises, who (as he said) seeing no probability of successe in them, dissuaded him from anie further meddling with those practises.

He hath further confessed, that he used his fathers aduise & opinion in setting downe the names of the catholike noblemen & gentlemen, and did acquaint him with the description of the hauens for the landing of forces, which he conceived and put in writing onelie by view of the map, & not by particular sight or surueie of the said hauens.

Item, he hath also confessed, that vpon the intermission of writing of letters, and the accustomed intelligences passed betwene sir Francis Englefield and him, he was made acquainted by his brother Thomas Throckmorton, by letters and conference, and by Thomas Morgan by letters (two of the principall confederats and workers of these treasons residing in France) with a resolute determination agreed on by the Scottissh queene and hir confederats in France and in other forren parts, and also in England, for the inuading of the realme.

That the duke of Guise should be the principall leader and executor of that inuasion.

That the pretention (which should be publickly notified) should be to deliuer the Scottissh queene to libertie, & to procure euen by force from the queenes maiestie a tolerance in religion for the pretended catholikes. But the intention (the bottome whereof should not at the first be made knowne to all men) should be vpon the queenes maiesties resistance, to remove hir maiestie from hir crowne and state.

That the duke of Guise had prepared the forces, but there wanted two things, monie, and the assistance of a conuenient partie in England, to ioine with the forren forces; and a third thing, how to set the Scottissh queene at libertie without perill of hir person.

For the first thing wanting, that is, monie: messengers were sent from forren parts both to Rome and Spaine, & their returne daily expected to their liking. And the Spanissh ambassadour to incourage the English to ioine both in purse & person, did giue out, that the king his master would not onlie make some notable attempt against England, but also would beare halfe the charge of the enterpryse. For the second thing, that is, the preparing of a sufficient partie in England, to receiue and to ioine with the forren forces, one especiall messenger was sent ouer into England in August last, vnder a counterfeit name from the confederats in France, to signifie the plat and preparation there, and to solicit the same here.

That Thomas Throckmorton his brother made him priuie to his negotiation at his last being here in England; and that thereupon Francis Throckmorton took vpon him to be a follower and meane for the effectuating thereof among the confederats in England, with the helpe of the Spanissh ambassadour, whome he instructed how and with whome to deale for the preparing of a conuenient partie here

Jennie a no-
torious
knowne tra-
itor, & con-
fesseth
with Throck-
morton.

Sir Francis
Englefield,
Thomas
Throckmorton,
and Thomas
Morgan.

Pretention
of an inuasion
into Eng-
land.

The speciall
meanes want-
ing.

The Spanissh
ambassadours
words tend-
ing to this
inuation.

is a rigo-
is
the trais
oulerie
the blocke
in.

landing pla-
ces for forren
forces about
Arundell in
Sussex.

Francis
Glefield,
one of
the blocke
and the
1570.

retention
an situation
of Eng-
d.

he spectat-
ance wane
d.

he Spanish
ambassadors
by ten-
ing to this
action.

This would
be feared
and therefore
always by
policy pre-
sented.

Throckmor-
ton wrote
diverse letters
to the
the Scottish
queene.

within the realme, for that himselfe would not be
saine to be a founder of men, least he might be disco-
uered, and so indanger himselfe and the enterprise,
knowing that the ambassadour being a publicke per-
son, might safely deale therein without peril.

That the duke of Guise and other heads of the en-
terprise had refused some landing places, and made
speciall choyse of Sussex, and about Arundell in Sus-
sex, both for the more ease to come from the parts of France,
where the duke did or best could assemble his force,
and for the oportunitie of assured persons to giue
assistance, &c.

That he, taking upon him the pursute of this course,
shewed the whole plot and deuise of the haucens for
landing to the Spanish ambassadour, who did incou-
rage him therein; he promising, that if he might haue
respite untill the next spring, the same should be done
more craclie.

That at the time of Thomas Throckmorton's be-
ing here, least the negotiation of the enterprise, by
some casualtie, might faile in the onelie hand of one
man Thomas Throckmorton, there was also from
the confederats sent ouer into Sussex, Charles Pa-
get, vnder the name of Pope alias Spying, and ther-
of an advertisement couertlie sent vnto Thomas
Throckmorton, both that Thomas might under-
stand it, and not be offended that an other was in-
uolued with him in his labour.

That the Spanish ambassadour, by advertisements
from the confederats, was made priuie to this con-
uening of Charles Paget vnder the name of Pope,
and yet knowne to him to be Charles Paget.

That the said ambassadour did, according to his said
advertisements, know & affirme that Charles Pa-
get was come ouer to view the hauens and countrie
for landing of such forren forces about Arundell, and
speciallie to sound and conferre with certaine princi-
pall persons for assistance.

The same ambassadour also knew and affirmed,
that Charles Paget had accordingly done his mes-
sage, and had spoken with some principall persons
here according vnto his commission, and was re-
turned.

He moreover confessed that there was a deuise
betwene the Spanish ambassadour and him, how
such principall recusants here within the realme, as
were in the commission of the peate in sundrie coun-
ties, might vpon the first brate of the landing of for-
ren forces, vnder colour and pretext of their authori-
tie and the defense of hir maiestie, leuie men, whome
they might after ioine to the forren forces, and con-
uert them against hir maiestie.

In these few articles is brieflie comprised the
whole effect of his confession made at large, without
anie interrogatorie particularie ministred, other
than vpon the two papers before mentioned, confes-
sing the names of men and hauens. And here you
are to note, that at the time of his apprehension,
there was no knowledge or doubt had of these trea-
sons, or of his priuie vnto them; but onelie an in-
formation and suspicion deliuered and conceiued of
some practise betwene him and the Scottish queene,
as is before mentioned. For the discovering where-
of, after he had bene sundrie times vpon his allegi-
ance commanded to declare his doings in conuol-
eng and receiuing of letters to and from hir; he did
voluntarie confesse that he had writtten diuerse let-
ters vnto hir, and had conueied manie to and fro, be-
twene hir and Thomas Morgan in France, by
whose meanes he was first made knowne to hir, and
that he had receiued as manie letters from hir. He
also declared the effect of his letters to hir, & of hers
to him: which letters betwene them were alwaies
writtten in cipher, and the cipher with the nullities

and marks for names of princes and counsellors
he sent vnto the queenes maiestie writtten with his
owne hand. He also deliuered the names of some,
by whome he conueied his letters vnto the Scottish
queene; as by one Godfrie Fulgeam, who fled the
realme immediatlie vpon Throckmorton's appre-
hension; and one other person, whome he described
by his stature, shape, and apparell, and the man since
apprehended and examined, hath confessed the same:
the mans name is William Ardington.

The summe and effect of the most part of these
confessions, although they were at the time of his
arrestment opened and dilated by hir maiesties
sergeant, attorneie, and solicitor generall at the bar,
and therefore saime not needfull to be repeated here;
yet because the purpose of this discourse is to shew
sufficient proofe, that the matters contained in his
said confessions, are neither false nor feigned (as
Francis Throckmorton most impudentlie affirmed
at his triall, alledging that they were more inuolun-
taries of himselfe by policie to auoid the torture) they
haue bene here inserted, to the end you may the bet-
ter iudge of the proofes, presumptions, and circum-
stances following, by comparing the matters with
their accidents, and consequentlie for the fallshood
of the traitor, the ill and honorable proceedings of
hir maiestie, and the honest and loiall inducers of hir
ministers impleied in the discovering of the trea-
sons.

First, it is true and not denied by himselfe, that
he was at Spaw about the time by him mentioned,
and had conference with Zennele in that place, and
with sir Francis Englefield in Flanders, and that
he hath writtten letters to sir Francis, and receiued
letters from him: for if he should denie the same,
he were to be conuincied by good proofe: for it hath
bene noted in him by manie of his countrymen,
English subiects, that both in those parts and in
France, he did continually associat himselfe with
English rebels and fugitiues. If then you consider
with whome he hath conuersed beyond the seas, and
compare his religion with theirs, you will iudge of
his conuersation accordingly. And it is to be suppo-
sed, that those men, knowne to be continuall prac-
tisers against the queenes maiestie and this realme,
from whence for their treasons and vnnaturall de-
meanours they are worthilie banished, will not in
their conuenticles and meetings forget to brethinke
them of their banishment, and how they might be
restored to their countrie, wherevnto no desert in hir
maiesties life time (which God long continue) can
well (without hir maiesties great mercie) restore
them.

Then I praye you, what conferences might master
Throckmorton haue with sir Francis Englefield, with
Zennele, with Liggon, with Owen, and with
such like, who were his daileie companions in France
and in the low countries? He hath writtten letters
to sir Francis Englefield. To what purposes? He
haunted continually two ambassadours in London,
by whose meanes he sent and receiued letters to and
from beyond the seas daileie. To whome, and from
whome? Euen to and from Thomas Morgan, and
Thomas Throckmorton at Paris, men knowne
to hir maiestie and hir counsell to be notorious prac-
tisers, verie inward with the duke of Guise, and con-
triuers of the treasons and deuises for the inuasion
intended. And for verie certaine knowledge thereof,
we need not be beholding to Francis Throckmor-
ton onelie (although he hath said much of them) but
to others of better credit than himselfe.

That the duke of Guise did undertake the enter-
prise to invade the realme with a forren power, to be
defraied by the pope and king of Spaine (a part of
the mans name is William Ardington).

Godfrie Ful-
geam was
glad to see
him.

The cause
why Throck-
morton's con-
fessions are
here mentio-
ned.

Throckmor-
ton was at
Spaw, and
clawhere, &c.

This is a
principall
marke where-
at they shott,
and therefore
they cannot
but meditat
vpon the
meanes.

The duke of
Guise has en-
terprise to in-
uade the
realme.

maister Throckemortons confession) and he in truth the first discoverer thereof to his maiestie: if he will say that it was but inuention, it will approue false. For since he discovered the same, there haue bene diuerse aduertisements thereof sent to his maiestie from forren princes his highnesse louing neighbors and allies; as also by other good meanes and intelligences from his ambassadoys and seruants residing in other countries. If he denie (as he hath done) that he neuer had knowledge of anye such matter when he confessed the same, it hath no likelihood of truth: for Throckemorton was neuer knowne to be a prophet to foretell things *De futuro*.

The Spanissh ambassadoy and Throckemorton did often times conuerse and confesse.

He resorted often to the Spanissh ambassadoy, at the least twise a weeke when he was in London: this often repaire could not be to conferre with the ambassadoy for the exchange of monie for his brother, as he pretended at his arresignment: there was some other cause. When he was apprehended, he had a casket couered with greene velvet, verie cunninglie conueied out of his chamber by a maidseruant of the house, taken vp vnder a beds side in his chamber (one of the gentlemen who were sent to apprehend him then being in the chamber, & unknowing thereof) which casket not long after his apprehension, was by one John Peredith a follower of Throckemorton, conueied to the hands of the Spanissh ambassadoy. And why to him? If the matters therein might well haue abidden the light, why should not the casket haue bene kept still at home? And if not there, why not sent to some other place of safetie, as well as to the Spanissh ambassadoy? It is to be conceiued, that this casket was not conueied thither without the direction of Francis Throckemorton, though caried by Peredith, who did well know of what moment the matters were that were within the casket, & of what danger to Throckemorton if they had bene disclosed; & therefore meant to bestowe them in a safe place where they could not readilie be had (as he thought) and with a person not vnacquainted with the qualitie of them. After the deliuerie of the casket, Peredith died: for in truth he was priuite to the treasons, and a fellow practiser in them. To whome Francis Throckemorton, being taken short at the time of his apprehension, and forced to run by a staire to deface a letter, which he was then in writing to the Scottish queene in cipher (as he hath confessed) being suddenly apprehended, and so forced to depart awaite presentlie out of his house, deliuered priuile into the hands of Peredith, either the cipher by the which he was writing his letter to the Scottish queene, or a letter in cipher by him written vnto hir: therefore he trusted Peredith as a man priuite to his doings.

Throckemorton surprised and put to a narrow shift.

There is an ordinarie torment of a guiltie conscience.

You are also to vnderstand, that Throckemorton was in verie great feare of the discovering of this casket after his apprehension. For remaining two or thre daies prisoner in the house of one of the gentlemen that were sent to apprehend him, before he was committed to the Towre, he was permitted to talke with a solicitor of his law causes, who brought him certaine bookes of law, or other like papers written, which he made shew to peruse. But that was not the matter why he sent for his solicitor: for in perusing the bookes, he conueied into them a little peece of paper, vpon the which he had written with a cole; & would faine know whether my casket be safe: or to the like effect. The solicitor departing from him, and resorting to Throckemortons house, not far distant from the place where he remained prisoner, opening his papers, did shake out this peece of paper, which he toke vp and deliuered to one of Francis Throckemortons men; but the casket was already conueied to the Spanissh ambassadoy. Whereby you will

perceiue what care he had of the casket, & how much it might import him to haue the writings or matters within the same concealed. He being examined touching the casket, and what was in the same, he denied at the first that euer he had anye such casket; but finding afterwards that the casket was discovered, he confessed the casket, and said there were certaine letters therein that came to his hands for the Scottish queene from Thomas Morgan at Paris, and other letters and papers, but confessed not all, as it is supposed. That Charles Paget came ouer into the realme to euill purposes, as Throckemorton doth declare in his confession, could not be inuented: for euen at the same time that he mentioneth, Paget came ouer, in secret and suspicious manner, traied not aboue fiftene daies, inuoyed in a soyt to find the disposition of William Shelleie esquier, how he might stand affected to giue assistance to the treasons, although Paget discouered not direalie his traitorous intents to Shelleie: therefore all Throckemortons confessions were not forged or inuented.

The clouds of lies cannot so darken the truth but it shall appeare.

How William Shelleie stood affected to these treasonable plots.

But because the two papers produced at his arresignment, containing the description of the hauens for the commodious landing of forces, do most apparantlie condemne him, and are a manifest argument of his priuile to the whole treason; you may not forget that he acknowledged one of the papers written in the secretarie hand, to haue bene of his owne doing, but denied the other written in the Romane hand. In the which, vnder the title of Chester, &c: is said, Upon the landing of forren supplies, Chester shall be taken. But what in your opinions might be vnderstood by that sentence, Chester shall be taken, when you shall compare the paper in the secretarie hand with the other written in the Romane hand, intituled; The names of noblemen and gentlemen in euery countie fit to be dealt withall in this matter (which in truth were both one, although the Romane were somewhat more enlarged) the question is to be asked, What matter? The answer followeth necessarilie, To assist the forren forces that shall come to inuade the realme: for that there is an other title in that paper ouer the names of the hauens, &c: Hauens in euery coast fit for the landing of forces. How iudge you, to what end these names of men and descriptions of hauens, their entries, capacitites, what winds bring vnto them from Spaine, France, and Flanders, were written and set downe by Throckemorton: the papers are both of his owne hand writing, and the secretarie but a proiect or copie of the Romane.

Certaine words and clauses of letters treasonable.

Chia fide honor

The that I hope to be as he reign

Is it not likelie (thinke you) that he would acquaint the Spanissh ambassadoy with these papers (as he hath confessed) when he made him partaker of the rest of his traitorous practises & deuises, as you haue heard, and thought his casket of treasons to be most safelie committed to his hands? It may be thought that there is no man of so simple vnderstanding, that will iudge to the contrarie, vnlesse he be parcialle affected to excuse the treasons. And now to shew vnto you what mind this man hath caried towards his maiestie; you are to be informed that Francis Throckemorton, after he had discovered to his maiestie his course of practising, repenting himselfe of his plaine dealing in the betwixteng thereof, said to some of the commissioners vpon occasion of speech; I would I had bene hanged when I first opened my mouth to declare anye of the matters by me confessed. And being at other times sent vnto by his maiestie with offer of pardon, if he would disclose the whole packe and complices of the treasons; he vsed this argument to perswade his maiestie, that he had confessed all, saying that with he had already brought himselfe by his confessions within

what mind Throckemorton hath caried towards his maiestie.

Chet in him vnto

Throckemorton is in a misfortune

within the danger of the lawes, to the utter ruine of his house and familie, he wondered why there should be any conceit in his maiestie, that he had not declared all. But to persuade such as were sent vnto him for these purposes, the rather to beleue that he could discover no more, at one time he vsed these speeches following with great vehemencie: Now I haue disclosed the secrets of his who was the dearest thing vnto me in the world (meaning the Scottish queene) and whom I thought no torment should haue drawen me so much to haue preiudiced as I haue done by my confessions. I see no cause why I should spare any one, if I could saue ought against him: and sith I haue failed of my faith towards him, I care not if I were hanged.

And when he began first to confesse his treasons, which he did most unwillingly, after he was entered into the declaration of them before all the commissioners, vpon aduiseinent he desired he might deliver his knowledge but to one of them onelie: where vnto they yaldd. And therevpon removing aside from the place where he sat by the racke, he vsed this prouerbe in Italian, *Chi a perso la fede, a perso l'honore*, that is, He that hath failed his faith, hath lost his reputation; meaning thereby (as it may be conceiued) that he had giuen his faith to be a traitor, and not to reueale the treasons: & then he began to confesse as you haue heard. By this discourse, containing the principall heads of his treasons, and the proofes and circumstances of the same, you that are not transported with vndutifull minds and affections, will cleerlie perceiue how impudentlie and vntrulie he denied at his arraignment the truth of his confessions, charging his maiestie with cruelty, and his ministers with vntruths in their proceeding against him. But the cause that moued him thereto, was the vaine conceit he had taken that his case was cleare in law, by the intermission of the time betwene his confession made and his arraignment, grounding himselfe vpon a statute of the thirtieth yeare of his maiesties reigne, in the which there are certaine treasons specified and made of that nature, that no person shalbe arraigned for any of those offenses committed within any of the queenes maiesties dominions, vntill the offender be thereof indicted within six months next after the same offense committed; and shall not be arraigned for the same, vntill the offense be proued by the testimonie and oth of two sufficient witnesses, or his voluntarie confession without violence: wherein he was greatly deceived. For it was made manifest vnto him by the lord chiefe iustice and other of the iudges in commission at his triall, that his treasons were punishable by a statute of 25. Edw. 3. which admitted no such limitation of time or proofe. Wherein his skill failed him, and forgot the aduise giuen vnto him by some of the commissioners, who (pitieing his misfortune) for further good gifts of the mind appearing in him) assured him that there was no waie so readie for him to redeme his life, as by submission and acknowledging of his offense, which for a time after he had confessed his treasons he was contented to follow, and now euen after his condemnation by a new submission to the queens maiestie the fourth of June had resumed that course. The submission verbatim, written with his owne hand, followeth.

To hir most excellent maiestie, euen
to hir owne roiall hands.



Most excellent prince, and my most gracious Soueraine, sith to me the most miserable of all your maiesties poore distressed subiects, being iustlie condemned by the

ordinarie and orderlie course of your maiesties laws, his owne
handwriting;
there resteth no further meane of defense but submission: vouchsafe, most excellent prince, graciouslie to accept the same, which prostrate in all humilitie I here present vnto the hands of your most excellent maiestie; beseeching the same, that as iustice hath bene deriued from your highnesse, as from the fountaine, to the triall of mine actions: so I may receiue from the same spring, some drop of grace and mercie for the great & grievous offense, wherof I rest by your maiesties lawes iustlie condemned: some part, I saie, of that your accustomed gracious clemencie, wherof most your distressed subiects haue tasted, and few bene deuiued. And albeit the inconsiderate rashnesse of vnbridled youth hath withdrawn me from that soiall respect, which nature & dutie bound me to owe vnto your maiestie, as to my lawfull & naturall dread soueraine; and that the naturall care in me of the defense of my life moued me farlie to the vntue & vndutifull gaine sayeng of some such points as had bene before by me in most humble sort confessed: neuerthelesse, I most humbly beseech your most excellent maiestie, that in imitation of God, whose image (both in respect of the happie place you hold, as also in regard of your singular wisdom and other the rare and singular vertues & perfections wherewith God & nature hath plentifully indued you) you represent vnto vs here in earth, it may please your maiestie to commiserate the lamentable estate of me now the most miserable of all your maiesties subiects and graciouslie to grant vnto me remission and forgiveness, that not onelie doo most humbly confesse my selfe worthe of death; but also in shew of my repentance and sorowfull afflicted mind, doo not craue at your maiesties hands the prolonging of my life, if the same shall not stand with your gracious good pleasure; but rather desire the trebling of the torment iustlie by your maiesties lawes imposed vpon me, if the same may be any satisfaction to your maiestie for the heinous crime wherof I remaine by your maiesties lawes iustlie condemned; or any mitigation of your maiesties indignation wortheilie conceiued against me, that desire not to liue without your fauour; and dieng will wish from my hart, that my end may be the beginning of your maiesties securitie, and my death the preleruation of your life, and the increase both to your maiestie, and to this your most flourishing commonwelth, of all the most happy blessings of almightie God.

Your maiesties most wofull subiect
in that he hath offended you:

Francis Throckmorton.

He sent vnto his maiestie, together with the said declaration, a declaration written like wise with his own hand, containing the effects of the most principall points of his treasons formerly confessed: retracting onelie the accusation of his father, and some other particularities of no moment to cleare him of his treasons, the effect wherof followeth in his owne words, as he set them downe.

The declaration which Throckmorton
sent to his maiestie, with his letter
of submission.

The onelie cause why I coined the practice first by me confessed, and vniuulie touched my father, was, for that partlie I conceiued that the paper written so long since, could not now by law haue touched me: but principallie, for that I was willing thereby to colour the setting downe of those names and names:
M q q q q q q q

the smith for
vndeferued
mercie to his
maiestie in his
miserte, in
whose fauour
he might haue
liued by law
allie.

His vntue
and secret
of great mo-
ment betwene
Throckmorton
and the
Scottish
queene.

liars
two
do
is.

this perso la
fede, a perso l'
honore, an Italian
prouerbe.

The cause
that moued
Throckmorton
to denie
his confessions
at his ar-
raignment.

These gifts
him were
Throckmorton in
his prison.

and
remot-
car-
wards
the.

Throckmorton
submit-
ed in a letter,
containing ad-
dition with

William
Frdington,

in Romane hand, which were written long after the time by me confessed upon occasion of conference betwene the Spanissh ambassadoz and me of this latter practise. Mine intelligence with the Scottish quene began a little before Christmas was two yeares: the cipher I had from Thomas Morgan in France; the first letter I received by Godtrie Fulgeam, by whom also came all such others as I after received for the most part, unlesse it were such as came to me by J. A. his hands, who as he told me, received them of the fellows by me spoken of in my former confessions, whose name, I protest before God, I know not, nor whence he is. And for such letters as came unto me in the absence of Fulgeam, they were inclosed under a counture from Robert Tunthead his brother in law, unto whom I delivered such as I had for the Scottish quene, covered with a direction unto Fulgeam: and once I remember or twise I sent by one of my men called Butler, letters for the Scottish quene to the house of the said Tunthead, nere Bucklesones, covered with a direction to Tunthead, and under a letter to Fulgeam. In such letters as came to me from the Scottish quene, were inclosed letters to J. A. manie times, and most times some for Thomas Morgan. His letters to me contained, &c.

The next
way to attaine
libertie for the
Scottish
quene, &c.

But before I returned mine answer unto him, I understood of the death of the duke of Lenor, and withall heard from Morgan, with whom all mine intelligence was (for with my brother I never had anie, other than that the matters by me written to Morgan were by him imparted unto my brother most times) that by the persuasion of the pope and the king of Spaine, the duke of Guise had yielded to performe the iourne in person: and that it was thought that the next waie to attaine libertie for the Scottish quene, and to reforme Scotland, was to begin here in England. And therefore he desired to know from me, whether in mine opinion catholikes would not backe any such force as should be sent, considering a demand of tolerance in religion for them should insue the well performing of the said enterpryse, and what I thought the force would amount unto, both of horse and footmen, and where I thought to be the fittest landing. Mine answer was, that as then, I saw no great probability of the good successe of such an enterpryse, for that the catholikes were timorous, dispersed, the matter perillous to be communicated unto manie, without which I saw not how anie estimat could be made of the forces: besides, that it was an imminent danger unto the Scottish quene, whereof I saw no remedie.

The pestilent
persuasion of
the Spanissh
ambassadoz
to prefer this
pernicious
enterpryse.

I wrote notice of this matter in my next letters to the Scottish quene, whose answer was, that she lately heard of that determination, &c. Upon my former answer unto Morgan, he desired me, that I would conferre with the Spanissh ambassadoz, to whom I should be recommended from hence. Hereupon the said ambassadoz sent for me, and brake with me in this matter, assuring me that in his opinion he found it verie easie to make great alteration here with verie little force, considering the dislike in men to warre, and troubles would so amaze them (as he thought) that they would be as some overthrowne as assailed: & he could not thinke but in such a case catholikes would shew themselves, with the purpose tended to the obtaining for them libertie of conscience: and therefore he desired me to acquaint him, what I thought men would do in such a case, and where I thought the fittest landing, and what holds in these parts were easiest to be supplied. I answered him, that (as it seemed) the enter-

pryse stood upon great uncertainties, if it depended of the knowledge of a certaine force to be found here, which no man could assure him of, unlesse he had sounded all the catholikes, which was not possible without a manifest hazard of the discoverie of the purpose. For as for anie great personage, I know no one to be private to this action, that could carrie anie more than his ordinarie retinue: the onlie waie in such a case was (I told him) for such as would be private into this matter, and were of credit in their countries, to leuie forces under colour of the princes authoritie.

But for that these things depended upon uncertaine grounds, which was not fit to be used in so great an action, I said it was to be resolved, that the force to be sent should be of that number, that that backing sooner they should find here, they might be able of themselves to encounter with anie force that might be provided to be sent against them, and therefore they could not be lesse than fiftene thousand men. For the place of their landing, I said it depended much upon the force that should be sent: for if that were in great number, it mattered not where they landed: if in a small companie, then was it requisite that it should be in the countries best affected, & furthest from his maiesties principall forces, which I said to be in the northerne parts on either side. To the danger of the Scottish quene by me objected, he said he knew no remedie, unlesse she might be taken awaie by some two hundred horse, which I told him I saw not to be possible: for that I knew not anie gentleman in those parts (which were men, if anie, to performe it) that I durst with to be made acquainted with the matter before hand.

Finallie, our conclusion was, that I should informe him of the hauens as particularie as I could: and within few daies after, finding by him that the force intended hither, was farre inferior unto that I spake of; and that there was some different betwene the pope & the king of Spaine for the charge, I told him that the surest course and of least danger were, to send a supplie into Scotland, where a small force would breed a great alteration, and things being there established by the good liking of the king, I thought it was in him by a continuall war, & by incursions so to annoie this state, as his maiestie here should be forced to yield the libertie of the Scottish quene, and what should thereupon haue bene reasonable demanded for the benefit of the catholikes here. And herein I said it would be a great furtherance, if at the same time some few were landed in Ireland, where: although they abide the same hazard that the former forces sustained; yet would the charge be so great to his maiestie, and so great an occasion of dispersing of his forces, as a much lesse companie than was spoken of first by me, would (being landed here in a convenient place) shake the minds of men generallie, and be of force (if anie thing) to draw them to shew themselves in the furtherance of the purpose.

He bitterlie reieted the purpose for Ireland, and disliked not the purpose for Scotland; but still he was in mind to haue forces landed here: and therefore desired me verie earnestlie to inquire particularie of the hapens on the side of Cumberland and Lancashire, and what men were dwelling there that were well affected in religion, and what places easie to be taken, and what apt for fortification. The next time that I went to the Spanissh ambassadoz, he found himselfe greued that he understood matters were determined in France without his privitie: and told me that Persons the Jesuit was gone unto Rome, sent (as he thought) to understand the popes mind,

The resolution
was frustrate
as also the
later of the
plot: such was
Gods iudice
to perforce a
supplie betw
the one and
the other.

was this
(thinke you)
naturali
instincts
opinion,
or not rather
the concept of
a tyrannous
traitoie?

This Spanissh
ambassadoz
had no
good meaning
in moving
this request.

This
was a
danger
to the
Scottish
quene.

Thou
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mind. Some after came over my brother Thomas, to make an end of our account, and to persuade me to come over, assuring me that for ought he could see in likelihood, the enterprise was never like to take effect. In the time of his being here, and while I entertained intelligence with the Scottish quene concerning his libertie, the Spanish ambassadoz sent for me, and told me of the coming over of Spoke to victo Spiller and the hauens, and as he thought, to tell the best of account there: whereat he seemed to be aggravated, for that such matters had not bene left to him, being one whome they in France made believe that they relied upon principally in this enterprise. Afterwards, the ambassadoz told me, that it was Charles Paget, and that he was returned, but where he had bene he knew not, and at the same time I received a letter from Hogan, that it was Paget: but assuring me, and so willed me to assure the ambassadoz, that his coming was not to move any man, but onely to view the countrie, for that the moving of any man was referred unto him. I did so, and he intreated me to remember him for those forsaide names and hauens, saying, that so it were done exactly by the spring, it would suffice: for that sooner he saw no likelihood of the execution of the enterprise.

This Spoke was Charles Paget, others have named Spoke: as before.

Thochemozons purpose in his enterprise succeeded not by the next spring.

My brother having made an end of his account with me, returned with this resolution betwene us (I protest before God) that if the enterprise succeeded not betwene this and the next spring now past, that I would settle my things here and go over. And for this cause, he being gone, I went downe into the countrie, both to sell and take order for my lands in those parts, as also to fetch the draught of gentlemen and hauens for the most part of England, which had bene set downe by me above two yeares since, and left behind me at Ffeckenham in my studie. Not finding the draught at Ffeckenham, I returned to London, where I found the note of names in secretarie hand, which I carried to the Spanish ambassadoz, and there drew that other in Romane hand in his studie, putting downe Chester to be taken, in respect of the easinesse as I thought, and the rather to give him encouragement in the matter, I left it with him, promising him that by the next spring I would perfect it, if I taried so long, making knowne unto him, that I was had in suspicion, and my determination to be gone: but he pressed the contrarie of me, assuring me, that if the enterprise proceeded not, he would then also depart.

Mr Francis Englefield was a dealer in this practise or no, I know not: but sure I am (for so the Spanish ambassadoz told me) that Mr Francis had intelligence with the said ambassadoz all the time of his being here. The Spanish ambassadoz told me that he heard the people of Southwales were generally well affected, and therefore he desired to have the hauens of that countrie: I told him that hereafter I would helpe him therewith, although no good might be expected there, for the reasons by me set downe in my first confession: and hereupon the date before mine apprehended, the ambassadoz sent me backe the said paper in Romane hand, besitting me to set downe the same at my last residence exactly, which was the cause that it was not in any greene delat paper. The writings in my calkes were such as were by me confessed, and came into his hands as I have confessed.

Thochemozons purpose for commiseration to his maistie.

Whether Mr Francis Englefield were a dealer in this practise or no, I know not: but sure I am (for so the Spanish ambassadoz told me) that Mr Francis had intelligence with the said ambassadoz all the time of his being here. The Spanish ambassadoz told me that he heard the people of Southwales were generally well affected, and therefore he desired to have the hauens of that countrie: I told him that hereafter I would helpe him therewith, although no good might be expected there, for the reasons by me set downe in my first confession: and hereupon the date before mine apprehended, the ambassadoz sent me backe the said paper in Romane hand, besitting me to set downe the same at my last residence exactly, which was the cause that it was not in any greene delat paper. The writings in my calkes were such as were by me confessed, and came into his hands as I have confessed.

I thus humbly beseech his most excellent maistie that the extreme which I have already suffered, and the causes by me discovered, to the safetie of his maistie and the state, not made knowne (as hath appeared) by any other means than by my selfe, may craue at his hands the extending of his grati-

ous commiseration towards the relieving of the lamentable estate of me, his maisties poore distressed subject, and mine, if God for mine offences forbid, not the same.

God judge all ye, that be not peruerse affected whether Thochemozton be iustlie condemned, and whether his confessions (though as he pretended, extorted from him by violence) be of force in law against him. He conspired to overthrow the state, to bring in strangers to invade the realme, to remove his maistie from his lawfull & naturall right, and inheritance to the crowne of England, and to place a stranger in his seat. But this last point, for placing of a stranger, will (perchance) be denied: then note, that in the whole course of the practise, the greatest barre to the prosecution of the enterprise, was, they found no waie how to put the Scottish quene in safetie. Then, if these dangerous treasons be discovered by torture (the onely means left unto princes to discover treasons and attempts against their states and persons, where they find apparant matter to induce suspicion, as in the case of Thochemozton, upon sight of the plots of hauens, &c) may the law touch the traitor or not? If any man hold this question negativelie, hold him for a friend to traitors and treasons, and an enemy to the quenes maistie, whome God long preserve, and confound his enemies: Amen.

Recapitulation of some treasonable enterprises by Thochemozton.

On the tenth daie of Julie next following, the same Francis Thochemozton was conveyed by water from the Tower of London to the Blacke friers staires, and from thence by land to the sessions hall in the old baillie without Newgate, where he was delivered to the shiriffes of London, and then laid on a hurdle, from whence he was borne to Tyburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. The nineteenth daie of Julie, Robert baron of Denbigh, the onely sonne and heire of Robert earle of Leicester, departed this mortal life, being then of the age of thre yeares and somewhat more, at Mansfield in Essex, the solemnitie of whose funeral was there honorable kept on the first of August; and after, his bodie was conveyed to Warwicke, & there in the chappell of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwick his ancestor honorable intombed, on the one and twentieth of October. In memorie of whom (but not as an epicedium, nor yet as an epitaph) these verses of fit invention and deuile may well be used:

Thochemozton executed.

Robert baron of Denbigh deceased.

O puer, o xpressa; atrius sed maior imago,
Nunc bona cum domino spes tumulata iacet:
Sic rosa, sic tenera sulco refectantur ariste,
Candida sic primo lila vere cadunt.

In this yeare, an ancient and charitable citizen of London named D. S. embroderer to the quenes maistie (whome God from bare estate had aduanced to a degree of credit, having his wife alive, and by his onely eight children, six of them married, whose children counted together made above the number of twentie) this man (I say) notwithstanding these great occasions by multiplied generations might have provoked him to gather and laie by against his death, such worlde wealth, as they thereby might reape profit after his decease: yet remembering himselfe, that christians are not placed in this world to benefit their children onely, but also to do good to the household of faith, whereof none are more likelie to be members than the goodlie poore, did laie out the most part of his substance (when he was thre score yeares of age) in and about the building of six proper houses in forme of a quadrangle, with these words in faire great letters round about the same:

The charitable deeds of D. S.

The poore widowes Inne here you may see,
Where six poore widowes haue house come free:
¶ q q q q q. ¶ ¶ ¶

These letters are placed about the quene.

And

1376
Dats of
squares of the
building.

And twentie shillings yeerlie paid,
During our liues for our further aid :
Though gift be but bare & came from small store ;
Despise not the giuer but praise God therefore .
Woorke whilest thou hast breath ;
No waie to life but Christs death .

Upon the front of the building , ouer the doze of
gate of entrance , are these words of well wishing
grauen in stone : GOD SAVE OVR NOBLE
QUEENE ELISABETH CHIEFE FOVNDER OF THIS WORKE . The originall of this
foundation was in this maner . The said M. S. did
purchase certeine old houses in the ward of castell
Bainard , in the cite of London , and pulling them
downe to the ground , did (vpon his owne charges)
builde vpon the same ground six little houses all of
brycke and stone , as stronglie as he could deuise to
continue , euerie house having thre feuerall rooms
one ouer the other : therein he placed six poze wi-
dows immediatlie after they were builded , that is ,
in euerie house one widow , choosing them within the
parish where the said houses do stand ; being such as
haue liued in god name and fame all the daies of
their liues , and so do continue , and are of the age
of thre score yeares or thereabouts , before they
shall be admitted to dwell in anie of them : & being
thus admitted , and remaining widowes , they haue
their dwelling free during their liues , and twentie
shillings a peece beside , paid them quarterlie by five
shillings euerie quarter , to buye them wood & coles .
And this he truite pateth themduring his owne life ,
and his wife shall do it likewise if she do out liue
him during hir life ; and after both their deceases , he
hath made it ouer vnto Christs hospitall to performe
the same for euer . For the performance of the pre-
misses , he hath left vnto the said hospitall sufficient
rents , as well to paie the said six pounds yeerlie vnto
the said six poze widowes , as also to keepe the said
houses in reparations and buildings for euer , with
some ouerplus vnto the said hospitall .

the houses
of perpetuall
reliefe , founde
dowen vpon St.
Peters hill in
Bainard cas-
tell ward .

Rents left in
perpetuall for
the mainte-
nance of the
said houses .

Ordinances
of the founder
to be inuola-
bly obserued .

what kind of
widowes are
to be admitted
into these
houses .

whom they
may lodge and
not lodge .

And to the intent that his god and charitable pro-
uision should by no misbehaviour be abused , but de-
cent and agreeable to the age of the parties there
seated , he made certeine ordinances and rules , to be
obserued and kept by those six poze widowes which
do dwell or hereafter shall dwell in anie of those
six houses , standing vpon saint Peters hill , in the
ward of castell Bainard , erected by the said M. S.
embroiderer to our most grations and noble queene
Elisabeth , Anno 1584 .

1 First , I will that they shall be such widowes
as shall be giuen to serue God , before all other exer-
cises , and such as haue liued in god name and fame ,
and so do continue ; no blasphemers of the name
of God , no drunkards , no scoldes , nor anie disquiet
persons , but of god and goodlie conuersation , to the
better example of others . They shall be of the age of
thre score yeares , or of six and fiftie yeares at the
least , before they shall be admitted to dwell in anie
of the same houses . And if anie of them shall fortune
to marrie , they shall depart out of the same house or
houses therein they do dwell , before they do
marrie , and neuer to be admitted to dwell in anie of
the same houses againe .

2 Also , they nor anie of them shall not lodge , nor
suffer to be lodged or harboured by daie nor yet by
night , anie manner of person , neither man , nor woi-
man , nor child , within anie of their houses , but onelie
themselues ; without it be in some great extremitie
of sicknesse , when as of necessitie some honest an-
cient woman a keeper , may watch with anie of them
for a night or two vpon great necessitie , or else not
lodge , harbour , keepe , or mainteine , or suffer to be
lodged , harboured , kept , or mainteined , neither by

daie nor yet by night , any manner of person ; although
they be neuer so nere of blood or kindred , but if anie
of them shall so do , the or they shall presentlie answ-
er out of hir or their houses within twentie daies next
after anie such offense committed , & neuer to be ad-
mitted to dwell in anie of the said houses after . App-
meaning is not but that they may come the one of
them vnto the others house , or their friends , to be
merite together (when they shall thinke mete) lo-
uingle , as honest neighbours use to do at houres
conuenient , and so to depart in god order .

3 Also , they shall be no keepers of sicke persons in
other houses which shall be sicke of the plague , or of
anie infectious sicknesse , for brynging of infected
clothes among themselues ; nor they shall not suffer
anie other folkes to haue anie recourse by their
meanes , to wash anie backs or other clothes , neither
wollen or linnen at the well , nor in anie other part
of the same yards but onelie themselues , for annoy-
cing of the tenants with filth & foule waters running
through their yards & houses there adioining . And
if anie of the rest of the said widowes do or shall
know that anie of them or moze , haue offended anie
of these articles aforesaid , and do not shew the same
vnto such persons as shall haue authoritie to correct
and amend the same : then all such persons shall be
in the like danger as the partie that hath so offen-
ded , if it may be proued that they did know there-
of : and if they or anie of them shall offend in anie
of these articles , they shall be put from their houses as
is aforesaid , and not be admitted anie moze into
anie of them .

4 Also , I will that they and either of them , shall
most blualie use the parish church of saint Wenets ,
nere Pauls tharfe , and especiallie vpon the Sab-
both daie , and vpon mondaie , wednesdaie , and
fridaie , in euerie weeke if there be anie seruice in the
same church on the said daies : and if they or anie of
them shall be absent from the same church at seruice
time , being in the cite , and being not sicke , they shall
paie two pence for euerie tyme so offending , which
shall be put into the poyes bore among themselues ,
or into the poyes bor in the said parish church .

5 Also , I will that none of them do occupie anie
water aboue the staires of anie of the same houses ,
for decaying of the same houses , and perishing of
the felings : and if anie of them shall so offend , the
or they shall lose the five shillings that they should
receiue the next quarter daie following , by vertue
of my will .

6 Also , I will haue them to put in two sufficient
suerties to be bound in twentie pounds before they be
admitted into anie of the same houses , to performe
these articles , or else to auoid the said houses within
twentie daies (as is aforesaid) quietlie .

7 Also , I will that the two widowes that do or
shall dwell in the two houses next the street on either
side of the gate , shall hang out one lanthorne be-
tweene them both , and a whole candell in it burning ,
according vnto the custome in the cite of London vs-
ed in the winter season ; that is to saie , the one wi-
dow one tache to hang it out , and the other widow
another weeke , and so to continue from tyme to tyme ,
and the said lanthorne to be mainteined by those two
widowes that shall haue the hanging of them out .
And I will that they do mainteine them to be faire ,
large , and cleere lanthornes : and for the prouision of
the candels , I will that the other fourie widowes
dwellling in the other fourie houses , shall buye either
of them one pound of cotton candels , and deliuer
them vnto the two widowes that shall hang out the
lanthorne , so as alwaies there shall not be aboue ten
candels in the pound . And if any of the same widowes
shall not performe this my meaning , I will that

In order for
the auoiding
of infection,
sicknesse, an-
noyance, &c.

what such
daies they
are to repaire
to the church

Conuenient
use of water,
&c.

Performance
of these ordi-
nances pre-
scribed

In order for
lanthorne and
candle light
in winter.

Ch
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An. I

Abd
Fr. II

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The
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and by
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Discol
change

In order
for the
lanthorne
reader
tinner &c

twice so much more as will performe the promises, shall be paid out of the five shillings that they or either of them should receive the next quarter date following, by virtue of my last will and testament.

God grant that they which are better able, may have no lesse good will to do the like, or better, than the goodly poore may be relieved here on earth, upon whom, be it little or much that is bestowed; Christ Jesus no doubt will reward it a hundred fold in heaven: and who would not by workes of faithfull charity, endeavour to dwell in God, whom the scripture calleth charity? Considering that the apostle exhorteth all christians in no case to forget to do good and distribute, with such sacrifices he is well pleased.

On the 12 daie of November, the queens maiestie (returning after hir progress) came to hir manor of St. James, where the citizens of London, to the number of two hundred of the greatest sort in cotes of velvet, and chaines of gold, on horsebacke, and a thousand of the companies on foot (having with them a thousand men with torches ready there to give light on every side for that the night was on) received and welcomed hir grace. And on the foure and twentieth daie of the same moneth, hir maiestie and the lords rode to the parlement, which was that daie begun at Westminster.

In the foresaid parlement held at Westminster, were made necessarie lawes ordeined for the commonwealth, amongst which was one speciall act procured by sir Roger Spanwood knight chiefe baron of the exchequer, for the maintenance of the famous stone bridge of Rochester. And here because there is mention made of sir Roger Spanwood a Rochester bridge; I thinke it convenient (with I have alwaies determined to set forth what soever might come to my mind and pen touching my civill and native countrie of Kent, and such persons of the same as either by honorable descent in that countrie, or by office of his place in the commonwealth, or by worthy remembrance deserve not to be forgotten) to speake somewhat of the same sir Roger Spanwood, and such things as he hath done for that countrie, especiallie with master Willelme a man of very judgement hath not forgotten to treat of him in his booke of the perambulation of Kent under the title of Sandwich. Wherefore thinking him worthy remembrance for that which he hath done in his owne countrie of Kent, I enter in discourse of him a twentieth part in this sort.

This man being borne at Sandwich in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred and five and twentie, was first instructed in the grammar schole of that towne, as then but a meane thing and taught by a chanterie priest of the foundation of one Thomas Ellis. Afterwards, when as by dissolution of chanteries in the time of king Edward the first this chanterie schole was taken away, & the children of the towne people being manie in number were forced to be taught in the grammar scholes far distant from Sandwich, to the great charges of their parents (whereby manie poore mens children for capacite and paines taking most for learning, were put by the course of learning which otherwise might have produced learning and become good members of the commonwealth) the said sir Roger Spanwood by statute in the law, and reader in the inner temple, well considering the same (and minding howe far he was from Sandwich, to come his birth place a better grammar schole than that wherein he was first brought up) in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundredes the said sir Roger Spanwood did procure from the abbeys chanterie of Canturburie a house with a place for a room made upon the wall of the church of the same

gate in Sandwich called Canturburie gate. In which void house adjoining to the river of Delfe is now erected a faire scholehouse for the scholemaster, other, & certain boarding scholars) framed all of bricke & stone, for perpetuall continuance of which schole, the said sir Roger Spanwood (now lord chiefe baron in this yeare of our 1. 573. 8. 6) procured letters patents from the queene for incorporating and assurance of the same schole (with other lands and revenues) thereto belonging) to the mayor and his heires of Sandwich and to their successors for ever, by the name of the gouvernours of the free grammar schole of Roger Spanwood in Sandwich, assuring to the said gouvernours of his owne land the cleere yearely value of 22 pounds and more. Further, therunto procuring of his brother Thomas Spanwood (sometime mayor of Sandwich) the cleere yearely value of ten pounds of lands and tenements, and also of one Thomas Compton (curat of Sandwich) eight pounds by yeare De clavo, of his owne lands and tenements, in the grosse summe amounting to fourtie pounds by yeare, which lands being sufficientlie assured to the said gouvernours, with convenient dwelling for the master, and other, lodging for sixtene boarding scholars, and with some benevolence of parents for the teaching of their children, is a large endowment for perpetuall maintenance of the same grammar schole.

Besides which, for the further benefit of the same schole, the same sir Roger Spanwood hath obtained two scholars romes in Gonville and Caius college in Cambridge, and two other scholars romes in Lincolne college at Oxford, with pension of foure markes yearely to everie of the said foure scholars to be removed from that schole of Sandwich, and to be placed in those colleges, from time to time as often as any of the same college scholars romes shall be void, and that any scholar shall be met to come from that schole of Sandwich. Beyond all which that he hath done for recompense of his birth place, with a free grammar schole for the education of the youth there, he also for reliefe of age hath bene unto his dwelling place of Saint Stephens in Hackington parish (adjoining to Canturburie) built in the yeare of our redemption 1573, a faire row of seven almes houses of bricke, placing in everie of the same almes houses poore folkes, such as are counted to be honest & god. For perpetuall maintenance of which almes persons he hath endowed that building with a yearely allowance of the value of foure pounds by yeare (to everie of the same almes men & houses) in moneys, bread, & fewell. And in the same parish church nere to those almes houses he hath newly created an Ale, where his house is made and placed, & in that church a new roome of seven pews and seates for the almes people to be bestowed in, together by themselves.

Likewise for setting to worke of middle age, whereby they may eschew idleness, this sir Roger Spanwood did in the yeare of Christ, one thousand five hundred seentie and eight, build a new house of correction in the Westgate street in the suburbs of Canturburie. And moreouer, whereas Rochester bridge standing on the river of Medweie, being famous for the bull of stone (in the time of king Richard the second as is most likeli, though some attribute the same to the time of Edward the third) by one sir Robert Knolles knight, with the helpe of John lord Cobham of Cobham, and Margaret Countnesse his wife, being one of the principall benefactors there, after the decaye of a wooden bridge (first erected upon the same river some hundred yeares before that of stone was) for the perpetuall maintenance of the same stone bridge the ancient contributarie

He erected a faire scholehouse of bricke and stone.

He procured letters patents for the maintenance of the same in perpetuall.

The summe of 40 pounds allowed yearely, &c. to the maintenance of the said grammar schole.

Two scholars romes obtained in Cambridge & two in Oxford for such scholars as remove from the said schole to either of the universities.

Seven almes houses by him founded for the reliefe of the honest aged.

He Roger Spanwood came.

A house of correction for idle idle persons.

The ancient bridge of Rochester, when built and by whom.

Discrete opinions concerning the first founding of the said bridge.

The stone of the Londoners to the queens maiestie.

A parlement at Westminster.

An. Reg. 27.

Addition of Fr. Thin.

In act for the maintenance of Rochester stone bridge procured by sir Roger Spanwood.

Sir Roger Spanwood a friend to the commonwealth.

The place & time of Sir Roger Spanwood birth, and bringing up.

Dissolution of chanteries.

Sir Roger Spanwood reader in the inner temple.

for the Londoners.

the stone bridge.

and for.

and for the Londoners.

for the Londoners.

How the said
bridge began
to decaye, and
what meynes
are used for
the repairing
of the same.

Sir Roger
Spawwood
desired reme-
die for the
repairing of
the said bridge
well repaired.

His desired
remedie ten-
ding to good
a purpose
was impug-
ned.

The yearelie
renewall of
the said bridge
amount unto
more in value
by triple than
they were
before.

It further
remedie
was made

By act of par-
liament obte-
ned for the
benefite of the
said bridge,

lands (giuen for the support of the wooden bridge) af-
ter the ruine of the same wooden bridge reduced
(by act of parlement holden in the one and twentieth
of Richard the second) to the maintenance of the
same new stone bridge; and that sundrie manors,
lands, tenements, & rents in Kent, London, & Essex,
were by deuise of sundrie persons assured for the up-
holding of the same new stone bridge: yet by want
of due circumspection this new stone bridge became
in so great decaye, that in the latter time of queene
Marie, and beginning of hir maiestie now reigning,
collection was made vpon all householders, & carriages
passing ouer that bridge in manner of a tale or tax:
and more, by reason of the queenes commision, an
vniuersall taxation was made in nature of a tenth
and fifteenth ouer all the countrie of Kent, and the ci-
tie of Canturburie, for and towards the reparations
of the same bridge.

All which being an vniuersall burthen, & grieue to
the people, together with the reuenues of the bridge
lands, did not yet suffice to saue the ruine of that fa-
mous stone bridge, vntill by the carefull trauell of
the said sir Roger Spawwood (then a iustice in the
common plesses) a remedie was found thereto with-
out iniurie to any person, and without exaction of a-
ny passenger. Which remedie was, that all the ma-
nors, lands, tenements, and rents, belonging vnto
the bridge, should be freed from all leases thereof,
made at small rents; and the same lands to let to be
duelie improued to a higher rate, the same being a
matter answerable to right and reason; considering
the cause of the first gift of those lands then suffi-
cient, and the now dearth of things, which made it in-
sufficient to support the said bridge) the stone, tim-
ber and other stufte, for repaire of the same bridge,
with the works, wages, and carriages concerning
it, being now growne to farre greater prices than
in old time they were. Which desired remedie to vni-
do the old leases, was much impugned by manye
persons of wealthie hantow, receiving great profit by
those old vnder rented leases.

All which notwithstanding, this Roger Spawwood
persecuted the same to a good successe: for he making
to appeare before the lords of the counsell and the
rest of the iudges of the realme (in the presence of
such as intioed these old leases, and of their learned
counsell, and other fauourers) that the said manors,
lands, and tenements, belonging to the said bridge,
were giuen to the wardens & communalitie, vnto
the contributores lands; and that their old leases
made by the wardens oneise without consent of the
communalitie, were not good in law: the farmers
submitted themselves to surrender their old insuffi-
cient leases, and to take such as might be available
in law of the same lands. Whereby the yearelie reue-
nues of the bridge lands grew to be of more va-
lue than triple that which they were before: and
yet the old farmers had new leases vnto their owne
contentation; because the same are not so improued,
that they are as reasonable letten as other pri-
uat mens lands be.

To which deuise a further remedie was then ad-
ded, and set forth by the said iustice Spawwood, who
for perpetuall supplie (when need should be) presented
that the ancient contributores lands, almost growne
into obliuion, should be to that end reduced into a
convenient order and orderable vnto right and iustice.
And likewise for good direction in yearelie elections
of wardens, and other officers, with the payments,
prouision, works, and other such necessities required
for perpetuall maintenance of that bridge, by an
act of parlement in the eightieth yeare of this
queenes reigne, as appeareth in the printed booke
of statutes: wherein were manye things ordained

for the good ordering of the said bridge, and the offi-
cers belonging thereunto. After all which a charge
of five hundred pounds was of record debanded
and leuied vpon the wardens of the said bridge, for
sterages of the stipends of chanterle priests, some-
time serving in the chappell at the east end of the said
bridge, to the great damage and overthrow of the
bridge; had not the said iustice Spawwood by his tra-
uell vpon due and lawfull trial at the assizes, deli-
uered & discharged the bridge of that great demand;
as appeareth by record in the court of the ercheher,
before the said sir Roger Spawwood came to be chiefe
baron there. And yet abuse and slackenelle being
had in these things, the wardens (notwithstanding
that great beneuolence and reliefe was at sundrie
times and of sundrie persons procured vnto the said
bridge, by the carefull and diligent trauell of Tho-
mas Wotton of Bodon, esquier, of Kent esquier,
a dere father and fauourer of his countrie, as well
at the times of the elections of the wardens, and the
accounts of the officers) were forced to disburse
great sums of their owne monie from time to time,
to dispatch the needfull charges and works required
for the bridge, without any convenient allow-
ance of the contributores persons; at the yearelie e-
lections of the wardens, and without due regard had
for order of the said land, belonging and contributo-
rie to the bridge.

For remedying wherof the said sir Roger Spawwood,
then & now lord chiefe baron of the ercheher, procured
to passe another act of parlement, in the seven & thirtieth
yeare of hir maiestie reigne, wherein is further
prouision made for the said bridge, as in the printed
booke of statutes at large appeareth. By which statute
prouided means and by reasonable following the
presidents of the works and accounts (written in
great ligher books by the said chiefe baron, and
William Lambard esquier, in the yeare next after
the said last mentioned act of parlement of the se-
uen and twentieth of the queenes reigne, they then
erecting the office of wardens) all needfull repa-
rations be so done, and prouision before hand so
made, as it is not growne out of all controuersie,
that the said famous stone bridge of Rochester for e-
uer like to last according vnto the intent of the first
building, and the indowment thereof for the good
and benefittall seruice of the commonwealth. This
sir Roger Spawwood, hauing had before an other
wife (sued of the gentlemanlie familie of the Theo-
balde, is at this daie joined in marriage with Eliza-
beth (descended of an ancient and worshipfull fami-
lie) the daughter of John Copinger of Alhambres
in the countie of Kent esquier: which Elizabeth, be-
ing a woman of such rare modestie and patience, as
hir vertue entitles must needs confesse the same: not
reasoned these verses following to be composed to-
ching hir & hir husband the said sir Roger Spawwood:

Scacorum prothobaron (Manwood) beatum
Quem faciunt leges, lingua loquela virum
Counsellum tamen, quia natus Copinger
Egregius est, summi summi dignus viri
Qua uoluita thoro Wilkins, summi summi Manwood,
Congregantur coniux est fortis bini.
In the moneth of Auguste deceased Edward
first lord Clinton, earle of Lincoln, and lord ad-
mirall of England, knight of the garter, and one of
hir maiesties priuate counsell, a man of gre at vertue,
and seruice as well by sea as land, he was buried at
last in the last of his life, leaving manie children behind him bon-
nably married. Of this noble man (whose last will
raue to his sonne the honorable lords of the countie were
well knowne, to witte of the yearelie
regiment of the queenes maiestie, a compassing in
an orderlie deuise their high places of seruice to
the

Thomas
Wotton of
Bodon esquier
a father and
fauourer of
his countrie,

Sir Roger
Spawwood
and his wife
William
Lambard
esquier were
denies of the
said bridge.

Elizabeth
daughter of
John Copinger
esquier
second wife
to sir Roger
Spawwood,
his modellie,

The earle of
Lincolne
deceased.

William
Lambard
C. O.

the crowne, amongst others, speaketh verie commendable and deservedlie of this deceased earle, who (at such time as the said booke was published under the title aforesaid) had bene lord great admirall of England thirtie yeares, and of counsell unto three princes: alwaies of unspotted report speciallie for allegiance, and therefore as singularlie beloved in his life; so accordingly bemoaned at his death. The words that concerne this noble mans memorie are thus extant, to the advancement of his honour, testified by report of two English poets:

O Clitona tua concessa est regia clausa

Tutela, totos per denos circiter annos:

Consuluisse tribus (nec hoc tibi gloria parua)

Principibus, veterum satraparum sanguine clares,

Multa gerens pelago praeclare, multaque terris:

Hunc decorat comitem grande Lincolnia fastu.

And before this, namely in the yeare 1564, at that time the said noble man was honored with the title of *Præfectus maris*, and attendant upon his maiestie in presence, at his being in Cambridge, where he was magnificallie intertained with all his troupe of lords and traine of ladies, &c: thus did an academiike wytte in praise of the aforesaid earle:

Regnatorque maris Clintonus, cuius in vndis

Excellens nomen præcipulumque decus:

Ille mihi Neptunus, aquas mouet ille tridente,

Hunc Triton, hunc pelagi dii, deæq; colunt.

Jesuits, seminaries, and massing priests set out the seas and banished out of this realme of England for ever.

On the one and twentieth daie of Januarie, one and twentie Jesuites, seminaries, and other massing priests, late prisoners in the Tower of London, Sparthallie, and Kings bench, were shipped at the Tower wharffe, to be conveyed towards France, & banished this realme for ever, by vertue of a commission from his maiestie, as may moze fullie appeare by that which followeth.

A view of the said commission from the queenes maiestie.



Here as the queenes most excellent maiestie, foreseeing the danger that hath and might grow unto the realme, by accesse of Jesuits and seminarie priests, and other like wandering and massing priests coming hither to seduce and withdraw his loving subjects from their due obedience to God and his maiestie; and therewithall, traitorously to practise the mooring and stirring of rebellion within the realme, as hath appeared by sufficient proofe against them, and by confession of sundrie of themselves; for the which diverse of the said Jesuits and seminarie priests have bene tried, condemned, and executed by the ordinarie and ordinarie course of his maiesties lawes, and yet they have not refrained daillie to practise and attempt the like treasons. His maiestie notwithstanding, following the accustomed course of his princelie clemencie, liking rather for this time to have them onelie banished out of the realme, than to suffer the iustice of his lawes to be executed against them (although they have deserved the same in the highest degree) hath given power to us of his maiesties privie counsell & others, by commission and warrant under the great seale of England, bearing date the fiftenth daie of this present month of Januarie, to see this his purpose and determination for their banishment put in execution. By vertue whereof, we have proceeded thereto, and have committed to the charge of these bearers, William Bolles one of his maiesties yeomen of his chamber, and Anthonie Hall, the persons whose names doe follow, that is to saie, James Bosgraue, John Hart, Edward Kishon, Jasper Delwood, William Redder, Samuel Coniers, Arthur

The queenes maiesties mercies notable.

The names of such Jesuits.

Wits, William Wharmington, Richard Blake, William Hartlie, Richard Poyris, William Dean, William Bishop, Robert Putter, Thomas Sparthallie, John Coliton, Christopher Tomson, Thomas Worthington, John Barnes, William Smith, clerks, being Jesuits, seminarie, and other wandering and massing priests, and Henrie Dytton gentleman; all which have bene apprehended in this realme, to be by them imbarked, and transported beyond the seas, according to such direction as they have received in that behalfe.

These shall be the residue by the authoritie aforesaid, to will and require you, and in his maiesties name straitlie to charge and command you, and curie of you his maiesties officers, as well within the realme of England and Ireland, as in anie other parts of his maiesties dominions and countries, to whom it may and shall apperteine, not onelie to suffer them to passe under the charge of the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall, but also that in case by contrarie of winds, or extremitie of weather, they shall be after their imbarking, driven into anie port or crake within anie of your iurisdiction, that upon the sight of this passport ye aid and assist the said Bolles, and Anthonie Hall, if they shall so require you, in seeing them safelie retained, committed, & kept in custodie (if they shall come aland) till such time as they the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall may with safetie put againe into the sea, to transport them to such place beyond the sea, as by our direction they are appointed; and to suffer them eassones to imbarke and depart, without state or interruption. Forseeing, that they the said Jesuits and seminarie, and other the wandering and massing priests aforesaid, nor anie of them, nor the said Henrie Dytton be suffered to come or transport out of the realme, anie thing that by the lawes be prohibited or forbidden. Whereof (as of the rest commanded herein) we require you not to faile, as you will answer to the contrarie at your perils. Given under our hands at Oranewich the twentieth daie of Januarie, in the seven and thirtieth yeare of his maiesties reigne. ¶ Now followeth a certificat of the maister that transported the aforesaid one and twentie banished persons, as followeth.

A further charge upon the said seminarie touching transposition.

To the right honorable lords and others of his maiesties most honorable privie counsell, and all other officers to whome it may apperteine.



These may be to certifie, &c: that William Bolles, yeoman of his maiesties chamber, and Anthonie Hall of London skinner, having imbarked at the Tower wharffe of London, the one and twentieth daie of Januarie 1584 one and twentie persons being banished men into my barke called the Sparthallie of Colchester, to be transported and conveyed into Normandie, for sixtene of which said one and twentie persons they had compounded with me aforesaid. The same William Bolles and Anthonie Hall have satisfied and paid me for all their passages and vittels, and have also hired at Dover an experimented pilot for the coasts of Normandie; which said Bolles and Hall with the said banished men in their charges, after their being by contrarie winds driven to state against Grise, at Grauesend, in Tilberie hope, at Le, at the Spaniard, at the Downes, at Dover, and at Rie, were by force of weather and chase of pirates driven to Bullen, and there arrived all safelie the second day of Februarie 1584, and thence sent the said banished men, some by horse, but most on foot, with conducts to Abbis

A certificat to the lords of the counsell, &c: concerning the aforesaid matter.

Wille

in the coasts of Normandie. Witnesse my hand hereunto this first of February, 1584. By me Matthew Strut.

An other certificat, written and directed into England by the said banished men.



Ull magistrates, officers, & ministers, within the realme of England or elsewhere, to whom it may in any wise appertain: this may be to give certification, that we whose names are here under written, who were imbarked at the Tower wharfe of London the one and twentieth daie of Januarie 1584, and there receiued into the charge of maister William Bolles, and maister Anthonie Hall, by commission from their lordships and other hir maiesties most honorable priue counsell, haue bene by them the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall verie friendlie & honestlie intreated, and with careful diligence safelie conducted, & conueied to the prouince of Normandie, & by them left this third daie of February, according to the English computation, in the yeare of Christ 1584, which said Bolles and Hall haue in our presence paid the maister of the barke which transported vs for his whole freight and vittells in the ship, for the time of our remaining abroad: and generallie so well vsed vs in all respects, that we can not but acknowledge our selues much beholding to them & fullie satisfied, in hauing bene committed to the charge of so courteous officers, sith the case standeth so with vs that we are banished our countrie contrarie to our desires, wherein we take no little griefe of mind. For testimonie whereof, we haue hereunto set our seuerall hands this present third daie of February 1584. Jasper Watwood, Edward Kusthon, John Hart, &c.

¶ A Lord what a mercifull queene is this, in such sort to forgive and forget injuries, yea treasonable injuries, as by banishment onlie to chastise them, that deserued extreame punishment: yea with a banishment scarce fittie to be so termed; sith in the execution thereof there was such clemencie shewed, as that the banished by their owne confessions haue left acknowledged vnder their owne handwritting, a notable kind of curtesie receiued by the meanes of hir maiestie. And therefore they cannot but in conscience commend hir highnesse tender affection so grationlie exchanged for seuerer affliction; in so much that it may rightlie be reported of hir, gighnesse, which the poet spake of Caesar, that is to saie:

*Es pignus ad penitus principes, ad premia velox,
Cuique dolet quatuor cogitur esse feroc.*

Henric earle of Darbie appointed to be hir maiesties ambassadoz, to Henric the third French king, and to inuest him with the order of the garter, toke his leaue of the queenes maiestie at Greenwich on the twentieth daie of Januarie, and with him such gentlemen as were present, were admitted to kisse hir highnesse hand. Maister Robert Coke, Clarentien appointed to attend in that volage in place of Garter, whose name was void, and Robert Cloner Somerset herald likewise appointed to that tourneie, were referred to the two and twentieth daie of the same moneth. Noble men and gentlemen attending on the earle of Darbie; the lord Sands with eight seruants, lord Windsoze, eleven seruants, maister Scrope sonne and heire to the lord Scrope two seruants, maister Windsoze brother to the lord Windsoze thre seruants, sir Richard Sherbozne thre seruants, sir Randolph Bzereton sir seruants, maister Clarentien for Garter foure seruants, maister Anthonie Coke foure seruants,

maister Gerard sonne and heire to sir Thomas Gerard, maister Fleetwood, maister Indigate, maister Stallage gentleman vther, the queenes seruants. Maister Somerset herald of armes two seruants, maister Crompton, maister Smith, maister Denton, maister Thomas Wils one seruant, The earls owne; maister Thomas Arden squary two seruants, maister For controller one seruant, maister Hewton gentleman vther one seruant, maister Phillips chapleine one seruant, maister Alexander gentleman of the hofse one seruant, maister Apocroft physician one seruant. The earls waiting gentlemen; maister Watonie sonne and heire to sir John Watonie one seruant, maister Legh son and heire to sir Piers a Legh one seruant, maister Warren one seruant, maister Thomas Sherebozne sonne to sir Richard Sherbozne, maister Doilie had one seruant, maister Parker one seruant, maister Richard Starke one seruant, maister Stanlie one seruant, maister Bzereton, maister Hammer one seruant, maister Flon one seruant, maister Salsburie one seruant, maister Wshie my lords page, maister Donnes one seruant, maister Francis Starke one seruant, maister Baptist one seruant, maister Randolph one seruant, maister Toller, maister Chambers one seruant, maister Foxton, maister Russell one seruant. The earles yeomen sixtie. His traine had to carie trunks, males, and chests, siue carts and a wagon throughout from Calis to Paris, besides the earls sumpter hofse and garde bandes on hofse backe.

On the first and twentieth daie of Januarie, the earle with his traine passed from London to Grauesend in a flitboat called a light hofseman, and there taking post hofses rid to Sittingborne, and there lodged, from whence they rid to Dover, where they imbarked and landed at Calis on the first of February, the earle of Darbie lord ambassadoz, with the lords Sands and Windsoze transported in the queens ship named the Skout, the other gentlemen & traine in craiers of Dover to the number of eight in the whole, where they were all receiued and welcomed to the towne by monsieur de Gourdon gouernour thereof, and rested there the next daie: on which daie at night the said earle, barons, and principall gentlemen were invited to a supper, by the said monsieur de Gourdon, which was prepared for them in a merchants house in verie sumptuous sort and great intertainment, and after supper musike and dancing, some ladies and gentlewomen of the towne being purposed brought to the place to intertaine and to dance with the noblemen and others.

On the third of February the whole traine went from Calis to Bullogne to bed, where they were verie well interteined, the gouernours deputie presenting the earle with certeine pots of wine of sundrie sorts. On the fourth of February they rid to Ponttrell to bed, and there were likewise presented. On the fifth they went to Albenill to bed, and were met with one hundred and fiftie shot of barquebuzers at the entrie of the towne; where on either side the streets were made ranks of shot all the way as they passed to their lodging, & after marched off about the market place, giuing manie a volée of shot till it waxed darke, the gouernour of the towne presenting sundrie sorts of wine. And the daie following they toke their tourne to Amiens to bed, where of monsieur Creutecure called Boninnet, lieutenant of Picardie for the king, accompanied with an hundred gentlemen, and best citizens, met the earle halfe a mile without the towne, and so rid talking with him & his traine. That night the said Creutecure presented the earle with great store of verie large and good fresh water fish, and the towne with wine of diuerse sorts,

The lord and ambassador passed from London to Grauesend, and so to Dover, and imbarked at Calis.

Monsieur de Gourdon gouernour of Calis interteined the ambassador.

Monsieur Creutecure lieutenant of Picardie met the lord ambassador.

A certificat wrought to hang vpon perpetual record, wherein the Jesuits do acknowledge the exceeding courteous and bountifull vsage shewed vnto them at and in their banishment, &c. Write good reader note.

Ouid. lib. 1. de Pom.

Earle of Darbie ambassadoz into France.

Attendants vpon the said ambassadoz.

forts, and the daie following being Sunday, the said Crenicure invited the earle to dinner, which dinner was greatly commended. After dinner his lordship & traine went to Wyethill to bed, the next daie to Cleremont, where he staid Tuesday, and on Wednesday the tenth of Februarie to Lizarth.

Sir Edward Stafford the quenes ambassador resident with the French king.

On the 11 he went to S. Denise, where by the waie his lordship was met by Sir Edward Stafford, his maiesties ambassador resident with the French king, who brought with him diuerse gentlemen of England, to the number of thirtie horse, and so accompanied him to S. Denise where they kept companie all the daie following being Friday. On Saturday his lordship made his entrie into Paris, about two o'clock of the clocke at after none, there being of the lord ambassadors traine more than two hundred horse; and midwaie betwene saint Denise and Paris, there met with their lordships sent from the king, the duke of Montpensier a prince of the blood, the lords of Caignie, le Chapelle aux Ursins, countie de Lude, de Bienné, de Salicorne, de la Roche Fenelon, who had sometimes bene ambassadors in England, Desfric, D'abin, de Fontaines, de Coimillon, the marques of Curton, the countie de Gignan, all counsellors in the counsell, & knights of the holie ghost. The duke of Tremouille, the countie de Villars, de Creance, Sancerre, and of La Roche, with a great number of lords and barons, gentlemen of the chamber, which all were commanded by the king to mount on horsebacke, and accompanie the said duke de Montpensier, who met the earle of Derby and the English traine midwaie betwixt Paris and saint Denise, and did accompanie him unto hostell de Longuenille, sometime called the hostell of Anion. At his lordships entrie into the said lodging, the sirs de Parle and de Conair maistres de hostell to his maiestie, gaue him to vnderstand how they were appointed by the king to haue care of his good bage and interteinement, who likewise had appointed mestiers de la Roche Fenelon, the marques de Curton, & the countie de Gignan, to keepe his lordship companie at all times. And so was his lordship with the other lords and gentlemen lodged in the said hostell de Longuenille, where was three tables verie sumptuouslie furnished for them all of the kings cost; the one table in the great chamber for the lords and gentlemen, seruants to his maiestie; the other in the hall for the erle of Derbies gentlemen; and the third in a gallerie beneath for gentlemen seruants, besides liuerie into euerie chamber, both of war, wood, wine, and such like, in as great plenty as could be desired.

The Statette & the honorable receiving of the lord ambassador before he came to the presence & audience of the French king.

On Monday the fourteenth of Februarie after the English account, and the foure and twentieth after the French reckoning, the said earle betwixt the houres of two and three in the after none, went from his lodging by a posterne through the garden, which is néere to the Loure, accompanied with the said lords de la Roche Fenelon, de Curton, and Gignan, together with the sirs de Gondie, & the said de Parle, and de Conair, and found the captains of the regiment of the kings gard, making two ranks on either side of the street, beginning from the posterne to the Loure gate, who welcomed him in the kings behalfe. Without the gate of the said Loure he was receiued by the lieutenants of the great prouost of France & his archers; at the Loure gate by the sirs de Montegnie capitaine thereof to his maiestie and his archers; which archers together with those of the great prouost made two ranks from the said gate of the Loure to the foot of the staires. From the foot of the staires his lordship was receiued by the sirs de Verdillon the French lieutenant of the Swissers of the kings gard, which from the foot of the said staires

ers to the doze of the hall, made two ranks for his lordships passage. At the entrie of the hall, his lordship was receiued by the sirs de Chateau blanc knight of the holie ghost, and capitaine of the archers of the kings gard; who likewise from the said doze vnto the doze of the antichamber made two ranks. From the doze of the antichamber, his lordship was receiued by the sirs de Combault of the holie ghost, chiefe master de hostell to the king, and by the other masters of the hostell to his maiestie, and by his gentlemen waiters; and there in the said antichamber all the said earle of Derbies officers and gentlemen wearing liueries were appointed to staid, and the quenes seruants that proceeded next after them, and before the said earle went still forward. At the entrie of the chamber of estate his lordship was receiued by the sirs de Liencourt knight of the holie ghost, chiefe escuir of the kings escuir, and the other escuires of the escuir together, with the lieutenant of the hundred gentlemen of his maiestie, who made likewise two ranks for his lordships passage from that chamber doze to the chamber of audience, euerie of them bearing halberds in their hands. At the entrance of the antichamber, his lordship was receiued by the duke Joleux, accompanied with the gentlemen of the kings chamber ordinaire, who made two ranks from that chamber doze to the doze of the chamber roiall.

Into the said chamber roiall first entred all the gentlemen, the quenes maiesties seruants, the lords that had receiued and accompanied the said earle and lords; and the said duke de Joleux accompanied the said earle vnto the bars that stood about the edge of the haltpase, or mounting floze in the same chamber, where the king stood at his beds feet, accompanied without the said barriers on his right hand with the cardinals of Bourbon, Wandolme, and Joleux; and on the left hand with the lords, the princes of Contie, the countie de Soissons, and duke Montpensier, princes of the blood; the dukes de Beuers, Delbeuse, de la Tremouille, de Ketz, monsieur le chancelier, sirs de Aliequier, du Bonchale, de la Violette, Dantragues, de la Chapelle aux Ursins, Chaignie, la Auguion, countie de Pauleurier, Clermont, Dantragues, de Larchaut, and other knights of the holie ghost, and counsellors of the estate in great number. The said earle with the lord ambassador ordinaire of England alone, he entered within the said haltpase within the barriers vnto his maiestie, of whom they were receiued with great courtesie, & as amiable countenance as could be. And the earle deliuered the quenes maiesties letters vnto the king with great reuerence, and then making rehearsall of that he had in charge to saie, the said ambassador presented vnto the king the lords Sands and Windsor, with other the English knights and gentlemen; which all one after an other mounted vpon the haltpase, kissed their hands, & did their reuerence vnto the king. When the erle toke his leaue, and was conducted by all the lords & captaines that had before receiued him, and conueied him vnto the place where they had first receiued him. Afterwards he went to salute the quene mother, and at the entrance into his antichamber he was receiued by monsieur de Lanfac knight of the holie ghost, and knight of honour vnto the same quene, whom he found accompanied with his néce the princeesse of Lozaine standing at his beds head, the princeesses of Conde and Fontie, and the duchess of Beuers standing at the beds feet, the duchesses Dufiz, and of Ketz, and other ladies and gentlewomen in great number. From thence his lordship was conueied to the quene Regents chamber, at the entrance whereof he was receiued by the countie de Fiesque knight

The chamber roiall, & manner of receiving and conducting of the lord ambassador thereunto, and other notable observations.

The earle of Derby & Sir Edward Stafford, &c. are courteously receiued of the king.

The lord ambassador saluted the quene mother.

The lord ambassador conueied to the quene Regents chamber.

2d ambassador past in the Grace, and to the court, and to the

leur de son go, ir of inter, the aduoc.

leur courre nant of the lord aduoc.

of the holie ghost, and his knight of honour, finding him accompanied with the duchesses of Montpensier and Joyeuse, who stood at his beds feet, the ladies of Kolden his lady of honour and other ladies and gentlewomen also in great number, and then returned to the foresaid hostell de Longueville.

The French king inserted into the order of the garter.

On mondaie the fifteenth of Februarie, the king by monsieur le Doyt Fenelon told the lord ambassador his mind touching the receipt of the order, that he intended to receiue it on thursdaie following in the after none, at the Augustine friers, which was done accordinglie with a mantle of blew velvet, and a hood, and collar of the order, with a booke of the statutes of the order, which all were inserted upon the king in a place called maison de Pantallies; but the oth was ministered unto the king in the friers church, Magnificat being then song, or singing. On sundaie the eight and twentieth of Februarie, the ambassador with his traine took their leaue, at whose returne from the court to his lodging he was presented that

Gifts of reall magnificence bestowed and received.

night with a rich cupbord of plate, worth twelue hundred pounds at the least; and unto maister Clarenceur was giuen a chaine of gold worth one hundred and twentieth pounds and better, of two hundred thirtie and six links; to maister Summeret a chaine of one hundred and fiftie links, worth one hundred marks; and to Thomas Spils a chaine of the same value.

On the thursdaie following, the earle with his traine set forward homewards from Paris unto saint Denise, and so were lodged all the waie in the same lodgings that before they had bene received in, and arrived prosperously in England, from Wollogne to Dover, on fridaie the twelue day of March; and on the tuesdaie following were brought to the queenes maiesties presence at Greene wich, who graciously welcommed them home.

William Parrie hanged and quartered at Westminster.

This yeare on the second daie of March being tuesdaie, William Parrie was drawne from the Tower thorough the citie of London to Westminster, and there in the palace court, hanged, boweled, and quartered, for high and horrible treasons by him practised, as maie appeare by the discourse that followeth, published upon his execution, to giue generall intimation of his notorious trecheries unto all the queenes maiesties subiects.

A true and plaine declaration of the horrible treasons practised by William Parrie against the queenes maiestie, and of his conviction and execution for the same, the second of March 1584, according to the accounts of England.

A description of William Parrie.



This William Parrie, being a man of verie meane and base parentage, but of a most proud and insolent spirit, bearing himselfe alwaies far above the measure of his fortune, after he had long led a wastfull and dissolute life, and had committed a great outrage against one Hugh Hare, a gentleman of the inner temple, with an intent to haue murdered him in his owne chamber, for the which he was most iustlie convicted, seeing himselfe generallie condemned with all good men for the same, and other his misdeemeanors, he left his naturall countrie, & gaue himselfe to trauell into forren parts beyond the seas. In the course of this his trauell he forsooke his allegiance and dutifull obedience to his maiestie, and was reconciled to the pope: and of this treason in superlatiue gradu.

William Parrie reconciled to the pope: and of his treason in superlatiue gradu.

letters, and bowels, to performe and execute: and so with this intent he returned into England in Ianuarie one thousand five hundred foure score & thre; and since that did practise at sundrie times to haue executed his most diuinish purpose and determination: yet covering the same so much as in him lay with a velle and ppetense of great loialtie vnto his maiestie.

Immediatlie vpon his returne into England, he sought to haue secret accesse to his maiestie, pretending to haue some matter of great importance to reueale vnto his: which obtained, and the same so practised in his highnesse palace at Whitehall, as his maiestie had but one onelie counsellor with him at the time of his accesse, in a remote place, who was so far distant, as he could not heare his speech. And there then he discovered vnto his maiestie (but shadowed with all craftie and traitorous skill he had) some part of the conference and proceeding as well with the said Jesuits, and other ministers of the popes, as especially with one Thomas Morgan a fugitive, residing at Paris, who alone all others did persuade him to proceed in that most diuinish attempt (as is set downe in his voluntarie confession following) bearing his maiestie notwithstanding in hand, that his onelie intent of proceeding so farre with the said Jesuits, and the popes ministers, tended to no other end, but to discover the dangerous practises devised and attempted against his maiestie by his disloyall subiects and other malicious persons in forren parts: albeit it hath since appeared most manifestlie, as well by his said confession, as by his dealing with one Edmund Penill esquier, that his onelie intent of discovering the same, in soe as he craftilie and traitorously did, tended to no other end, but to make the waie the easier to accomplish his most diuinish and wicked purpose.

Disimulation

Penill covert intent for his maiestie

Did man of like multi

Thomas Morgan a fugitive and furtherer of Parries purpose.

Edmund Penill not ignorant of this actiue

And although anie other prince but his maiestie (who is loth to put on a hard censure of those that protest to be loiall, as Parrie did) would rather haue proceeded vnto the punishment of a subiect that had troaded so farre, as by oth and vow to promise the taking awaie of his life (as he vnto his maiesties selfe did confesse) yet such was his goodnesse, as in stead of punishing, he did deale so graciously with him, as he suffered him not onelie to haue accesse vnto his presence: but also manie times to haue private conference with him, and did offer vnto him vpon opinion once conceiued of his fidelitie towards him (as though his wicked ppetense had bene, as he protested, for his seruice) a most liberall pension. Besides, to the end that he might not grow hatefull to the good and well affected subiects of the realme (from whome he could in no sort haue escaped with safetie of his life, if his diuinish purpose had bene reuealed) his maiestie did concale the same, without communicating it to anie creature; vntill such time as he himselfe had opened the same vnto certeine of his counsell; and that it was also discovered that he sought to draw the said Penill to haue bene a partie in his diuinish and most wicked purpose.

Gratious queene and too favourable to this enemies

A verie rare example, and such as doth more set forth the singular goodnesse and bountie of his maiesties princelie nature, than commend (if it be lawfull for a subiect to censure his soueraigne) his prouidence such as ought to be in a prince and person of his maiesties wisdom and qualitie. And as the goodnesse of his maiesties nature did hereby most manifestlie shew it selfe to be rare in so extraoordinarie a case, and in a matter of so great perill vnto his owne totall person: so did the malice of Parrie most evidently appeare to be in the highest and extreamest degree, who notwithstanding the said extraoordinarie grace and fauour extended towards him, did not onlie

The malice of Parrie grows to an extreme of mischief against the queene.

Penill com the ear of his

Penill com the ear of his

lie perswade the said Penill to be an associat in the said wicked enterpryse: but did also verie vehementlie (as Penill confesseth) importune him therein as an action lawfull, honourable, and meritorious, omitting nothing that might prouoke him to assent thereto. But such was the singular goodnesse of almighty God (who enen from hir maiesties cradle by manie euident arguments hath shewed himselfe hir onelie and especiall protector) that he so wrought in Penills heart, as he was moued to reueale the same vnto hir maiestie, and for that purpose made choice of a faithfull gentleman and of good qualitie in the court, vnto whome vpon mondaie the eight of Februarie last past, he discouered at large all that had passed betwene Parrie and him, who immediatlie made it knowne to hir maiestie. Whereupon hir highnesse pleasure was, that Penill should be examined by the earle of Leicester, and sir Christopher Hatton: who in the euening of the same daie did examine him, and he affirmed constantlie all which he had before declared to the said gentleman.

In the meane time, hir maiestie continued hir singular and most princelie magnanimitie, neither dismayed with the rarenesse of the accident, nor appalled with the horroz of so villanous an enterpryse, tending euen to the taking awaie of hir most gracious life (a matter especiallie obserued by the councelloz that was present at such time as Parrie after his returne did first discouer vnto hir maiestie his wicked purpose; who found no other alteration in hir countenance, than if he had imparted vnto hir some matter of contentment) which sheweth manifestlie how the repositeth hir confidence wholie in the defense of the almighty. And so hir maiestie, following the wonted course of hir singular clemencie, gaue order that Parrie the same mondaie in the euening (though not so knowne to him) should be sent vnto maister secretaries house in London, he being then there; who accordyng vnto such direction as he receiued from hir maiestie, did let him vnderstand, that hir highnesse (in respect of the good will she knewe he bare vnto the said Parrie, & of the trust that Parrie did outwardlie profess to repose in maister secretarie) had made especiall choice of him to deale with him in a matter that concerned hir highlie, and that she doubted not, but that he would discharge his dutie towards hir, accordyng vnto that extraordinary deuotion that he professed to beare vnto hir.

And thereupon he told him that hir maiestie had bene aduertised, that there was somewhat intended presentlie against hir owne person, wherewith the thought he could not but be made acquainted, considering the great trust that some of hir word affected subjects reposed in him: and that hir pleasure therefore was, that he should declare vnto him his knowledge therein: and whether the said Parrie himselfe had let fall anie speech vnto anie person (though with an intent onelie to haue discouered his disposition) that might draw him in suspicion, as though he himselfe had anie such wicked intent. But Parrie with great and beehement protestations denied it vtterlie. Whereupon maister secretarie, the rather to induce him to deale more plainelie in a matter so important, declared vnto him, that there was a gentleman of qualitie euerie waie as good or better than himselfe, and rather his friend than enemy, that would auouch it to his face: yet Parrie persisted stubbornelie in his former deniall, and iustificacion of his owne innocencie, and would not in anie respect yeeld that he was partie or partie to anie such motion, enterpryse, or intent.

Being lodged that night at M. secretaries house, the next morning he desired earnestlie to haue some further speech with maister secretarie: which gran-

ted, Parrie declared to him that he had called to remembrance that he had once some speech with one Penill a kinsman of his (so he called him) touching a point of doctrine contained in the answer made to the booke, intituled, The cecution of iustice in England; by which booke it was resolved, that it was lawfull to take awaie the life of a prince, in furtherance of the catholike religion: but he protested that he neuer had anie speech at all of anie attempt intended against hir maiesties person. Which deniall of his (at two sundrie times after so much light giuen him) doth set forth most apparantlie both the iustice and prouidence of God: his iustice, for that (though he was one of a sharpe conceipt) he had no power to take hold of this ouerture, thereby to haue auoided the danger that Penills accusation might bring him into by confessing the same, as a thing propounded onelie to sale Penills mind, whome before he had reported vnto maister secretarie he found a person discontented, and therefore his confession might to verie great purpose haue serued to haue cleared himselfe touching the intent: his prouidence, for that of his great mercie he would not suffer so dangerous and wicked a member to escape and liue to hir maiesties perill.

The same daie at night, Parrie was brought to the earle of Leicesters house, and there eftsoons examined before the said earle of Leicester, maister vicechamberlaine, and maister secretarie: he persisted still in his deniall of all that he was charged with. Whereupon, Penill being brought before him face to face, iustified his accusation against him. He notwithstanding would not yet yeeld to confesse it, but verie proude and insolentlie opposed his credit against the credit of Penill, affirming that his no, was as good as Penills yea, & as by way of recrimination, objected the crime to Penill himselfe. On the other side, Penill did with great constancie affirme all that he had before said, and did set downe manie probable circumstances of the times, places, and maners of their sundrie conferences, and of such other accidents as had happened betwene them in the course of that action: whereupon Parrie was then committed to the Tower, and Penill commanded by their honozs to set downe in writing vnder his hand, all that which before he had deliuered by words: which he did with his owne hand as followeth.

Edmund Newill his declaration the
tenth of Februarie, 1584, subscribed
with his owne hand,

William Parrie the last summer, some after his repulse in his sute for the maister ship of saint Batharins, repaired to my lodging in the White friers, where he shewed himselfe a person greatlie discontented, and beehementlie inueighed against hir maiestie, and willed me to assure my selfe, that during this time and state, I should neuer receiue contentment. But sith, said he, I know you to be honozable defended, and a man of resolution, if you will giue me assurance, either to loine with me, or not to discouer me, I will deliuer vnto you the onelie meanes to doe your selfe good: Which when I had promised him, he appointed me to come the next daie to his house in Feuter lane: & repairing thither accordynglie, I found him in his bed; whereupon he commanded his men forth, and began with me in this order.

My lord said he (so he called me) I protest before God, that thre reasons principallie doe induce me to enter into this action which I intend to disco-

Parrie is de-
sirous to haue
some speech
with maister
secretarie,

Parrie is exam-
ined before
certeine lordes
of the coun-
cell, &c.

Penill char-
geth Parrie
so pcciselic,
that he is
committed to
the Tower.

Note the
malicious hu-
mor of Parrie
because he
might not ob-
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apostolical
mulation!

Penill dis-
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Parrie is
committed to
the custodie &
examination
of sir Francis
Walsingham.

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Parrie de-
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protestation &
whatsoeuer is
demanded of
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to an ex-
tremitie of
ischiefe
and the
same.

Ar r r r r. f. ser

Triple reason that moved Barrie to his pretended treason.

Barrie committed it an act meritorious to murder his majestie.

A villanous persuasion or inducement to be necessary to the treason!

Note Barries pestilent humor of malice against his majestie.

These doubts were of advantage to Penill, but means of reprochfull ruine to Barrie.

ner on to you: the replanting of religion, the preferring of the Scottish title, and the advancement of justice, wonderfullie corrupted in this commonwealth. And thereupon entred into some discourses, what places were fit to be taken to give entrance to such foreign forces as should be best liked of, for the furtherance of such enterprises as were to be undertaken. And with these discourses he passed the time, untill he went to dinner: after which, the company being retired, he entred into his former discourses. And if I be not deceived (said he) by taking of Dublinborough castell, we shall hinder the passage of the queenes ships south of the river. Whereunto when he saw me give no contradiction, he spoke me by the hand. Truly (said he) this is nothing: if men were resolute, there is an enterpryse of much more moment, and much easier to performe: an act honorable, and meritorious to God and the world. Which seeing me desirous to know, he was not ashamed to utter in plaine termes, to consist in killing of his majestie: wherein, saith he, if you will go with me, I will lose my life, or deliver my countrie from his bad and tyrannous government. At which speeches finding me discontented, he asked me if I had read doctor Allens booke, out of which he alledged an authoritie for it. I answered, no, and that I did not beleue that authoritie. Well (said he) what will you saie, if I shew further authoritie than this, even from Rome it selfe, a plaine dispensation for the killing of him, wherein you shall find it (as I said before) meritorious? Good cousin said I, when you shall shew it me, I shall thinke it verie strange, when I shall see one to hold that for meritorious, which another holdeth for damnable. Well, said Barrie, doe me but the favour to thinke upon it till to morrow: and if one man be in the towne, I will not faile to shew you the thing it selfe: and if he be not, he will be within these five or six daies, at which time if it please you to meete me at Canon rowe, we may there receive the sacrament to be true each to other, and then I will discover unto you both the partie, & the thing it selfe. Whereupon I prayed Barrie to thinke better upon it, as a matter of great charge both of soule and bodie. I would to God, said Barrie, you were as perfectlie persuaded in it as I am! for then you doubtedlie you should doe God great service.

Not long after eight or ten daies (as I remember) Barrie committing to visit me at my lodging in Berns rents in Holborne, as he often used, we walked with into the fields, where he renewed againe his determination to kill his majestie, whom he said he thought most unworthy to live, and that he wondered I was so scrupulous therein. She hath sought, said he, your ruine and overthrow, why should you not then seeke to revenge it? I confesse (quoth I) that my case is hard, but yet am I not so desperat as to revenge it upon my selfe, which must needs be the event of so unhonest and impossible an enterpryse. Unpossible, said Barrie! I wonder at you, for in truth there is not any thing more easie: you are no courtier, and therefore know not his customes of walking with small traine, and often in the garden verie privately, at which time my selfe may easilie have access unto him, and you also when you are knownen in court. Upon the fact we must have a barge readie to carrie us with speed downe the river, where we will have a ship readie to transport us if it be needfull: but upon my head, we shall never be followed so far. I asked him; How will you escape south of the garden? For you shall not be permitted to carrie any men with you, and the gates will then be locked, neither can you carrie a dog without suspicion. As for a dog (said Barrie) I care not: my dagger is enough. And as for mine escaping, those

that shall be with him, will be so busie about him, as I shall find opportunitie enough to escape, if you be there readie with the barge to receive me.

But if this same dangerous in respect of your reason before shewed, let it then rest till his coming to Saint James, and let us furnish our selves in the meane time with men and horse fit for the purpose: may each of us keepe eight or ten men without suspicion? And for my part, said he, I shall find good fellows that will follow me without suspecting mine intent. It is much, said he, that so manie resolute men made doe upon the sudden, being well appointed with each his case of dages: if they were an hundred waiting upon him, they were not able to save him, you coming on the one side, and I on the other, and discharging our dages upon him, it were verie happy if we should both misse him. But if our dages faile, I shall bestirre me well with a sword yet the escape me. Whereunto I said: Good doctor, give over this odious enterpryse, & trouble me no more with the hearing of that, which in heart I loath so much. I would to God the enterpryse were honest, that I might make knowne unto thee whether I want resolution! And not long after, his majestie came to Saint James, after which, one morning (the date certaine I remember not) Barrie renewed againe his former discourse of killing his majestie, with great earnestnesse and importunitie perswading me to joine therein: saying he thought me the onelie man of England like to performe it, in respect of my bawle, as he termed it.

Whereupon I made semblance as if I had bene more willing to heare him than before, hoping by that means to cause him to deliver his mind to some other that might be wiser thereof with me, wherein never the lesse I failed. After all this, on saturday last being the sixt of february, betwene the house of five and six in the after none, Barrie came to my chamber, and desired to talke with me apart, whereupon we drew our selves to a window. And where I had told Barrie before, that a learned man whom I met by chance in the fields, unto whom I proponed the question touching his majestie, had answered me that it was an enterpryse most villanous and damnable, willing me to discharge my selfe of it: Barrie then desired to know that learned mans name, and what was become of him, saying after a scornefull manner; No doubt he was a verie wise man, and you wiser in beleaving him: & said further, I hope you told him not that I had any thing from Rome. Yes in truth, said I. Whereunto Barrie said, I would you had not named me, nor spoken of any thing I had from Rome! And thereupon he earnestlie perswaded me to depart beyond the seas, promising to procure me safe passage into Wales, and from thence into Brittain, whereat we ended. But I then resolved not to doe so, but to discharge my conscience, and late open this his most traitorous and abhominable intention against his majestie: which I revealed in sort as is before set downe.

Edmund Newill.

After this confession of Edmund Penill, William Barrie the eleventh daie of february last, being examined in the Tower of London, by the lord Hunsdon lord gouvernour of Berwicke, Sir Christopher Hatton knight vicechamberleine to his majestie, and Francis Wallingham knight principal secretarie to his majestie, did voluntarie and without any constraint by word of mouth make confession of his said treason, and after set it downe in writing all with his owne hand in his lodging in the Tower, and sent it to the court the thirteenth of the same, by the lieutenant of the Tower. The parts

Note the traitorous proceeding of Barrie, and how he should have bene taken.

Barrie the traitorous proceeding of Barrie to accomplish his treason by oft frequenting the action.

Penill is resolved at no hand to be partaker with Barrie in his treason.

Barrie was voluntarie confession in the hearing of certain lordes.

Such and glorie, hard was to come I graced Barrie

Barrie for his traitorous, or with it

Barrie sixth by before: quito: still

Barrie solved to plot of treacherie, bewile.

whereof concerning his manner of doing the same, and the treasons wherewith he was iustlie charged are here set downe, word for word, as they are written and signed with his owne hand & name, the eleuenth of Februarie, 1584.

The voluntarie confession of William

Parrie, in writing all with his owne hand.

The voluntarie confession of William Parrie, doctor of the lawes (now prisoner in the Tower) & accused of treason by Edmund Neuell esquier, promised by him (with all faith & humilitie) to the queenes maiestie, in discharge of his conscience and dutie towards God and hir. Before the lord Hunston lord gouernor of Berwike, sir Christopher Hatton knight vicechamberlaine, sir F. Walsingham knight principall secretarie, the thirteenth of Februarie, 1584.

Parrie.

Marke: good and gracious lorde, whose hard hap it was to intertaine so bad a gracelesse a sennant.

Parrie sueth for licence to traueil beyond sea, and obiecteth it.

Parrie instructeth himselfe in religion before the inquisition of Spillaine.

Parrie is refused in the p'ior of his treacherous deuile.

In the yeare 1570 I was twosome his maiesties seruant, from which time vntill the yeare 1580, I serued, honored, and loued hir with as great readinesse, deuotion and assurance as anie poore subiect in England. In the end of that yeare, and vntill Whitsunmer 1582, I had some trouble for the hurting of a gentleman of the Temple. In which action I was so disgraced and oppressed by two great men (to whom I haue of late bene beholden) that I neuer had contented thought since. There began my misfortune, and here followeth my wofull fall. In Iulie after, I laboured for licence to traueil for thre yeares, which (upon some consideration) was easilie obtained. And so in August, I went ouer with doubtful mind of returne, for that being suspected in religion, and not hauing receiued the communion in two and twentie yeares, I began to mistrust my aduancement in England. In September I came to Paris, where I was reconciled to the church, and aduised to liue without scandale, the rather for that it was mistrusted by the English catholikes, that I had intelligence with the greatest counsellour of England. I staid not long there, but remoued to Lions (a place of great traffike) where, bicause it was the ordinarie passage of our nation to and fro betwene Paris and Rome, I was also suspected.

To put all men out of doubt of me, and for some other cause, I went to Spillaine, from whence as a place of some danger (though I found fauour there) after I had cleared my conscience, and satisfied my selfe in religion before the inquisitor, I went to Venice. There I came acquainted with father Benedito Palmito, a graue and a learned Iesuit. By conference with him of the hard state of the catholikes in England, & by reading of the booke De persecutione Anglicana, and other discourses of like argument, I conceived a possible meane to relieue the afflicted state of our catholikes, if the same might be well warranted in religion and conscience by the pope, or some learned diuines. I asked his opinion, he made it clere, commended my deuotion, comforted me in it, and after a while made me knownen to the Runtio Campeggio, there resident for his holinesse. By his meanes I wrote vnto the pope, presented the seruice, and sued for a passport to go to Rome, and to returne safelie into France. Answer came from cardinall Como, that I might come, and should be welcome. I mislied the warrant, sued for a better, which I was promised: but it came not before my departure to Lions, where I promised to staid some time for it.

And being indeed desirous to go to Rome, and loth to go without countenance, I desired Christophero de Salazar, secretaris to the king catholike in Venice,

who had some brotherstanding (by conference) of my deuotion to the afflicted catholikes at home and abroad, to commend me to the duke di Pous terra gouernour of Spillaine, and to the countie of Admaris Embi, then resident for the king his master in Rome: which he promised to doe effectualle for the one, and did for the other. And so I toke my iournie towards Lions, whither came for me an ample passport (but somewhat too late) that I might come & go. In verbo pontificis per omnes iurisdictiones ecclesiasticas, absq; impedimento. I acquainted some good fathers there of my necessitie to depart towards Paris by promise, & praised their aduises vpon diuerse points, wherein I was well satisfied. And so assuring them that his holinesse should heare from me shortly, it was undertaken that I should be excused for that time.

In October I came to Paris, where (vpon better opinion conceived of me amongst my catholike countriemen) I found my credit well settled, and such as mistrusted me before, readie to trust and embrace me. And being one daie at the chamber of Thomas Morgan a catholike gentleman (greatlie beloued and trusted on that side) amongst other gentlemen, talking (but in verie good sort) of England, I was desired by Morgan to go by with him to another chamber, where he brake with me, and told me that it was hoped and looked for, that I should doe some seruice for God and his church. I answered him I would do it, if it were to kill the greatest subiect in England: whom I named, and in truth then hated. So no, said he, let him liue to his greater fall and ruine of his house: 2 It is the queene I meane. I had him as I wished, and told him it were some done, if it might be lawfullie done, and warranted in the opinion of some learned diuines. And so the doubt once resolved (though as you haue heard I was before reasonable well satisfied) I vowed to undertake the enterprise, for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the six apostolike. Diuers diuines were named, doctor Allen I desired, Parsons I refused. And by chance came master Mats a learned priest, with whom I conferred, and was overruled.

For he plainelie pronounced (the case onelie altered in name) that it was vtterlie vnlawfull: with whom manye English priests did agree as I haue heard, if it be not altered, since the booke made in answer of the execution of the English iustice was published, which I must confesse hath taken hard hold in me, and I feare me will do in others, if it be not premented by more grations handling of the quiet and obedient catholike subiects, whereof there is god and greater store in England than this age will ertinguish. Well, notwithstanding all these doubts, I was gone so far by letters and conference in Italie, that I could not go backe, but promised faithfullie to performe the enterprise, if his holinesse vpon my offer & letters would allow it, & grant me full remission of my sinnes. 4 I wrote my letters the first of Ianuarie 1584, by their computation, toke aduise vpon them in confession of father Amball a Cordeto a learned Iesuit in Paris, was louinglie embraced, commended, confessed, and communed at the Iesuits at one altar with the cardinals of Wandosini and Parbone: whereof I praised certificat, and inclosed the same in my letter to his holinesse, to lead him the rather to absolue me, which I required by my letters, in consideration of so great an enterprise undertaken without promise or reward.

I went with Morgan to the Runtio Magazzoni, to whom I read the letter and certificat inclosed, sealed it, & left it with him to send to Rome: he promised great care of it, and to procure answer; and so louinglie embraced me, wished me good speed, and promised that I should be remembered at the altar.

¶ r r r r r. y.

Note with what felowship, enmitie to God and his church, Parrie lineth himselfe.

Note the diuinitie conference betwene Morgan and Parrie.

Parrie boundeth to undertake the killing of the queene.

Lord what a lamentable hearing is this!

Parrie is now become altogether past grace, and growne resolute with Judas to kill the Lords appointed.

6 After this I desired Hogan, that some speciall man might be made priuie to this matter, least he dieng, and I miscarieng in the execution, and my intent neuer trulie discovered, it might sticke for an euerlasting spot in my race. Diuerse were named, but none agreed vpon for feare of betwailing.

7 This being done, Hogan assured me, that shortly after my departure, the L. Fernehurst (then in Paris) should go into Scotland, and be readie vpon the first newes of the quæns fall, to enter into England with 20 or 30000 men to defend the queene of Scotland (whom, and the king hir sonne, I doe in my conscience acquit of anie priuie liking, or consent to this, or anie other bad action, for anie thing that euer I did know.)

I shortly departed for England, and arrived at Kie in Januarie 1582, from whence I wrote to the court, aduertised some, that I had a speciall seruice to discover to the quæns maiestie. 8 Which I did more to prepare accesse and credit, than for anie care I had of hir person, though I were fullie resolved neuer to touch hir (notwithstanding anie warrant) if by anie deuise, perswasion, or policie she might be wrought to deale more grationlie with the catholikes than she doth, or by our maner of proceeding in parlement meaneth to doe, for anie thing yet seene. I came to the court (then at Whitehall) praised audience, had it at large, and berie priuatie discovered to hir maiestie this conspiracie, much to his effect, though couered with all the skill I had: she toke it doubtfullie, I departed with feare. And amongst other things, I cannot forget hir maiesties gracions speech then vntered touching the catholikes, which of late, after a long I auowed in parlement: she said to me that neuer a catholike should be troubled for religion or supremacie, so long as they liued like good subiects. Whereby I mistrusted that hir maiestie is bozne in hand, that none is troubled for the one or the other. It may be trulie said that it is better than it hath bene, though it be not yet as it should be.

In March last, while I was at Ornenewich (as I remember) suing for saint Katharines, came letters to me from cardinall Como, dated at Rome the last of Januarie before, whereby I found the enterprise commended, and allowed, and my selfe absolved (in his holinesse name) of all my sinnes, and willed to go forward in the name of God. What letter I shewed to some in court, who imparted it to the quæne: what it wrought, or maie worke in hir maiestie, God knoweth: onelie this I know, 9 that it confirmed my resolution to kill hir, and made it clære in my conscience, that it was lawfull and meritorious. And yet was I determined neuer to doe it, if either policie, practise, perswasion, or motion in parlement could preuaile. I feared to be tempted, and therefore alwaies when I came nere hir, I left my dagger at home. 10 When I looked vpon hir maiestie, I remembred hir manie excellencies, I was greatlie troubled: and yet I saw no remedie, for my vowes were in heauen, my letters and promises in earth, and the case of the catholike recusants and others little bettered.

Sometimes I said to my selfe: Why should I care for hir? What hath she done for me? Haue I not spent ten thousand markes since I knew hir seruice, and neuer had penie by hir? It maie be said, she gaue me my life. But I saie (as my case shod) it had bene tyrannic to take it: and I feare me it is little lesse yet. If it please hir grationlie to looke in to my discontentments, would to Iesus Christ she had it, for I am wearie of it. And now to come to an end of this tragicall discourse. In Iulie I left the court, vnterlie reiected, discontented, and as hir maiestie might perceiue by my passionate letters, care-

lesse of my selfe. I came to London: doctor Allens booke was sent me out of France: 11 It redoubled my former conceits, euerie word in it was a warrant to a prepared mind. It taught that kings maie be excommunicated, depriued, and violentlie handled. It proueth that all warres ciuill or forren, undertaken for religion, is honourable. Hir maiestie maie doe well to read it, and to be out of doubt (if things be not amended) that it is a warning, and a doctrine full dangerous. This is the booke I shewed, in some places read, and lent to my cousin Penill (the accuser) who came often to mine house, put his finger in my dish, his hand in my purse, and the night wherein he accused me, was wrapped in my gowpe, six moneths at least after we had entered in to this conspiracie: in which space hir maiestie, and ten princes in seuerall prouinces might haue bene killed. God blesse hir maiestie from him: for before almighty God I tose and am glad in my soule, that it was his hap to discover me in time, though there were no danger nere.

And now to the matter of our meetings. He came to me in the beginning of August, and spake to me in this or the like sort: Cousine, let vs doe some what, sith we can haue nothing. I offered to loine with him, and gladlie heard him, hoping because I knew him to be a catholike, that he would hit vpon that I had in my head: but it fell not out so. He thought the deliuerie of the quæne of Scotland easie, presuming vpon his credit and kindred in the court: I thought it dangerous to hir, and impossible to men of our fortunes. He fell from that to the taking of Berwik: I spake of Quinborough and the name, rather to intertaine him with discourse, than that I cared for those motions, my head being full of greater matter. 12 I told him that I had another maner of enterprise, more honourable and profitable vnto vs, and the catholikes commonwealth, than all these, if he would loine in it with me, as he presentlie vowed to doe. He pressed to know it, I willed him to sleepe vpon the motion: he did so, and (belike ouertaken) came vnto me the next morning to my lodging in London, offered to loine with me, and toke his oth vpon a bible, to concale and constantlie to pursue the enterprise for the advancement of religion: which I also did, and meant to performe: the killing of the quæne was the matter.

The maner and place, to be on horsebacke, with eight or ten horses, when the should ride abroad about saint James, or some other like place. It was once thought fit in a garden, and that the escape would be easiest by water into Shepesh, or some other part: but we resolved vpon the first. This continued as agreed vpon manie moneths, till he heard of the death of Westmerland, whose land and dignitie (whereof he assured himselfe) bred belike this conscience in him to discover a treason in Februarie, contriued and agreed vpon in August. If it cost him not an ambitious head at last, let him neuer trust me. He brought a tall gentleman (whome he commended for an excellent pistolier) to me to Chanon Kio, to make one in the match: but I refused to deale with him, being loth to late my head vpon so manie hands.

Penill hath (I thinke) forgotten, that he did sweare to me at diuerse times, that all the advancement he could giue, should serue but for hir scourge, if euer time and occasion should serue: and that although he would not laie hand vpon hir in a corner, his hart serued him to strike off hir head in the field. Now leaving him to himselfe, thus much (to make an end) I must confesse of my selfe: I did meane to trie what might be done in parlement, to doe my best to hinder all hard courses, to haue praised hearing

I promise for a Scottish in-
statio after the
deuise of
Harrie ex-
ecuted.

Note the bil-
lans ill mind
to hir maie-
stie.

Note hir ma-
iesties unde-
serued grati-
tudes to pre-
tended catho-
likes.

Note Harries
resolution by
letters from
cardinall
Como.

Harrie is in a
manner
what to doe as
maie be noted
by these spee-
ches interro-
gatorie.

Harrie despe-
rat.

How long the
conspiracie
was in hand-
ling per it
was detected.

Note the ac-
tions that
should haue
borne com-
mended and
finished in
this conspi-
racie.

His oth and
all of the like
qualitie and
nature are
violable Sacra-
mentum.

The death of
Westmerland
reproged.

Harrie char-
geth Penill
with treasonous
speeches of
curled dis-
loyalties.

ring of the queenes maiestie, to maue hir (if I could) to take compassion vpon hir catholike subiects, and when all had failed, to do as I intended. If hir maiestie by this course would haue eased them, though she had neuer preferred me, I had with all comfort and patience borne it: 13 but if she had preferred me without ease or care of them, the enterprise had held. ¶ God preserve the queene, & incline hir merciful hart to forgive me this desperat purpose, and to take my head (with all my hart) for hir better satisfaction.

W. Parrie.

After which, for the better manifesting of his treasons, on the fourteenth of Februarie last past, there was a letter written by him to hir maiestie, verie voluntarie, all of his owne hand, without anie motion made to him. The tenor whereof, for that which concerneth these his traitorous dealings, is as followeth.

A letter written by Parrie to hir maiestie.

Your maiestie maie see by my voluntarie confession, the dangerous fruits of a discontented mind: & how constantlie I pursued my first conceived purpose in Venice, for the releefe of the afflicted catholikes, continued it in Lions, and resolved in Paris to put it in aduenture, for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the see apostolike. You maie see withall how it is commended, allowed, and warranted in conscience, diuinitie, and policie, by the pope and some great diuines: though it be true or likelie, that most of our English diuines (lesse practised in matters of this weight) doo vtterlie mislike and condemne it.

The enterprise is preuented, and conspiracie discovered, by an honourable gentleman my kinsman, and late familiar friend, maister Edmund Neuell, priuie and by solempne oth (taken vpon the bible) partie to the matter, wherof I am hardlie glad, but now sorie (in my verie soule) that euer I conceived or intended it, how commendable or meritorious so euer I thought it. God thanke him, and forgive me, who would not now (before God) attempt it (if I had libertie and oportunitie to doo it) to gaine your kingdom. I beseech Christ that my death and example maie as well satisfie your maiestie, and the world, as it shall glad and content me.

The queene of Scotland is your prisoner, let hir be honourable intreated, but yet surelie garded. The French king is French, you know it well enough, you will find him occupied when he should doo you good; he will not loose a pilgrimage to saue you a crowne. I haue no more to saie at this time, but that with my hart & soule I doo now honour & loue you, am inwardlie sorie for mine offense, and readie to make you amends by my death and patience. Discharge me *A culpa* but not *A pena*, good ladie. And so farewell, most gracious and the best natured and qualified queene that euer liued in England. From the Tower, the fourteenth of Februarie, one thousand five hundred eightie and four.

W. Parrie.

After which, to wit, the eighteenth of Februarie last past, Parrie, in further acknowledging his wicked and intended treasons, wrote a letter all of his owne hand in like voluntarie manner to the lord treasurer of England, and the earle of Leicester, lord steward of hir maiesties house, the tenor whereof is as followeth.

William Parries letter to the lord treasurer, and the earle of Leicester.

My lords, now that the conspiracie is discovered, the fault confessed, my conscience cleared, and mind prepared patientlie to suffer the paines due for so heinous a crime; I hope it shall not offend you, if I bring *Miserere* with the poore publicane, I leaue to despair with cursed Caine. My case is rare and strange, and for anie thing I can remember, singular: a naturall subiect solempnlie to vow the death of his naturall queene (so borne, so knowne, and so taken by all men) for the releefe of the afflicted catholikes, and restitution of religion. The matter first conceived in Venice, the seruice (in generall words) presented to the pope, continued and vndertaken in Paris, and lastlie commended and warranted by his holinesse, digested and resolved in England, if it had not bene preuented by accusation, or by hir maiesties greater lenitie and more gracious vface of hir catholike subiects.

This is my first and last offense conceived against my prince or countrie, and dooth (I cannot denie) containe all other faults whatsoever. It is now to be punished by death, or most graciouslie (beyond all common expectation) to be pardoned. Death I doo confesse to haue deserued, life I doo (with all humilitie) craue, if it may stand with the queenes honor, and policie of the time. To leaue so great a treason vnpunished were strange; to drawe it by death in example were dangerous; a sworne seruant to take vpon him such an enterprise vpon such a ground, and by such a warrant, hath not bene scene in England; to indist him, arreigne him, bring him to the scaffold, and to publish his offense, can doo no good; to hope that he hath more to discover than is confessed, or that at his execution he will vnsaie anie thing he hath written, is in vaine; to conclude, that it is impossible for him in time to make some part of amends, were verie hard, and against former experience.

The question then is, whether it be better to kill him, or (least the matter be mistaken) vpon hope of his amendment to pardon him. For mine owne opinion (though parcial) I will deliuer you my conscience. The case is good queene Elisabeths, the offense is committed against hir sacred person, and she may (of hir mercie) pardon it without preiudice to anie. Then this I say in few words, as a man more desirous to discharge his troubled conscience, than to liue: Pardon poore Parrie and releaue him; for life without liuing is not fit for him. If this may not be, or be thought dangerous, or dishonorable to the queenes maiestie (as by your fauors, I thinke it full of honor and mercie) then I beseech your lordships (and no other) once to heare me before I be indicted, and afterwards (if I must die) humble to intreat the queenes maiestie to hasten my triall and execution: which I praie God (with all my heart) may proue as honorable to hir, as I hope it shall be happie to me, who will while I liue (as I haue done alwaies) praie to Iesus Christ for hir maiesties long and prosperous reigne. From the Tower the eighteenth of Februarie, 1584.

W. Parrie.

And where in this meane time sir Francis Walsingham secretarie to hir maiestie, had dealt with one William Crettchton, a Scot for his birth, and a Jesuit by his profession, now prisoner also in the Tower, for that he was apprehended with diuerse plots for inuasions of this realme, to understand of him, if the said Parrie had euer dealt with him in the parties beyond the seas touching that

question,

God (no doubt) will preserve good queene Elisabeth, though a thousand such traitors as Parrie conspire hir death to their owne destruction.

Parries purpose conceived in Venice, continued in Lions, resolved in Paris, to be executed in England.

Neill charged by Parrie to be accessary to the treason.

Compare these war-nings with the events in Anno 1585, 1586, speciallie about August.

Parries guiltie conscience conuinceth it selfe by voluntarie confession.

A traitor of singular note by his owne confession was Parrie.

An offense sufficient to hang 1000 traitors without drop of mercie.

Parrie had more glowing rhetoric than faithfull obedience.

God knows with what heart might Parrie hoped after anie thing but death, having bene so capably a traitor.

Crettchton apprehended with diuerse plots for inuasions of this realme.

question, whether it were lawfull to kill hir maie, yie or not. The which at that time the said Creitchton called not to his remembrance: yet after vpon better calling it to mind, vpon the twentieth daie of Februarie last past, he wrote vnto maister secretarie Walsingham thereof voluntarilie, all of his owne hand, to the effect following.

William Creitchtons letter to sir
Francis Walsingham, Febr. 20.

Right honorable sir, when your honor demanded me if maister Parrie did aske me, if it were leason to kill the queene; in deed and veritie, then I had no remembrance at all thereof. But since, thinking on the matter, I haue called to mind the whole fashion of his dealing with me, and some of his arguments: for he dealt verie craftilie with me, I dare not say maliciouslie. For I did in no wise thinke of anie such deserie of his, or of anie other, and did answer him simple after my conscience and knowledge to the veritie of the question. For after that I had answered him twise before, *Quod omnino non liceret*; he returned late at euen by reason I was to depart earlie in the next morning toward Chamberie in Sauoie where I did remaine, and being returned out of the cloffe within one of the classes of the college, he proponed to me of new the matter, with his reasons and arguments.

Note Creitchtons report of Parries craft and malice.

Creitchtons reasons to repell Parries traitorous allegations.

Deum magis amare aduerbis quam nominibus. Iti ut nullum bonum liceat facere, nisi bene & legitime fieri possit. Quod in hoc casu fieri non potest. Yet said he, that seuerall learned men were of the opinion, *Quod liceret*. I answered, that they men perhaps were of the opinion, that for the safetie of manie in soule and bodie, they would permit a partieular to his danger, & to the occult iudgement of God: or perhaps said so, moued rather by some compassion and commiseration of the miserable estate of the catholikes, nor for anie such doctrine that they did find in their bookes. For it is certaine, that such a thing is not licit to a partieular, without speciall reuelation diuine, which exceedeth our learning and doctrine. And so he departed from me. Out of the prison in the Tower, the 20 of Februarie.

Creitchton holdeth Parries attempt unlawfull: note.

Parrie saith and v. saith like a traitor to shift off the heauie charge of treason.

And there also the same Parrie was on the same twentieth daie of Februarie examined by sir Francis Walsingham knight, that was become of the letter contained in his confession to be written vnto him by the cardinall de Como: he then answered, that it was consumed and burnt. And yet after, the next daie following, being more hebenientlie vrged vpon that point in examination (because it was knowne that it was not burnt) he confessed there he had left it in the towne: where vpon, by Parries direction it was sent for, where it had bene lapped by together with other frivulous papers, and written vpon the one side of it; The last will of William Parrie. The which letter was in the Italian tong as hereafter followeth, with the same in English accordingly translated.

Your honors poore seruitor in Christ
Iesu, W. Creitchton prisoner.

Amon Signore, mon signor
Guglielmo Parrie.



On Signore, la Santita di N.S. ha veduto le lettere di V. S. del primo con la fede inclusa, & non può se non landare la buona disposizione che serine di tenere verso il seruizio & beneficio publico, nel che la Santita sua lessorta di perseverare, con farne riuscire li effetti che V. S. promette: & accioche tanto maggiormente V. S. sia aiutata da quel buon spirito che l'ha mosso, le concede sua beneditione, plenaria indulgenza & remissione di tutti li peccati, secondo che V. S. ha chiesto, assicurandosi che oltre il merito, che n'ha uera in cielo, vuole anco sua Santitata costituirsi debitrice a reconoscere li meriti di V. S. in ogni miglior modo che porta, & cio tanto piu, quanto che V. S. usa maggior modestia in non pretendere niente. Metta dunque ad effetto li suoi santi & honorati pensieri, & attenda a star sano. Che per fine io me le offero di core, & le desidero ogni buono & felice successo. Di Roma a 30 di Gennaro, 1584.

Al piacer di V. S.

N. cardinali di Como.

Al Sig. Guglielmo Parrie.

Cardinall de Comos letter to D.
Parrie, 30. Ian. 1584 by account
of Rome.



On signor, his holinesse hath seene your letter of the first, with the certificat included, and cannot but commend the good disposition & resolution which you write to hold towards the seruice and benefit publicke: wherein his holines dooth exhort you to perieue, & to bring to effect that which you haue promised. And to the end you may be so much the more holpen by that good spirit which hath moued you thereto, he granteth vnto you his blessing, plenarie indulgence and remission of all your sinnes, according to your request. Assuring you, that besides the merit that you shall receiue therfore in heauen, his holines will further make himselfe debtor to acknowledge your seruings in the best maner that he can: and so much the more, in that you vse the greater modestie in not pretending anie thing. Put therefore to effect your holie and honorable purposes, and attend your health: And to conclude, I offer my selfe vnto you hartlie, and doe desire all good and happie success. From Rome the 30 of Ianuarie, 1584.

At the pleasure of your Signorie,
N. Card. of Como.

Vpon all which former accusation, declaration, confessions and profess, vpon mondate the two and twentieth daie of Februarie last past, at Westminster hall, before sir Christopher Wrate knight chiefe iustice of England, sir Gilbert Gerrard knight master of the rolles, sir Edmund Anderson knight chiefe iustice of the common ples, sir Roger Danward knight chiefe baron of the exchequer, sir Thomas Watdie knight one of the iustices of the ples before hir maiestie to be holden, & William Periam one of the iustices of the common ples, by vertue of hir maiesties commission to them and others in that behalfe directed: the same Parrie was indicted of high treason, for intending and practising the death and destruction of hir maiestie, whome God long prosper, and pferue from all such wicked attempts. The tenor of which indictment appeareth more partieularlie in the course of his arraignment following.

The maner of the arraignment of William Parrie the 25 of Februarie 1584, at Westminster

The names of such persons as were present at the arraignment of Parrie.

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minister, in the place where the court commonlie called the Kings bench is vsuallie kept by vertue of hir maiesties commission of oier and terminer, before Henrie lord Hunsdon gouernour of Barwike, sir Francis Knolles knight treasurer of the queenes maiesties household, sir James Croft knight comptrollor of the same household, sir Christopher Harton knight vicechamberleine to hir maiestie, sir Christopher Wraie knight chiefe iustice of England, sir Gilbert Gerrard knight master of the rolls, sir Edmund Anderson knight chiefe iustice of the common ples, sir Roger Manwood knight chiefe baron of the exchequer, and sir Thomas Hennage knight treasurer of the chamber.



I First thre proclamations for silence were made, according to the vsuall course in such cases. Then the lieutenant in such cases commanded to returne his precept, who did so, and brought the prisoner to the bar, to whome Miles Sands esquier clerke of the crowne said; William Parrie hold thy hand: and he did so. Then said the clerke of the crowne; Thou art here indicted by the othe of twelve good and lawfull men of the countie of Spolester, before sir Christopher Wraie knight and others, which toke the indictment by the name of W. Parrie, late of London gentleman, otherwise called W. Parrie, late of London doctor of the law, for that thou as a false traitor against the most noble and christian prince, queene Elisabeth thy most gracious soueraine and liege ladie, not hauing the feare of God before thine eyes, nor regarding thy due allegiance (but being seduced by the instigation of the diuell, and intending to withstand and extinguish the hartie loue and due obedience, which true & faithfull subiects should beare vnto the same our soueraine ladie) diddest at Westminster in the countie of Spolester on the first daie of Februarie, in the six and twentieth yeare of hir highnesse reigne, and at diuerse other times and places in the same countie, maliciouslie, and traitorously conspire and compass, not onelie to deprive and depose the same our soueraine ladie of hir roiall estate, title and dignitie; but also to bring hir highnesse to death and finall destruction, and subuersion in the realme to make, and the gouernement thereof to subuert, and the sincere religion of God established in hir highnesse dominions to alter and supplant.

Parrie sent
letters to
Gregorie the
bishop of
Rome: and
what was the
scope of them.

Parrie man-
ifested to
the court
his treasons.

And that, whereas thou William Parrie, by thy letters sent vnto Gregorie bishop of Rome, diddest signifie vnto the same bishop thy purposes and intentions aforesaid, and thereby diddest prae and requite the same bishop to giue thee absolution; that thou afterwards, that is to saie, the last day of March in the six and twentieth yeare aforesaid, diddest traitorously receiue letters from one called cardinall de Como, directed vnto thee William Parrie, whereby the same cardinall did signifie vnto thee, that the bishop of Rome had perused thy letters, and allowed of thine intent; and that to that end he had absolved thee of all thy sinnes, and by the same letter did animate and stir thee to proceed with thine enterprise; and that thereupon, thou, the last daie of August in the six and twentieth yeare aforesaid, at saint Giles in the fields, in the same countie of Spolester, diddest traitorously confer with one Edmund Penill esquier, uttering to him all thy wicked and traitorous deuises, and then and there diddest moue him to assist thee therein, and to ioin with thee in those wicked treasons aforesaid, against the peace of our said soueraine ladie the queene, hir crowne and dignitie. **W**herefore thou William Parrie, art thou guiltie of these treasons whereof thou standest here indicted, or not guiltie?

Then Parrie said; Before I plead not guiltie, or confesse my selfe guiltie, I prae you giue me leaue to speake a few words: and with humbling himselfe began in this manner. God saue queene Elisabeth, & God send me grace to discharge my dutie to hir, and to send you home in charitie. But touching the matters that I am indicted of, some were in one place, and some in another, and done so secretlie, as none can see into them, except that they had eyes like vnto God: therefore I will not laie my blood vpon the iurie, but doe mind to confesse the indictment. It containeth but the parts that haue bene openlie read, I prae you tell me. Wherevnto it was answered, that the indictment contained the parts he had heard read; no other. Whereupon the clerke of the crowne said vnto Parrie, Parrie, thou must answer directly to the indictment, whether thou be guiltie or not.

Then said Parrie, I do confesse that I am guiltie of all that is therein contained: and further too, I desire not life, but desire to die. Vnto which the clerke of the crowne said; If you confesse it, you must confesse it in maner and forme as it is comprised in the indictment. Wherevnto he said; I do confesse it in maner and forme as the same is set downe, and all the circumstances thereof. Then the confession being recorded, the queenes learned counsell being ready to prae iudgement vpon the same confession, maister vicechamberleine said: These matters contained in this indictment, and confessed by this man, are of great importance; they touch the person of the queenes most excellent maiestie in the highest degree, the heere state and welth of the whole commonwealth, and the truth of Gods word established in these hir maiesties dominions, and the open demonstration of that capitall enuie of the man of Rome, that hath set himselfe against God and all godlinesse, all good princes and good gouernement, and against good men. Wherefore I prae you for the satisfaction of this great multitude, let the whole matter appeare, that euerie one may see that the matter of it selfe is as bad as the indictment porteth, and as he hath confessed.

Whereunto in respect that the iustice of the realme hath bene of late verie impudentlie slandered, all peld as a thing necessarie to satisfie the world in particular, of that which was but summarilie comprised in the indictment, though in the law, his confession serued sufficientlie to haue proceeded thereupon vnto iudgement. Whereupon the lords and others the commissioners, hir maiesties learned counsell, and Parrie himselfe agreed, that Parries confession (taken the eleventh and thirteenth of Februarie 1584, before the lord of Hunsdon, maister vicechamberleine, and maister Secretarie) and cardinall de Como his letters, and Parries letters to the lord treasurer and lord steward, should be openlie read.

And Parrie, for the better satisfieng of the people and standers by, offered to read them himselfe: but being told how the order was, that the clerke of the crowne should read them, it was resolved of all parts. And then maister vicechamberleine caused to be shewed to Parrie his said confession, the cardinals letter, and his owne letter aforesaid: which after he had particularlie viewed euerie leafe thereof, he confessed, and said openlie they were the same. Then said maister vicechamberleine; Before we proceed to shew that he hath confessed, what saie you (saie ye to Parrie) is that which you haue confessed here true, and did you confesse it frelie and willinglie of your selfe, or was there any extort means vsed to draw it from you? Surelie (saie Parrie) I made that confession frelie without any constraint, and that is all true, and more too: for there is no treason that hath bene since the first yeare of the queene and waile touching

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touching religion, saving receipt of *Agnus Dei*, and persuading of others, wherein I haue not much dealt, but I haue offended in it. And I haue also deliuered mine opinion in writing, who ought to be successor to the crowne: which he said to be treason also.

Barrie's confession of his treasons was read by his owne assent, A letter of cardinal di Como vnto Barrie also read.

Then his confession of the eleventh and thirtieth of Februarie, all of his owne handwriting, and befoze particularlie set downe, was openlie and distinctly read by the clerke of the crowne. And that done, the cardinall di Como his letter in Italian was deliuered vnto Barrie's hand, by the direction of maister vicechamberleine, which Barrie there perused, & openlie affirmed to be whole of the cardinals owne handwriting, and the seale to be his owne also, and to be with a cardinals hat on it: and himselfe did openlie read it in Italian, as befoze is set downe. And the words bearing sense as it were written to a bishop: or to a man of such degree, it was demanded of him by maister vicechamberleine, whether he had not taken the degree of a bishop? He said, No: but said at first, those termes were proper to the degree he had taken: and after said that the cardinall did vouchsafe as of a fauour to write so to him. Then the copie of that letter in English as befoze is also set downe, was in like manner openlie read by the clerke of the crowne, which Barrie then acknowledged to be trulie translated. And thereupon was shewed vnto Barrie his letter of the eighteenth of Februarie, written to the lord treasurer, and the lord steward: which he confessed to be all of his owne handwriting, and was as befoze is set downe.

Barrie's letter of the eighteenth of Februarie to the lord treasurer and the earle of Leicester read.

These matters being read openlie for manifestation of the matter, Barrie prayed leaue to speake; whereto maister vicechamberleine said: If you will saie anie thing for the better opening to the world of those your foule and horrible facts, speake on: but if you meane to make anie excuse of that which you haue confessed, which else would haue bene and do stand proued against you; for my part, I will not sit to heare you. When his maiesties attorneie generall stood vp and said: It appeareth befoze you my lords, that this man hath bene indicted and arraigned of severall most heinous and horrible treasons, and hath confessed them, which is befoze you of record: wherfore there resteth no more to be done, but for the court to giue iudgement accordinglie, which here I require in the behalfe of the queenes maiestie. Then said Barrie, I praye you heare me for discharging of my conscience: I will not go about to excuse my selfe, nor to seke to saue my life; I care not for it, you haue my confession of record, that is enough for my life: and I meane to viter more, for which I were worthy to die; and said: I praye you heare me, in that I am to speake to discharge my conscience. Then said maister vicechamberleine; Barrie, then do thy dutie according to conscience, and viter all that thou canst saie concerning those thy most wicked facts.

Barrie's confession of his treasons was read by his owne assent, A letter of cardinal di Como vnto Barrie also read.

Then said Barrie: My cause is rare, singular and vnnaturall, conceived at Venice, presented in generall wordes to the pope, undertaken at Paris, commended and allowed of by his holinesse, and was to haue bene executed in England, if it had not bene prouented. Yea, I haue committed manie treasons, for I haue committed treason in being reconciled, and treason in taking absolution. There hath bene no treason since the first yeare of the queenes reigne touching religion, but that I am guiltie of (except for receiuing of *Agnus Dei*, & persuading as I haue said) and yet neuer intended to kill queene Elisabeth. I appeale to his owne knowledge and to my lord treasurer and maister secretaries. Then said my lord of Hunsdon: Hast thou acknowledged it so often, and so plainlie in writing vnder thy hand, and here of

Barrie had for his credit afoze time said vnto secretaries, that he had bene solicited

record; and now, when thou shouldest haue thy iudgement according to that which thou hast confessed thy selfe guiltie of, dost thou go backe againe, and denie the effect of all? How can we beleue that thou now saiest?

Then said maister vicechamberleine: This is absurd, thou hast not onelie confessed generallie, that thou wert guiltie according to the indictment, which summarilie, and yet in expresse wordes both confirme that thou haddest traitorouslie compassed and intended the death & destruction of his maiestie: but thou also saidst particularlie that thou wert guiltie of euerie of the treasons contained therein, wherof the same was one in plaine & expresse letter set downe, and read vnto thee; Yea thou saidst that thou wert guiltie of more treasons to beside these: And diddest thou not vpon thy examination voluntariely confesse, how thou wast moued first therunto by mislike of thy state after thy departure out of the realme? And that thou diddest mislike his maiestie for that he had done nothing for thee? How by wicked papists and popish bookes thou wert persuaded that it was lawfull to kill his maiestie? How thou wert by reconciliation become one of that wicked sort, that held his maiestie for neither lawfull queene, nor christian? And that it was meritorious to kill him? And diddest thou not signifie that thy purpose to the pope by letters, and receiuedst letters from the cardinall, how he allowed of thine intent, and excited thee to performe it, and thereupon diddest receiue absolution? And diddest thou not conceiue it, promise it, vow it, sweare it, and receiue the sacrament that thou wouldest do it? And diddest not thou thereupon asserme, that thy vowes were in heauen, and thy letters and promises on earth to bind thee to do it? And that what soeuer his maiestie would haue done for thee, could not haue remoued thee from that intention or purpose, vntlesse he would haue desisted from dealing as he hath done with the catholikes, as thou callest them? All this thou hast plainlie confessed; and I protest befoze this great assemblie, thou hast confessed it more plainlie & in better sort, than my memorie will serue me to utter: and saiest thou now, that thou neuer meantest it?

Ah (said Barrie) your honors know how my confession vpon mine examination was extorted. Then both the lord Hunsdon and maister vicechamberleine affirmed, that there was no torture or threatening wordes offered him. But Barrie then said, that they told him, that if he would not confesse willingly, he should haue torture. Wherevnto their honors answered, that they vsed not anie speech or word of torture to him. Then said Barrie, that you would proceed with rigour against me, if I would not confesse it of my selfe. But their honors expressely affirmed that they vsed no such wordes. But I will tell thee, said maister vicechamberleine, what we said; I spake these wordes: If you will willingly viter the truth of your selfe, it may do you good, and I wish you to do so; if you will not, we must then proceed in ordinarie course to take your examination. Wherevnto you answered, that you would tell the truth of your selfe. Was not this true? Which then he yielded vnto. And herevnto, his maiesties attorneie generall put Barrie in remembrance what speeches he vsed to the lieutenant of the Tower, the queenes maiesties sergeant at law, M. Gaudie, and the same attorneie on saturday the twentieth of Februarie last at the Tower, vpon that he was by them then examined by order from the lords: which was, that he acknowledged he was most mildlie and fauourably dealt with, in all his examinations: which he also at the bar then acknowledged to be true.

Then maister vicechamberleine said, that it was wonder

Note all this charge of maister vicechamberleine to be a recapitulation of all of most the treasons of Barrie

Barrie charged with the treasons of the council which vnto

Barrie's promise of false speeches, and so by himselfe also confessed.

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Cham quait by a shop

The magnanimitie of the queenes maiestie notified by hir Chancery whatson.

wonder to see the magnanimitie of hir maiestie, which after that thou haddest opened those traitorous practises in fort as thou hast laid it downe in thy confession, was neuertheless such, and so far from all feare, as that she would not so much as acquaint anie one of hir highnesse priue counsell with it, to his knowledge, no not untill after this thine enterpryse discovered and made manifest. And besides that which thou hast let downe vnder thine owne hand, thou diddest confesse, that thou haddest prepared two Scottish daggers fit for such a purpose: and those being disposed awaie by thee, thou diddest saie that another would serue thy turne. And withall, Barrie, diddest thou not also confesse before vs how wonderfullie thou wert appalled and perplexed vpon a sudden at the presence of hir maiestie at Hampton court this last summer, saeing that thou diddest thinke thou then sawest in hir the verie likenesse and image of king Henrie the seventh: And that therewith, and vpon some speeches vsed by hir maiestie, thou diddest turne about and wepe bitterlie to thy selfe: And yet diddest call to mind that thy bowes were in heauen, thy letters and promises on earth; and that therefore thou diddest saie with thy selfe, that there was no remedie but to do it: Diddest thou not confesse this? The which he acknowledged.

The lord of Hunsdon speeches concerning Barrie manifestlie of his treason.

Then said the lord Hunsdon; Safest thou now, that thou diddest neuer meane to kill the queene? Diddest thou not confesse, that when thou diddest utter this practise of trecherie to hir maiestie, that thou diddest couer it with all the skill thou haddest; and that it was done by thee, rather to get credit and acceesse thereby, than for anie regard thou haddest of hir person? But in truth thou diddest it, that thereby thou mightest haue better opportunitie to perforce thy wicked enterpryse. And wouldest thou haue run into such feare as thou diddest confesse that thou wert in, when thou diddest utter it, if thou haddest neuer meant it? What reason canst thou shew for thy selfe? With that he cried out in a furious manner; I neuer meant to kill hir: I will laie my blood vpon queene Elisabeth and you, before God and the world: and therevpon fell into a rage and e, till words with the queenes maiesties attourneie generall. Then said the lord Hunsdon; This is but thy popish pride & ostentation, which thou wouldest haue to be told to thy fellowes of that faction, to make them beleue that thou diest for poperie, when thou diest for most horrible and dangerous treasons against hir maiestie, and thy whole countrie. For thy laieing of thy blood, it must lie on thine owne head, as a iust reward of thy wickednesse. The lawes of the realme most iustlie condemne thee to die out of thine owne mouth, for conspiring the destruction both of hir maiestie, and of vs all: therefore thy blood be vpon thee: neither hir maiestie, nor we at anie time sought it; thy selfe hast spilt it.

Barrie abasheth the honorable and worshipfull of the bench with termes buoerth and darbe speeches.

When he was asked what he could saie, why iudgement of death ought not to be awarded against him: Whereto he said, he did see that he must die, because he was not settled. What meanest thou by that, said maister vicechamberleine: Said he, I looke into your stable, and into your new bookes, and you shall find what I meane. I protest (said his honor) I know not what thou meanest: thou dost not well to vse such darke speeches, vntlesse thou wouldest plainelie utter what thou meanest thereby. But he said, he cared not for death, and that he would laie his blood amongst them. Then spake the lord chiefe iustice of England, being required to giue iudgement according to law, and said; Barrie, you haue bene much heard, and what you meane by being settled, I know not; but I see you are so settled in poperie, that you cannot settle your selfe to be a good sub-

iect. But touching that you should saie to state iudgement from being giuen against you, your speeches must be of one of these kinds; either to proue the indictment (which you haue confessed to be true) to be insufficient in law; or else to please somewhat touching hir maiesties mercie, why iustice should not be done of you. All other speeches wherein you haue vsed great libertie, is more than by law you can aske. These be the matters you must looke to, what saie you to them? Whereto he said nothing.

More libertie of speech giuen to Barrie than by law was allowable.

Then said the lord chiefe iustice; Barrie, thou hast bene before this time indicted of diuerse most horrible and hateful treasons, committed against thy most gracious soueraigne, and native countrie: the matter most detestable, the maner most subtil and dangerous, and the occasions and meanes that lead thee therevnto most vngodlie and villanous. That thou diddest intend it, it is most euident by thy selfe. The matter was the destruction of a most sacred and anointed queene thy soueraigne and mistress, who hath shewed thee such fauour, as some thy betterers haue not obtained: yea, the overthrow of thy countrie wherein thou wert borne, & of a most hapie common-wealth whereof thou art a member, and of such a queene, as hath bestowed on thee the benefit of all benefits in this world (that is to saie) thy life, heretofore granted thee by hir mercie when thou hadst lost it by iustice & desert. Yet thou hir servant sworne to defend hir, mentest with thy bloudie hand to haue taken awaie hir life, that mercifullie gaue thee thine, when it was yielded into hir hands. This is the matter wherein thou hast offended.

Barries treason recapitulated by the lord chiefe iustice, both for maner and matter.

The maner was most subtil and dangerous, beyond all that before thee haue committed anie wickednesse against hir maiestie: for thou making shew as if thou wouldest simple haue vttered for hir safetie the enill that others had contriued, diddest but seeke thereby credit & acceesse, that thou mightest take the apter opportunitie for hir destruction. And for the occasions and meanes that drew thee on, they were most vngodlie and villanous: as the persuasions of the pope, of papists, and popish bookes. The pope pretendeth that he is a pastor, when as in truth he is far from feeding of the flocke of Christ, but rather as a wolfe seeketh but to feed on & to sucke out the blood of true christians, and as it were thirsteth after the blood of our most gracious and christian queene. And these papists and popish bookes, while they pretend to set forth diuinitie, they do indeed most vngodlie teach and persuade that which is quite contrarie both to God and his word. For the word teacheth obedience of subiects toward princes, & forbiddeth anie priuat man to kill; but they teach subiects to disobey princes, & that a priuat wicked person may kill. Yea & whome a most godlie queene, & their owne naturall and most gracious soueraigne. Let all men therfore take heed how they receiue any thing from him, heare or read anie of their bookes, and how they confer with anie papists. God grant hir maiestie, that she maie know by thee, how euer the trust such like to come so nere hir person!

The occasions and meanes that induced Barrie to these treasons.

The danger & damnable-ness, of popish bookes which read of licensed vnto of papists, &c.

But see the end, and why thou diddest it, and it will appeare to be a most miserable, fearefull, and foolish thing: for thou diddest imagine, that it was to reloue those that thou callest catholikes, who were most likelie amongst all others to haue felt the worst of it, if thy diuelish practise had taken effect. But sith thou hast bene indicted of the treasons compassed in the indictment, and therevpon arraigned, and hast confessed thy selfe guiltie of them; the court doth award, that thou shalt be had from hence to the place whence thou diddest come, and so drawne through the open cite of London vpon an hurdle to the place of execution, and there to be hanged and let downe alive,

The forme of iudgement against the traitor pronounced by the lord chiefe iustice.

aline, and thy priuie parts cut off, and thy entrails taken out and burnt in thy sight, then thy head to be cut off, and thy bodie to be diuided in foure parts, and to be disposed at hir maiesties pleasure: and God haue merite on thy soule.

Barrie vagerth at the iustice bar without all reuerence.

William Barrie the traitor executed.

Barrie (even at the time of his death) seeketh to cleare and purge himselfe as innocent of the treasons for the which he was condemned.

Barrie neuertheless persisted still in his rage and fond speech, and raginglie there said, he there summoned queene Elisabeth to answer for his blood before God: wherewith the lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to take him from the barre: and so he did. And vpon his departure, the people stricken as it were at heart with the horror of his intended enterpryse, ceased not, but pursued him with outcries, as; Awaite with the traitor, awaite with him, & such like: wherupon he was conueied to the barge, to passe to the Tower againe by water: & the court was adioyned. After which, vpon the second daie of this instant March, William Barrie was by vertue of procelle in that behalfe awarded from the same commissioners of oier and terminer, deliuered by the lieutenant of the Tower erlie in the morning vnto the shiriffes of London and Middlesex, who receiued him at the Tower hill, and therevpon, according to the iudgement, caused him there to be forthwith set on the hurdle: from whence he was drawne therevpon through the middell of the citie of London, vnto the place for his execution in the palace at Westminster: where, hauing long time of state admitted vnto him before his execution, he most maliciously and impudentlie, after some other vaine discourtesie effrons & often deliuered in speech, that he was neuer guiltie of anie intention to kill queene Elisabeth, and so (without anie request made by him to the people to pray to God for him, or praier published vnto him by himselfe for ought that appeared: but such as he vsed, if he vsed anie, was priuat to himselfe) he was executed according to the iudgement. And now for his intent, how soeuer he pretended the contrarie in words, yet by these his owne writings, confessions, letters, & manie other pases afore here expessed, it is most manifest to all persons, how horrible his intentions and treasons were, and how iustlie he suffered for the same: and thereby greatlie to be doubted, that as he had liued a long time baine and vngodlie, and like an atheist and godlesse man, so he continued the same course till his death to the outward sight of men. & Here endeth the true and plaine course and procelle of the treasons, arrest, arraignment, and execution of William Barrie the traitor.

An addition not vnneccessarie for this purpose.

As much as Barrie in the abundance of his proud and arrogant humour, hath often both in his confession, and letters, pretended some great and grieuous causes of discontentment against hir maiestie, and the present state: it shall not be impertinent, for better satisfaction of all persons, to set forth simple and true, the condition and qualite of the man, what he was by birth and education, and in what course of life he had liued. This vile and traitorous wretch was one of the younger sonnes of a poore man, called Barrie ap Dauid: he dwelled in Southwales in a little village called Northop in the countie of Flint: there he kept a common alehouse, which was the best and greatest state of his liuing. In that house was this traitor borne, his mother was the reputed daughter of one Contwaie a priest, parson of a poore parish called Yalkin in the same countie of Flint: his eldest brother dwelleth at this present in the same house, and there keepeth an alehouse as his father did before him. This traitor in his childhood

A description of Barrie both by lineage person, education, and quality, &c.

some as he had learned a litle to write and read, was put to serue a poore man dwelling in Chester, named John ffisher, who professed to haue some small skill and vnderstanding in the law. With him he continued diuerse yeares, and serued as a clerke, to write such things as in that trade, which his master vsed, he was appointed.

Barrie before he began his studie brought by.

During this time, he learned the English tongue, and at such times of leasure as the poore man his master had no occasion otherwile to vse him, he was suffered to go to the grammar schole, where he got some litle vnderstanding in the Latine tongue. In this his childhood he was noted by such as best knew him, to be of a most villainous and dangerous nature & disposition. He did often run awaie from his master, and was often taken & brought to him againe. His master, to correct his peruerse and froward conditions, did manie times shut him as prisoner in some close place of his house, and manie times caused him to be chained, locked, and clogged, to staie his running awaie. Yet all was in vaine: for about the third yeare of hir maiesties reigne, for his last farewell to his poore master, he ran awaie from him, and came to London to seeke his aduentures. He was then constrained to seeke what trade he could to liue by, and to get meat and drinke for his bellie, and clothes for his backe.

Barrie a verie runninge and bagginge robbeth in his young yeares.

This god hap in the end was to be interteined in place of seruice about his desert, where he staied not long, but thiffed himselfe diuerse times from seruice to seruice, and from one master to another. Now he began to forget his old home, his birth, his education, his parents, his friends, his owne name, and what he was. He aspired to greater matters, he challenged the name and title of a great gentleman, he wanted himselfe to be of kin and allied to noble and worshipfull, he left his old name which he did beare, and was commonlie called by in his childhood, & during all the time of his abode in the countie, which was William ap Barrie (as the manner in Wales is.) And because he would seeme to be in deed the man which he pretended, he took vpon him the name of Barrie, being the surname of diuerse gentlemen of great worship and honour. And because his mothers name by his father a simple priest, was Contwaie: he pretended kindred to the familie of Sir John Contwaie, and so thereby made himselfe of kin to Edmund Penill.

Note Barries ambition, and how the priest forgetteth that cure he was parish clerk.

Being thus set forth with his new name and new title of gentleman, and commended by some of his god fauours, he matched himselfe in marriage with a widow in Southwales, who brought him some reasonable portion of wealth. She liued with him but a short time, and the welth he had with hir lasted not long: it was soon consumed with his dissolute and wastfull manner of life. He was then driuen to his wanted shifts, his creditors were manie, the debt which he owed great, he had nothing wherewith to make payment, he was continually pursued by sergeants and officers to arrest him, he did often by sleights and shifts escape from them. In this his needie and poore estate, he sought to repara himselfe againe by a new match in marriage with another widow, which before was the wife of one Richard Westwood.

Barrie matched himselfe in marriage with a widow in Southwales.

Barrie a thiffter, in debt & danger: he married a rich widow, &c.

This matter was so earnestlie followed by himselfe, and so effectually commended by his friends and fauourers, that the illie woman yielded to take him to husband: a match in euerie respect verie vnequall and vnfit. His wealth and yearelie liuelihood was verie great, his poore and base estate worse than nothing, he verie young, the of such age as for yeares he might haue bene his mother. When he had thus possessed himselfe of his new wifes wealth, he omitted

And this most like, what soll the poore wifene wifely.

Barrie be-
cloatheth his
owne
daughter, and
sundry waies
abuse the
old mother.

ted nothing that might serue for a prodigall, diso-
late, and most vngodlie course of life. His riot and
excesse was vnruefullable, he did most wickedlie
despouse his wiues owne daughter, and sundrie
waies pittfullie abuse the old mother: he caried him-
selfe for his outward port and countenance (so long
as his old wiues bags lasted) in such sort, as might
well haue sufficed for a man of verie good hauiour
and degre. But this lasted not long, his proud hart
& wastfull hand had some potwred out old wetwoods
wealth.

He then fell againe to his wonted thirst, borow-
ed where he could find anie to lend, and ingaged his
credit so far as anie would trust him. Amongst o-
thers, he became greatlie indebted to Hugh Hare,
the gentleman before named. Who after long forbea-
ring of his monie, sought to reconer it by law. For
this cause Barrie conceiued great displeasure a-
gainst him, which he pursued with all malice, euen
to the seeking of his life. In this murderous intent,
he came in the night time to Hares chamber in
the Temple, broke open the doore, assaulted him, and
wounded him grievouslie, and so left him in great
danger of life. For this offense he was apprehended,
committed to prison, indicted of burglarie, ar-
reigned, and found guiltie by a verie substantiall iu-
rie, and condemned to be hanged, as the law in that
case requirith.

Barrie con-
demned for
burglarie, is
pardoned of
the queene.

He standing thus convicted, his maiestie of his
most gracious clemencie, and pittfull disposition,
toke compassion vpon him, pardoned his offense,
& gaue him his life, which by the law & due course of
iustice he ought then to haue lost. After this he taried
not long, but pretending some causes of discontent-
ment, departed the realme, and trauelled beyond the
seas. How he demeaned himselfe there from time
to time, and with whom he conuersed, is partlie in
his owne confession touched before. This is the man,
this is his race, which he feared should be spoiled if he
miscaried in the execution of his traitorous enter-
prise, this hath bene the course of his life, these are
the great causes of his discontentment.

Barrie pre-
tended a com-
mune of re-
ligion, being
buriedd pro-
prie and of
no religion.

And whereas at his arreignement and execution,
he pretended great care of the disobedient popish sub-
iects of this realme, whom he called catholikes, and
in verie insolent sort seemed to glorie greatlie in the
profession of his pretended catholike religion: the
whole course and action of his life sheweth plainelie,
both prophane & irreligiouslie he did alwaies beare
himselfe. He boasted, that for these two and twentie
yeares past he had bene a catholike, and during all
that time neuer refused the communion: yet before
he trauelled beyond the seas, at thre severall times
within the compasse of these two and twentie yeares,
he did voluntarilie take the oth of obedience to the
queenes maiestie, set downe in the statute made in
the first yeare of his highnesse reigne; by which, a-
mongst other things, he did testifie and declare in his
conscience, that no forreine prince, person, prelat,
state, or potentat, hath or ought to haue anie iuris-
diction, power, preeminence, or authoritie, ecclesiasti-
call or spirituall, within this realme; and therefore did
utterlie renounce & forsake all forreine iurisdictions,
powers, and authorities, and did promise to beare
faith and true allegiance to the queenes highnesse,
his betres and lawfull successors.

With what conscience or religion he toke that
oth so often, if so be he were then a papist in deed, as
since the discoverie of his treasons he pretended, let
his best friends the papists themselves iudge. But
perhaps it may be said, that he repented those his of-
fenses past: that since those thre oths so taken by
him, he was thus reconciled to the pope, and so his
conscience cleared, and he become a new man, and

And this is
most like, for
what will not
the pope
pardon
wholly

(which is more) that in the time of his last trauell, he
cast awaie all his former lewd manners: that he
changed his degre and habit, and bought or begged
the graue title of a doctor of law, for which he was
well qualified with a little grammar scholl Latine:
that he had plenarie indulgence and remission of all
his sinnes, in consideration of his undertaking of so
holie an enterprise as to kill queene Elisabeth, a sa-
cred annointed queene, his naturall and soueraigne
ladie: that he promised to the pope, & vowed to God
to performe it: that he confirmed the same by re-
ceiuing the sacrament at the Jesuits, at one altar
with his two beaupieres, the cardinals of Clandosme
and Harbone: and that since his last returne into
England, he did take his oth vpon the bible to execut
it. These reasons may seeme to beare some weight
in deed amongst his friends the Jesuits, and other pa-
pists of state, who haue speciall skill in matters of
such importance.

Barrie two
beaupiers the
cardinals of
Clandosme
& Harbone.

But now latelie in the beginning of this parle-
ment in November last, he did effronies solemnelie
in publike place take the oth before mentioned, of o-
bedience to his maiestie. How that maie stand with
his reconciliations to the pope, and with his promi-
ses, vowes, and oth to kill the queene, it is a thing
can hardlie be warranted, vnlesse it be by some spe-
ciall priuilege of the popes omnipotentie. But let
him haue the glorie he desired, to liue and die a pa-
pist. He deserued it, it is fit for him, his death was
correspondent to the course of his life, which was dis-
solall, perjured, and traitorous towards his maie-
stie; and false and perfidious towards the pope him-
selfe, and his catholikes, if they will beleue his so-
lemne protestations which he made at his arreigne-
ment and execution, that he neuer meant nor inten-
ded anie hurt to his highnesse person. For if that be
true, where are then his vowes which he said were in
heauen, his letters and promises vpon earth? Why
hath he stolen out of the popes shop so large an in-
dulgence and plenarie remission of all his sinnes,
and meant to performe nothing that he promised?
Why was his deuotion and zeale so highlie commen-
ded? Why was he so speciallie praised for and remem-
bered at the altar? All these great fauours were then
bestowed vpon him without cause or desert: for he
deceiued the pope, he deceiued the cardinals and Je-
suits with a false semblance and pretense to do that
thing which he neuer meant.

what a nota-
ble dissembler
was this?

Barrie peti-
red towards
his maiestie &
perfidious to
the pope, &c.

But the matter is cleere, the conspiracie, and his
traitorous intent is too plaine and euident: it is the
Lord that reuealed it in time, and preuented their
malice: there lacked no will or readinesse in him to
execute that horrible fact. It is the Lord that hath
preserued his maiestie from all the wicked practises
and conspiracies of that hellish rable: it is he that
hath most graciously deliuered him from the hands
of this traitorous miscreant. The Lord is his onelic
defense in whome he hath alwaies trusted, he will
defend his maiestie, and saluall for his sake no lesse
than god king Dauid (sundry times assailed with
falseharted enemies) and all hisall subjects will har-
tille praise for; namely such vengeance and heauie
measure of iudgement to be proportioned and allot-
ted them, as is wished against the malicious wic-
ked in the eight and fiftith psalme, effectualle set
downe by the Paraphrast in these words following:

*Confringe malas (o Deus) impudens
Os comminatus contere dentibus:*

Et victibus sauis hiantes

Hos inhibe catulos leonum, &c.

Sensim liquecant, sardi gradus velut

Limax: acerbo funere deserant

Pitale lumen, more fatus

Ante suum percussit ortum, &c.

Such in psalm
58.

A few obseruations gathered out of the
verie words and writings of William Parrie the
traitor, applied to proue his traitorous coniuration,
with a resolute intent, imagination, purpose, and obstinate de-
termination to haue killed hir maiestie, our most
gratious souereigne: whom the Lord hath
saued, and euer maie he saue by
his mercie.



His William Parrie the traitor, 1 con-
fesseth to haue conceived the treason at
Venice, by conference with B. Palmio,
of whome he still thinketh so well, as he
can not but speake of him with reuerend mention;
whereas, if he had neuer thought, or did now fore-
thinke the treason, he would rather curse the time
that euer he met with such a bloudie and treacherous
ghostlie father. Well, this graue and learned frier
Palmio (saith he) made the matter clere in religion
and conscience, and commended the traitors deno-
tion. This treason Parrie so apprehended, as he
wrote presentlie to the pope, presenting the seruice.
2 Returning to Paris, he conferred with Spozan,
bowed to performe it for restitution of England, &c.
3 Being dissuaded (as the credible man writeth) by
Watts, he replied that he was gone so farre, as he
could not go backe, but promised faithfullie to per-
forme the enterpryse, if the pope would vpon his of-
fers and letters allow it, and grant remission, &c.

Where this by the waie is to be noted, that if the
opinions of these English priests (as he will needs
make vs beleue) were differing from the pope, and
our English Iesuits, varying from Iesuit Palmio
and others beyond sea Iesuits, in the question of
murdering a prince: some of them at least would
haue giuen soall intelligence of such a treason con-
ceiued and nourished in that man, who had made so
manie priuie both beyond and on this side the sea,
as could not be dissuaded from his purpose, but e-
uer departed with a resolution contrarie vnto these
cold dissuaders. It were no good policie to trust this
popish traitor, but rather to suspect all pope created
priests to be of the same mind with their supream
head, and all English Iesuits to consent with fore-
Iesuits their fellow members. They be all of one or-
der and tow, they haue one superiour; and if they had
detested this fact in deed, some of them, seeing the
writeth to perswade, must needs haue belwaied it, and
not to suffer him to go on headlong in such a sinne,
leaving his roiall person to the will and malice (as
much as in them lieth) of a murdering ruffian.

But to proue his intent with continuance and
growing of the same, 4 Again he writeth letters to
the pope, in Januarie one thousand five hundred
eightie and foure by that account, toke aduise vpon
them in confession of A. Codrigo, was commended,
again he confessed, toke the sacrament (verelie Cruen-
tum sacramentum, & sacrificium cruoris) at the Iesuits,
at one altar, with the cardinals of Mandosini and of
Parbone. Hereof he had certificat to the pope, which
he sent inclosed in his letters to his holinesse, to lead
him to absolue him; which he required in considera-
tion of so great an enterpryse undertaken without
reward. 5 The letter and certificat he read to Magaz-
zoni, and left with him to be sent to the pope, who wi-
thred him good speed, promising he should be remem-
bered at the altar. 6 He doubteth, least if Spozan di-
ed, and he miscarried in the execution (as he did, God
be thanked, and choked in the halter, notwithstanding
their remembrance at the altar) and his intent
neuer trulie discovered; that is to saie, that he did it
for the catholikes, it might be a spot in his race.
Parke here the verie word (intent) in his owne con-
fession. 7 Spozan assureth him, that the lord Sferne

hurtt should go into Scotland, and be readie to en-
ter vpon the first newes of our queenes fall. Thus
much for his intent beyond the sea, and before his
coniuration discovered.

Vpon his arriual in England, he wrote to court,
that he had a speciall seruice of discoverie vnto the
queene: but with what intent, let his owne words
speake, 8 Spozan to prepare access and credit, than for
anie care had of his person. Admitted vnto his gra-
tious audience, he discovered the coniuration; yet in
that maner, let him selfe saie, euen couered with
all the skill he had. His intent was with deepe trea-
son: for (as he saith) so he did, he disclosed onlie so
much as he thought good and necessarie to ground in
his highnesse a settled confidence to wards him, where-
by he might effect his traitorous intent with better
opportunitie, and his owne safetie. He belwaied him-
selfe so farre as he might couer his chiefe drift, manie
principall things concealed, nothing of lord Sferne
hurtt with his Scottish forces, &c. 9 Receiuing from
the pope him selfe commendation and allowance of
his enterpryse, of encouragement, and plenarie in-
dulgence by no meaner man than cardinal di Co-
mo, though he shewed the letter to his maiestie; not
for anie care of his person, but for his better access
& credit, as the rest, yet let his owne words tell what
his intent was at the verie receiuing and shew-
ing of the same letter. Forsooth (saith he) this letter
confirmed his resolution to kill the queene, making
it clere in his conscience, as a thing lawfull and me-
ritorious.

Now is his intent grown to a resolution, not doubt-
full, but clere in conscience, not alone lawfull, but
meritorious. Papa dixit, a cardinal is punctio. What
other thing is this, than for the pope and his card-
inals, like an other Antoninus Commodus, to make one
Inter scarios & gladiatores? The diuell enforcing this
traitors heart to execute his intent, 10 He was
troubled looking vpon the queene, and remembering
his excellencies: yet he saw no remedie, his bowes
were in heauen, his letters and promises on earth.
Yea, he stroue to close his eyes at the se excellencies,
and obdinated his hart by seeking reasons to quench
all sparks of humanitie and allegiance arising in
his thoughts. For thus reasoneth he against his con-
science; Why shouldst thou care for hir? What hath
she done for thee? Hast thou not spent ten thousand
marks, &c. What more diueltish intent could possesse a
traitor, than to labour to suppress a small remains
of conscience, abhorring to kill so excellent a perso-
nage, which God stirred by in his thoughts to his
iustler condemnation: 11 Doctor Allens booke re-
doubled his former conceits, euery word was a
warrant to a prepared mind.

See how the smooth words of that catholike booke
are interpreted and conceiued. One spirit occupieth
the catholike reader with the catholike writter, and
therefore can best expound the writters sense in his
readers mouth, euen to be a booke fraught with em-
phaticall speeches of energeticall perswasion to kill
and depose his maiestie, and yet doth the hypocrite
writter, that traitor catholike, dissemble and protest
otherwise. 12 Parrie suffering repulse in a late
for S. Bartharins, communeth with master Hewill,
recommendeth the enterpryse as honorable & profit-
table to the catholike common-weale. Being pro-
fudiced in opinion of Allens booke (as before) he com-
mendeth it, and deliuereth it to Hewill, thereby to
work the same vile intent in him which it had alrea-
die confirmed in him selfe. He toke now an other oth
vpon the bible, after the maner of a protestant, to
pursue the enterpryse, and ment (he saith) to performe
it, so far forth as the place and maner of doing was
appointed. This second coniuration he neuer be-
wrote.

Benedicto
Palmio a Je-
suit, mentio-
ned before,
pag. 1385.

Thomas
Spozan and
Watts the one
termed a ca-
tholike gentle-
man, pag. 1385.

They cannot
be found in
loyaltie that
are vnfound
in religion:
Ergo how
can they giue
Caesar his
right, that
denie God his
due and true
seruice?

Winball a Je-
suit in Paris,
of whome be-
fore, pag. 1385.

Magazzoni
the Punctio:
see before,
pag. 1385.

See before
pag. 1386.

See before,
pag. 1386.

Cardinal di
Corno, of
whom see be-
fore, pag. 1385,
and his letter
to Parrie,
pag. 1385.

See before,
pag. 1386.

See before,
pag. 1386,
part of Spoz-
ans voluntar-
ie confession.

Note the pro-
fudicious bear-
ing of Parrie
euery time
he writeth, &c.
principally
in the
beginning of
his letters, &c.
pag. 1385.

All
our
prou-
id-
ed
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From
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is
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waited in six moneths, till accused by Jewell, and then at first denied it.

13 If I will, to declare his height of malice, he saith, if the queene had preferred him neuer so greatly, yet must this bloudie enterprise haue holden, except he had released the catholikes. Was this no intent, but neither benefit nor bountie could staie? Which neither feare of God, nor reuerence of excellencie could repell: Which neither dread of punishment, nor tract of time could remoue: Did he conceiue it, conferre and abuse of it, bow himselfe to the execrable seruice, present and offer it, harden his heart against others dissuasions, beat backe contrarie motions of his owne conscience, go so farre as he could not go backe, promise it faithfully, receiue a church sacrament thereupon, make certificat thereof, propound himselfe the end and reason of his intent, discourse vpon the contingent sequels, preuenting the spot of his race, receiue letters of allowance, commendation, incouragement, and absolution, could he bow in heauen, and promise on earth, could he doe all this in a thing which he meant not?

Could he resolute and confirme his resolution of a thing which he intended not; yea, could he intend & meane (for all these be his owne words) that which he neuer meant nor intended: could he redouble his conceits, and haue a prepared mind for that he intended not? Could such a craftie traitor practise with others by perswasive speech, & traitorous booke in such a matter, as the onelis broching thereof must capitallie indamage his kinsman and friend, and withall late his owne head in his friends hand? And yet notwithstanding, either he meant this treason, either else he little loued his friend, to tempt him so dangerously; whom yet, he saith, he loued so, as to suffer his finger in his dish, & his hand in his purse. But which is aboue all, would any man sweare a gaine on the bible, appoint time and place, conceale it with as much perill as if he had done it; would he denie it, would so ambitious a man discontent himselfe with all preferment, for the attaining of that which he meant not? Was this mischievous course, begun and continued, a long time, at home and abroad, in many kingdomes, communicated with many persons, of severall nation and qualitie, as pope, cardinall, Nuncio, scter, priest, kings secretarie and ambassadoers, all this while not meant? Was it franklie and voluntarie confessed meant, finally, recorded by pleading guiltie in manner & forme with all circumstance, and yet could he die an innocent for intent?

All this falling vpon no simple man, but vpon one, not now the first time holding by his head at barre, & vpon a doctor of lawe, the verie hood whereof is able to giue a man more iudgement, than to slip without light in all these things: I know not how he maie be excused without strong suspicion of the excuser. And if a prince may not iudge a wicked seruant out of his owne mouth, nor determine an offense by two or three mouthes, it were a notable world for traitors and murderers, thus to haue all proceedings set loose, as well of our common lawes, which condemne vpon all evidences, as of the ciuill lawes, which giue capitall sentence vpon confession onelie: yea, Moses wisdom is overreached, and Christs equitie in his euangelicall parable against the lewd seruant not vsing his talent is eluded. All this is also ratified by voluntarie letters of his to his maiestie apart, and to his honorable counsell. And if ante Italianat papist neuertheless will needs belene this epugnancie of his last speeches, let him yet take this one note of him, whereby to consider how credible a man he crediteth.

Either Parrie meant this monstrous murder according to his bowles in heauen, and swoyne promises in earth, and so died a desperat traitor, protesting the contrarie in his last words vpon his soule and damnation: or else was he perjured, to the foule abuse of pope & all poperie, most execrable prophaning Gods name by promising, swearing, bowing, &c: that which he meant not. Necessarie therefore must he perishe vpon perjured treason, or wretchedly vpon desperat deieration. Nothing auoideth this dilemma, but a popish bull of dispensation, which if he had, I know not how princes may not as safely suffer wolues and beares come to their presence, as such papists. And verie like it is that Parrie had a speciall bull, either else was it comprehended in his indulgence, that he might take othes contrarie to his catholike conscience, as he did the oth of supremacy in the beginning of the last parlement. Which if his coniuatours had not bene priue with what intention he did sweare, he neuer durst haue taken it, least they should haue now betwaxed him as a man swoyne against the pope, therefore not to be trusted. But the truth is, this papist Parrie was both a traitor, and a manifold perjured traitor, (whome with all other of the like stampe) we leaue to the final iudgement of God at the last and dreadfull dome: registering (in the meane time) a proper epigram, and of no lesse fit than true deuise, in memoire of the said capitall traitor, requiting that propheticall posse concerning Daruell Gatheren and frier Forrest, of whome you shall read in the thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight; this of Parrie being as followeth:

William Parrie

Was ap Harrie

By his name:

From the alehouse

To the gallows

Grew his fame.

40 Gotten westward

On a bastard

As is thought:

Wherefore one waie

Kin to Conwaie

Hath he sought.

Like a beast

With inceast

He begon:

50 Mother married

Daughter caried

Him a sonne.

Much he borrowed

Which he sorrowed

To repaie:

Hare his good

Bought with blood

As they saie.

60 Yet for payment

Had arraignment

Of his detter

Shee that gaue him

Life to saue him

Hangd a better.

Parrie his pardon

Thought no guardon

For his word:

Wherefore sought

That he mought

Trauell forth.

Which obtained

He remained

As before:

And with rashnes

Shewd his bashnes

More and more.

He did enter

To aduentuer

Euen his death:

By whose fauor

He did euer

Draw his breath:

It was pittie

One so wittie

Malcontent:

Leauing reason

Should to treason

So be bent.

But his gifts

Were but shifts

Void of grace:

And his brauerie

Was but knauerie

Vile and base.

Wales did beare him

France did sweare him

To the pope:

Venice wrought him

London brought him

To the rope.

Wherewith strangled

And then mangled

Being dead:

Poles supporters

Of his quarters

And his head.

A dilemma of reason: of advantage, concluding that Parrie died a perjured traitor.

before,
1386.

ordinall of
mo, of
john for
e, pag. 138.
d his letter
Parrie,
y. 1388.

of before,
1386.

of before,
ag. 1386.
art of Parrie
is voluntarie
is confession.

Note the previous bearing of Parrie in the same jurisdiction, *Tam principis quam populo, dem-reps sibi in vobis sum-*
us. pag. 1386.

All these circumstances prove that Parrie was resolute and by prepared both in heart and by hand to put in practice his conceived but naturall treason.

How could this behound be an innocent for intent; the premises considered.

Abr. Fl. ex lib.
manuscripto.

Sinus nuper do-
mus fratrum
predicatorum vo-
cata de Blacke-
friars in villa
Cantabrigie.

In this yeare one thousand five hundred eightie & foure, sir Walter Mildmay knight, one of his maiesties most honorable priue counsell, founded a college in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and named it Emmanuel college. ¶ The same was sometimes a house of friers, and came to king Henrie the eight by dissolution, as appeareth by the lequeale, being an extract out of a substantiall and large booke written in parchment (which I haue seene, and whense I had this transcript) containing the entrie or inuolment of certeine letters patents, writings and euidences touching the said college. First the premisses came vnto king Henrie the eight by act of parlement touching the dissolution of monasteries; & afterwards the said king by letters patents vnder the great seale of England, dated *Decimo sexto Aprilis, anno tricesimo quinto regni sui*, did grant the same to Edward Clirington and Humfrete Petcalfe, and to the heires of the said Edward for euer. After that, the said Edward Clirington and Humfrete Petcalfe by their deed pold dated *Quarto Martij, anno tricesimo sexto Henrici octavi*, did grant the premisses to William Sherwood gentleman & his heires for euer. Then George Sherwood gentleman, sonne and heire to William Sherwood by deed pold dated *Vicesimo nono Septembris, anno vicesimo tertio Elisabetha regina*, did grant the premisses to Robert Talloz esquier and to his heires for euer.

And afterwards, the said Robert Talloz by deed pold dated *Duodecimo Iunij, anno vicesimo quinto Elisabetha regina*, did grant the premisses to Richard Culuerwell citizen & mercer of London and Laurence Chaderton of Cambridge bachelor of diuinitie, and their heires for euer. And after that, the premisses were conuertyed to sir Walter Mildmay, who hath conuertyed the same into a seedplot of learning, for the benefit of the church & common-wealth: so that the students maie verie trulie saie this, and moze too of so good, so honoorable and vertuous a founder:

*fluuij dum cruerit aquor,
Dumque vagas stellas pascet uterque polus,
Dum steriles altis lustrabunt montibus umbræ,
Virtutis stabit fama decusque tua.*

1585
The parlem-
ent dissol-
ued.

On the nine and twentieth daie of March, which was in the yeare of Christ 1585, the parlement was dissolved: at the breaking vp thereof, the queenes maiestie in the parlement house made an oration, to such effect as followeth.

The queenes maiesties oration in the parlement house.

The queenes
maiesties ora-
tion in the
parlement
house.

M Lords and ye of the lower house, my silence must not inturie the owner so much, as to suppose a substitute sufficient to render you the thanks that my heart yeldeth you: not so much for the safe keeping of my life (for which your care appeareth so manifest) as for the neglecting your priuat future perill, not regarding other waie than my present state. No prince herein (I confesse) can be surer tied, or faster bound than I am, with the linke of your good will; and can for that, but yeld a hart & hand to seeke for euer all your best. Yet one matter toucheth me so nere, as I may not ouerskip: religion, the ground on which all other matters ought to take roote, and being corrupted may marre all the tree: and that there be some faultfinders with the order of the cleargie, which so may make a slander to my selfe & the church, whose ouer ruler God hath made me; whose negligence can not be excused, if anie schismes or errors hereticall were suffered.

Of the care
that his ma-
iestie hath of
true religion,
the lord of life
lengthen his
graces life.

Thus much I must saie, that some faults and negligences may grow and bee (as in all other great charges it happeneth) and that vocation without? All which if you my lords of the cleargie do not amend, I meane to depose you: loke you therefore to your charges; this may be amended without heedelesse or open exclamation. I am supposed to haue manie studies, but most philosophicall: I must yeld this to be true, that I suppose few (that be no professoers) haue read moze. And I need not tell you, that I am so simple that I vnderstand not, nor so forgetfull that I remember not; yet amongst my manie volumes, I hope Gods booke hath not bene my domestick studies, in which we find that, which by reason (for my part) we ought to beleue, that seeing so great wickednesse and griefs in the world, in which we liue but as waite-faring pilgrims, we suppose that God would neuer haue made vs but for a better place, and of moze comfort than we find here. I know no creature that breatheth, whose life standeth honorable in moze perill for it than mine owne, who entered not into my state without sight of manifold dangers of life and crovne, as one that had the mightiest and greatest to wrestle with. Then it followeth, that I regarded it so much as I left my selfe behind my care.

And so you see that you wrong me too much (if anie such there be) as doubt my colborne in that behalfe. For if I were not persuaded that mine were the true waie of Gods will, God forbid I should liue to prescribe it to you. Take heed, lest Ecclesiastes saie not too true; They that feare the hoie frost, the snow shall fall vpon them. I see manie ouer bold with God almighty, making too mante subtilt scannings of his blessed will, as lawiers do with humane testaments: the presumption is so great as I may not suffer it (yet mind I not hereby to animate Romanists, which that adueraries they be to mine estate is sufficientlie knowne) nor tolerate new fanglednesse. I meane to guide them both by Gods true rule: in both parts be perils, and of the latter I must pronounce them dangerous to a kinglie rule, to haue euerie man according to his owne censure to make a dome of the validitie and pntitie of his princes gouernement, with a common belle and cover of Gods word, whose followers must not be iudged but by priuat mens exposition, God defend you from such a ruler that so euill will guide you. Now I conclude, that your loue and care neither is nor shall be bestowed vpon a carelesse prince, but such as for your good will passeth as litle for this world as the careth least; with thanks for your fre subsidie: a manifest shew of the abundance of your good wills, the which I assure you, but to be imploied to your weale, I could be better pleased to retorne than receiue.

This is the summe of his maiesties oration vttered in a solemne assemble, and well worthy the recording, as testifying no lesse in sinceritie and truth, than euerie good subiect may seale vnto himselfe, and laie his hand vpon his hart to be faithfullie meant for his securitie. Wherein is speciallie to be noted the religious care which his maiestie hath vntoed to haue of the propagation and supposition of the gospel; according to that which is reported of his by waie of prophesie in the vision of queene Anne in a dreame; where (after a repetition of miseries foretold to befall in queene Maries daies) these words are inferred:

*Ecce malis tantis tua parua medebitur infans,
Iamque tenella geret post sceptrum patris adulta,
Solamen magnum patrie, solamen amicis:
Qua regnante diu, calis ea fata feruntur,
Britannus populus felix, erit Anglia felix,
Et longa tibi sub principe pace fruatur.*

His maiesties
reuerend esti-
mation of
Gods word
and sacred
scriptures.

A most
princelie resolu-
tion and
persuasion!

The God of
vengeance and
iustice roote
them out, that
the Lords an-
ointed maie
be free from
all feare of
hurt.

What subiect
would thinke
life and land
too deere to
lose (if not
more) for so
gracious a
queene?

C. O. in sua El-
isabetha.

*Papa relegatus fallax ad littora Tybris
 Ausonij, propria ditioe iubebitur esse
 Contentus, vniuersumque domi protrudere merces.
 Hic iuris papalis erit tum terminus Anglia.
 Vestra dabit proles papa immedicabile vulnus,
 Non post idoli genua incuruare licet
 Amplius, aut status bene olentia tigna cremare;
 Hinc papa incassum furibunda mouebitur ira,
 Dentibus infrensens & quæret tollere prolem
 Πάρος, & uov insidij structus, quæ numine cæli
 Protectore suo semotis hostibus æuam
 Pace colet, seros ornabit honoribus annos,
 Pace suos placida cines: sua regna beabit.
 Non tamen in claram bacchari desinet atrox
 Reginam, pus ore uomens & uirum ut aspis,
 Promisset cælum uerbis (quis crederet illud?)
 Principis obsequium quicumque reliquerit ultro,
 Cum pacto hoc miseros reuera in Tartara mittat.*

the Flem.
 The death of
 pope Gregorie
 the thirtieth;
 the of this
 popes practi-
 ces against
 England in
 parties crea-
 tions, pag.
 139, 35.

the
 the refos-
 and
 action!

ie God of
 dance and
 e rote
 out, that
 ords an-
 ed maie
 & from
 re of

t subiect
 d think
 nd lands
 ere to
 if nob
) for so
 ious a
 ne?

The pope is
 bene bulic by
 his owne pre-
 sumptuous &
 proud enter-
 prises to im-
 peach christian
 libertie,

This hath
 bene done in
 such sort by a
 mathematici-
 an stranger,
 that he is bold
 to challenge
 the contrarie
 opinion to a re-
 pose of his
 reformation.

in sua Eli-
 ba.

In this peare of Grace, on the eleuenth of Appill
 died pope Gregorie the thirtieth, termed the last &
 lewd pope of that name; one that wanted not the
 waies to applie his blurped supremacie to the com-
 mon abuse of all christendome, according to the re-
 ceived custome of his predecessors; who rather than
 they would abide ante be it neuer so small an eclipse
 of their worldie pompe, all the world shalbe set tog-
 ther by the ears, in so much that heauen & earth shall
 ring with the noise of the tumults. This is he that (a-
 mong other acts by him undertaken & done) after the
 old Romane or Julian kalender was by popish ar-
 guments accused & charged with manifold imperfec-
 tions, whereinto by continuance of time it fortuned
 to fall, thrust forth into the world a reformed kalen-
 dar, exhibited to his holiness by one Antonie Lillie
 doctor of arts & physicke, wherein (by a certeine new
 cyrle of epacts by one Aloisius the said Antonies
 brother germane deuised, and to an vndoubted rule
 of the golden number directed, as also to whatsoeuer
 magnitude or greatnesse of the yeare of the sunne
 applied) all things that in the old kalender were
 faultie, may by constant reason and for euer to last
 be so reformed; that the kalender once reformed accor-
 ding to this plot, need neuer hereafter either to be al-
 tered or amended. Howbeit, in commending the
 perfect reformation of this new kalender, whereby
 not onelie all things erroneous are abolished; but
 also such foresight is had of the time to come, that the
 calculation of this kalender shall neuer hereafter
 seme subiect unto change: an occasion of some de-
 mands may hereof arise, touching christian libertie;
 namelie, Whether the church be tied to a certeine time
 according to the reformed calculation astronomi-
 call, in the celebration of yearely festiuals: Whether
 it be lawfull for the bishop of Rome to reforme the
 time and the kalender: Whether the church of Christ
 be bound by necessitie of religion to receiue that ka-
 lender, at the first originall beginning proceeding
 from the pope, though the same afterwards were set
 forth under another title: Whether it profiteth or be
 requisite that for the keeping of peace and concord, in
 contracts, bargainings, and intercoure of traffike
 and merchandise; the one partie should submit him-
 selfe to that kalender, whereunto the pope hath po-
 wered his popelings; and persuaded manie moze to do
 the same, &c. Although these and the like interrogato-
 ries may be made against the papists; yet bicause to
 giue an instance is not to answer a doubt, it is to
 be wished that this kalender were thoroughlie sifted
 by some sound and sober mathematician, and the
 three heads, whereof this new reformed kalender of
 Gregorie doth consist, disproued: which three heads,
 repeated by Gregorie in his bull before the said ka-
 lender, are these.

1 The refozving and coupling of the equinoctiall

in the spring to the one and twentieth daie of March,
 with such a caveat giuen, that from thence, as from
 the proper and fixed seat, it may not possible hereaf-
 ter at anie time remoue. 2 The correction of the
 golden number by the cyrle of epacts, in such sort,
 that the numbers of epacts may shew not onelie the
 daie of the new mone in euerie moneth of all yeares;
 but also, and that principallie the terme of Easter:
 that is, the certeine & full daie of the verie next full
 mone following after the equinoctiall of the spring;
 and that euerie yeare without error or deceit. 3 The
 verie full and certeine sundae of Easter, that ought
 to be celebrated and kept on the verie next sundae
 after the full mone, which first doth follow after the
 full equinoctiall of the spring. These three heads be-
 ing so anatomized and opened by mathematicians
 as were met, it should be found in the end, that this
 new kalender, in all and euerie part thereof, euen
 wherein it is best reformed, or so thought to be, is ma-
 nie waies faultie, & erroneous in the verie grounds:
 in which qualitie leauing it, as not to be put to the
 touch in a publike chronicle, but otherwile to be had
 in triall, Gregorie the prefferer thereof is now to be
 handled by description, which is no fiction or imagi-
 ned bable, but deriued out of an oration or funerall
 sermon at Rome, at the burfall of his holiness,
 containing his maners, life, deeds, and last words at
 his death: together with the lamentations of the
 cardinals and whole Romish clergie. Otherwile to
 be intituled; as followeth.

Vide M. Micha-
 elm. Meßlinum
 Geppingensem
 in Tibuigenfi
 academia Ma-
 thematicum, &c.

A sermon full of papistick adulation,
 and matter sufficient to procure the wise and ver-
 tuous minded to contemne such grosse and pal-
 pable blindness, and all persons to laugh at
 the Romanists absurd and erroneous
 follies.

Here is nothing so certeine as death, ei-
 ther uncerteine as the moment thereof.
 Therefore the holie doctor saith: Keepe
 thy selfe continually in that estate wher-
 in thou desirest to die. And the proverbe goeth, that
 manie a one thinketh himselfe in perfect helth, when
 he beareth death in his bosome. So saie the truth, we
 do continually carrie death about with vs, it is in
 vs immediatlie after we take life and mouing in
 our mothers wombe; and wheresoeuer we walke, it
 is still at our heeles: if we take horse, it is with vs:
 if we be on the water, it is the guide of our ship:
 so as we can neuer saie death to be absent from vs: for
 our selues are verie death, and no part of our bodie
 immortall. Therefore those that suppose themselves
 to liue in this world are far deceived in their owne
 opinions, and the pilgrimage of man in this world
 is but a shadow of life, which vnto vs seemeth life, but
 in deed is none. The better therefore to describe the
 said shadow, I will make an abstraction of the dead
 time of mans age, from the full and greatest age that
 a creature can liue in the world.

First, the longest age that man can liue is but firtie
 yeares. From firtie yeares we must deduct the nights,
 for man when he slepeth liueth not. Besides that, sleep
 is termed the image of death: so that deducting the
 nights, which comprehend one halfe of the time,
 man liueth but thre score yeares in the world.
 Whiles man liueth these firtie yeares, he liueth but
 the one halfe of them, for if he haue one daie of mirth
 and quiet, he hath another of sorrow and care, bicause
 grieve doth still secretlie creepe into mirth. And anie
 person troubled with cares and bersed in mind, doth
 rather die than liue. We must therefore take from the
 firtie yeares aforesaid the one halfe, and so there re-
 maine but thirtie. Now, let vs see whether in the

A good and
 plausible be-
 ginning, if the
 proceedings
 were agree-
 able.

Joseph be-
 uines do re-
 ther imitate
 anie duns
 than the pro-
 phet David,
 who setteth
 downe the
 age of man to
 consist of 70.
 yeares.

Space

A further ex-
amination of
mans age by
popish learn-
ing.

space of six score yeares a man may not passe awaie
ten at the least in sicknesse, mishances, or other in-
firmities: I may tell you there is no man that liueth
six score yeares in the world, but at severall times
and during the said age he hath about ten yeares in-
firmities: and therefore we must take from the thirtie
yeares which are the remainder of mans life yet ten
yeares, & then there are but twentie left, which are
now the twentie yeares of his life. We must take
them at his infancie & in his oldest age: that is, ten
yeares from his berie childhood, & the other ten from
his extreme old age. But sith aswell in infancie as
in extremitie of age there is no life, but rather a li-
ving death, I conclude, that man hath not one onelie
houre of life in this world, also that whosoever seeketh
life in this world doth much deceiue himselfe. In
heauen therefore it is that we must assure our selues
to liue, and seeke for life; but not upon earth where
death doth continually haunt vs. For we ought to
die to the world, to the end to be borne in Iesus
Christ; according to the soueraine sentence and de-
crea, & ye inhabitants of Rome we see your great
bishop and mine is dead: behold our crowne is fal-
len: our lodestar banished awaie and our lighte,
singulished.

Happie newes
to the true
church, when
the members of
antichrist de-
crease.

And for mine owne part, O miserable man,
who am deuiued of him, of two things I wish for
one, that is, either neuer to remember the god that
we haue lost; either else calling the same to mind, to
find some one that were able to giue me comfort cor-
respondent to the greatnesse of the heauinesse wher-
into I am fallen. And indeed my selfe do now come
into the pulpit upon two severall occasions mere
contrarie eche to other, to wit, to reherse the gretnes
of the god that is taken from vs, & to comfort those
that suffere the losse: naie rather, to do two things
which seme to repugne eche other. For if it be true
that nothing doth more aggrauate the griefe of the
losse, than the remembrance of the value of the thing
lost; then doth nothing seme more contrarie to the
comfort of the liuing, than the praises of him that is
dead, as in this case, wherein so far do the merits of
the deceased exced, that the arrowes which pearce his
hart that is deuiued of him are the more sharpe and
griuous. Howbeit some man would answer, that
contrariwise by the commendations of him that is
departed, we do declare that he is not dead, but li-
ueth, and thus we may by litle and litle allwaie the
sorrow of our losse and damage in whatsoeuer ma-
ner.

A comparison
abused to the
commenda-
tion of lewd
pope Grego-
rie.

But as it were hard for a painter in the face of a
sorrowfull person to represent a smiling counte-
nance, so doth it seme to me a difficult enterprize to
vndertake to comfort a man by rehearsing the ver-
tues of him that is taken awaie from vs: and that
the more, if we should enter into consideration of
him that is spoken of: of your selues that are the
hearers: and of me that do make the discourse: for
in each of these three, the same circumstances that
seme to make mine enterprize easie, are those that
indeed do yeld it most difficult and troublesome. As
if a man should in respect of him saie, that if the mul-
titude of his great vertues do seme to abridge my
labour, in seeking some argument wherupon to
ground his praises: so contrariwise the abundance
of so great vertues do hold me so short, that I can
not certeinlye resolue upon the choice of one onlie
wherupon to commend him. For you, if
a man should saie, in that you all knew him and used
him to your great profit, it should seme sufficient
for me onlie to decipher matters: so contrariwise
your own perfect knowlege, together with your dea-
lings with him, would sufficientlie open vnto you
all my defaults in displaing of him. And for mine

Childish rea-
sons and
swoyle dimini-
sh.

owne part, if infinit courtesies and great fauours,
wherewith he hath alwaies gratified me, do seme
without seeking and cuning to breed in me as much
affection as is requist: so by contrarie reason, the
great fauours and benefitts, wherewith he hath al-
waies gratified me, do not leaue me anie running
meanes to hinder me from hauing greater affecti-
on than is here to be required of me. And this was
the principall reason that moued me somewhat to
refuse this so honorable a commission, and vnto me
in manie other respects most welcome, and to re-
quest you to appoint and commit to some other the
charge to discourse hereupon, and to leaue vnto me
teares and lamentations onelie.

How did this
fellow flatter
Gregorie a-
lone, whom he
so magnified
being dead?

But now vnto thee, Oh my god master and fa-
ther (for so will I alwaies call thee) do I turne my
selfe. Maie it be possible that this my oration, which
latelie in thy life thou diddest harken vnto, should
now be imploied in praising of thee being dead, ei-
ther that this my song, which imploing me to the
seruice of this countrie, thou diddest so greatlie ho-
nor, should now be occupied, alas, in lamentations
for thy so hurtfull death to all christendome: And
what? Hast thou then brought me so foolishlie to
Rome, to the end here to celebrate thy funerals: Oh
how that commission to read Hieremie might well
forgethew vnto me (but I percieue it not) that my le-
cture thereof should end in lamentations, and now
behold that diuination accomplished! See *Quomodo*
sedet sola ciuitas, how the citie sitteth desolat, notwithstanding it be *Plena populo*, full of people: also how this
spoile, the church of Rome, who by great brightnesse
seemed to be *Domina gentium*, ladie of nations, now
hauiug lost thee, *Est facta quasi vidua*, is made as it
were a widow: and as a widow all dipped in teares
and lamentations, willet me to celebrate the praises
of hir deere spouse, which she all whole together
can not celebrate: wherein although I can not (as in
truth I am not able) attaine to the least parcell of thy
deserts, which are not well to be exprest, yet at all
aduentures I assure my selfe, O happie soules, that
as in thy life time thou diddest pardon me a number
of other imperfections, so now thou wilt likewise
forgiue me this: I know that as thou wert accus-
med, thou wilt make better account of the god will
than of the glose and pompe of wordes, and as discret
thalt well see, that not onelie I, but also that no ora-
tour is able to attaine to the type of thy commenda-
tions.

If fit child
scholar for so
bad a father
and master.

No spouse but
a trumpet
spotted with
spirituall for-
nication.

Beastlie and
blasphemous
diuinitie, sic
for so lewd a
bishop, and so
vnclearned a
chaplican.

Among the which my lords, and ye my hearers, I
do freely confesse, that I haue greatlie doubted
whether I were best to begin, as I take the maner to
be, at the greatnesse and eminencie of the familie
from whence he is extract: and at the first I was pur-
posed so to do, and that the rather because it is not
yet scarce two months since that my selfe heard him
in this temple, discourse how our sauour Iesus
Christ was content to be borne of a mother though
poore, yet noble, and descended of a noble race; also
that nobilitie was verie effectually euen to spirituall
life, as it may be said of him that is noble, that whe-
ther it be through conformitie or resemblance of
mind with his predecessors, either thorough the re-
membzance of such things as they haue done, either
else thorough the effect of god bringing vp, or for what
other reason he is better disposed to do well; that
nobilitie serueth him as a spur to godnesse and a bri-
dle to euill: also that as the pretious stone being set
in gold maketh a greater thew than in iron, euen so
the same vertuous deeds do giue a more effectually ex-
ample, when they proceed from noble personages
than from men of base estat, with other things which
he spake to the same purpose.

Public borne
(no doubt)
was this
Gregorie, or
therwise cal-
led Hugh the
good fellow.

A similitude
of a pretious
stone set in
gold, and de-
scribes in per-
sonages noble
descendeth.

Howbeit I will not speake thereof, in that it
might

did this
flatter
orie a-
whom he
gnified
dead:

child and
ler for to
a father
mauler.

o spouse but
rumpet
itted with
ritual for-
ation.

seafie and
asphemous
unittie, sit
; so lewd a
shop, and so
learned a
sapiencie.

Public borne
no doubt)
was this
Gregorie, or
herwise cal-
dough the
god fellow.

A similitude
of a pectious
stone set in
gold, and ber-
ues in perla-
rages noble
descended.

might be accounted rashnesse in me, euen in Rome to saie to make his holinesse familie moze famous than it is. It may be that some may saie that this familie doth want glorious titles, preeminence, riches, possessions, iurisdiccions, pretensions of rights, patronages, ancient pedigrees of their predecessours, commendations of learning, praise of armes, noble and famous aliances either in Italie or with- out, and to be briefe, all such things collected into one, as being seuerallie taken are sufficient to set a faire shew vpon a whole progenie. Notwithstanding all these things which are terrestriall & too common with others, and for the causes aforesaid his holinesse per- ceuuing (as he perceived all things) that it is not enough for a hoist to be of a god race, except him- selfe be also god, and that they are happie and wise, who as the sea, do not receiue the sweetnesse of this baine glorie of the riuers of their predecessours, but returning their course and swelling ouer the mouthes of the riuers themselves, can yeld to their forerun- ners the reward of firme and permanent commen- dation; so of that great nobilitie which he had brought forth of his mothers wombe with him, he did therein onelie yeld thanks to God, for that his actions with their circumstances, thereby, and in respect thereof, were moze notable and exemplarie.

Gregorie per-
ceived all
things: but it
would be kno-
wen how.

A long similitu-
tude most foun-
dation and most
ridiculous
is applied.

Marke this
principallie,
that Gregorie
was mortified
by the text he
not.

Jesu! what a
wonder is
this: and
well worthie
to be placed in
Legenda au-
rea.

The head
which sought
to ouerthrow
the church,
to distill
inuers from
their allegi-
ance to their
king, and to

Wh most happie person, who in the middess of so great emunencie of birth, could so well subdue pride, and in himselfe giue example vnto other! Euen like vnto the pearle, which although it lieth in the bottome of the sea, yet keeping it selfe close in the shell, and neuer opening vntill it ascendeth to receiue the dew of heauen, we find therein no smell, no fauour, or drop that tasteth of his sea; but being pure, cleare and white, it seemeth to be formed euen in heauen. We must not therfore take commendations of this peo- ple at the transitorie things of the sea of this world, and although he be therein extract of a most noble birth, yet will I not saie anie moze thereof as of that which is none of his.

But discoursing and speaking of that which pro- perlie apperteineth to himselfe, I would aske whe- ther his mind commanded not his bodie: Also whe- ther it were possible to find a bodie moze withered, afflicted, macerated, dyed by, or pale through the ef- fect of auisere and hard penance: Other mens bod- ies (Christian hearers) are for the most part with- ed to be of this or that forme, because they yeld such or such inclination to the mind. But in this I will shew you a matter worth the noting; that is, that here the case was altered, for it was the mind that ministered inclination to the bodie: so that being wayen altogether spirituall, had not ertreame need forced him, he neuer desired meat, drinke, or bodilie rest: and he liued in such sort as it was a miracle (whereof, alas, we haue but too sone sene the issue) how he could liue so manie yeeres, but rather liuing was dead. And for my part I assure you, I neuer, euen in the hart of summer, kissing his holie hands (god God shall I neuer do so moze) found them o- ther than cold, wherein there was no heat, except the same proceeded of some excess or immoderate labor, or of some motion of a sudden feuer. A most dære bodie! A most holie members! But loke yet once againe vpon them, O ye Romane people, and saie: Are not these the verie hands which so often haue bin joined together, and lifted vp to praise and offer sacrifi- cee for vs? Be not these the feet that haue trauelled so far for our sakes? Is not this the head that neuer imagined anie thing but for our benefit? Is not this the heart that burned in loue of vs? A dære members! A members so dære! What? Shall you then go vnder the earth? And what? Must you be buried? Alas my God! who is that thou hast taken

abwaie from vs? And wherefore do ye hide your selfes? For my part, none but onlie death shall euer plucke out of my heart the liuelie image of that so well beloued countenance: especiallie in this act, wherein with your eyes toward heauen as it were smiling, and with an angelicall countenance I see you depart and remaine dead.

But it is time for vs (Christian hearers) to pro- ceed to matters of greater importance, which are so manie & withall so intangled one within an other, that I could not find anie moze fit meane to part and diuibe them; neither do I thinke that we can take anie better course, than the verie course of his holie life: and there to begin. When he was a little child he was verie deuout, and it is well knowne that God, euen in his first youth, wrought in him maruellous signes of singular godnesse. The like is read of saint Basil, saint Gregorie, saint Domi- nique, saint Francis, and manie others, as was to be sene in this yong child (saie they that do remem- ber it) namelie, that at his returne from the college, all the delite that that age used to take in anie other thing, he toke onelie in framing of little altars, adorning of small chapels, and counterfetting of holie things. Matters, which although the wisest maie thinke too base for this place, and for the occa- sion now ministered, yet would I not onelie not dis- daime, but also take great and singular pleasure in the same.

For all that is
hitherto spo-
ken is more
ridiculous, idle
and more like
labour.

Notes that
he would in
time proue a
strong pillar of
idolatrie.

And although some do saie, that among such serious affaires such small trifles should haue no place: yet do I delite to shew how commenda- ble, ne onelie graue matters, but euen such small things were in him. Concerning the rest, according to the proportion of his age, or rather beyond the reach of that age (as occasions do increase so must my stile arise) his holinesse being past the inferior scholes, and comming to studie the law, it is not pos- sible to make an end of writing with what modestie and grauitie he there passed the yeares of his studie: he was apparelled in clerks attire, but, which was of greater importance, he obserued clergie manners, much continencie, & (as is supposed) perpetuall virgi- nitie, with modest behauiour, no vanitie, continuall studie: these were his exercises. And to be briefe, al- though thorough our mischaps, the vniuersitie wherein he studied were not vsuallie either the quietest or the holiest in the world, yet might the writing of Pazi- anzen concerning the great Basil and the towne of Athens be applied to him. Like as there is one riuier, which flowing thorough the sea, taketh no bitterness thereof; also a certaine beast that liueth in the fire and consumeth not: euen so he with great quietnesse passing these troubles, and with soueraine vertues such vices, did first and most worthilie attaine to the doctorall degre, & afterward was called to Rome, and made cardinall, onelie thorough desert, for his learned studies, and not by fauour, as the most part do now vsuallie practise.

The conti-
nencie and
virginitie of
the popish clergie
doth com-
sist in keeping
of concubines.

Note how
Gregorie is
extolled by
saie of com-
parison.

A happie departure, a blessed tournee for all the holie church, but especiallie for this great citie of Rome, which haue receiued so great benefites and so much comfort at his hands. Notwithstanding, what soeuer affaires he had in hand, yet did he baile ap- plie his studie at a certaine houre, & so continued his studie euen to his death, with so deepe iudgement and good successe, that although his intellectuall habi- tudes had not bene verie farre surmounted & dark- ned thorough the marvellous brightnesse of his mo- rall and theologicall vertues: yet in respect of his learning and studie onelie, he deserued great praise, and in truth he was neuer other than most learned and a great fauourer of learned men. Who did euer shew them moze pleasure, or receiue them moze

A great stu-
dent was Gre-
gorie, but in no
good facultie.

So little, little, courtesie

Better had
that liberalitie
bene exhibited
to theues
than to sacri-
legious beasts
&c.

Gregorie a
good compani-
on to traitors,
but an ill com-
panion to the
godlie.

It is imposs-
ible (if you will
believe this
flattering pa-
rasite) to re-
hearse Gre-
gories words
&c.

The Wolfe is
dead, and the
sheepe want a
good shep-
heard.

How could the
pope need the
prayers of
men, with him-
selfe can for-
give sinnes?

Two things
made Grego-

courtesoule: Besides the seminaries and colleges, as well at Paule as here, the lectures, the stipends, with such & so manie things done to the behoofe of learning, and besides the books which he hath of him selfe written: and now that the bydle of his modestie doth no longer deteine, I hope, as my selfe haue seene them, so comming to light, all the world shall behold them, and in them perceiue as in him selfe whether were more his holie writings or good manners. This loue of learning and holinesse of life he practised so diligentlie in himselfe, that thorough Gods grace, and the inspiration of the holie ghost, he was in respect of his vertues, knowledge, and holie life, elected pope, and his name from Hugh god Companion, was changed and called Gregorie the thirteenth. During his papacie he liued so religiouse and deuoutlie, that the whole life of a man were little enough to rehearse the same. But herein I repose my selfe vpon that zeale which I perceiue in euerie one to commend him, whereby I maie shortly see so manie poesies, verses, and rimes, with such histories, so manie orations, and volumes to his honor, that all these things, as well such as I can not touch, as the rest which I mention and speake of, shall brieflie be deciphered and liuelie set forth.

For to rehearse all the holie works of our god shepheard, or to indenuer to set forth that vertie patterne of a bishop which he hath expressed in himselfe, to saie truth, I thinke impossible, and much lesse to believe that the vertie summaries of those things that he hath done maie be drawne into anie annals or chronicle. Neither can I conceiue anie means to attaine thereto, vnlesse some one haue in forme of remembrances bene dailie collecting the course of his deeds and works. For my part in this short discourse that I haue to prosecute, as one not able to restreine the whole sea, I will go see if I maie gather the water at the riuers and brooks from whence this sea doth arise, that is, from his vertues, which in him haue wrought so manie holie works. Notwithstanding I might at once in generall words saie, that all vertues becomming a bishop, which saint Paule & others do speake of, were to be found in him.

Alas how this holie pastoz burning in loue, made himselfe leane for you, O ye poore artificers, ladies, yong infants, and poore beggers! Alas ye all haue lost your father, the shepheard is dead, & the sheepe remaine a prete to the wolues. How soeuer it is, hereof maie we plainelie see O Rome, that he bare the singular good will: and in deed (for I will not conceale thy commendation) it is euident that thou diddest answer his god will with reciprocal amitie, witnesse this thy assemblie: these sobbs & these teares do testifie thy acknowledging thereof, besides all other things, alas, too bitter and too sweet together; euen the night of his departure was to you and to me infortunate. O great, O great pittie, what could be seene more worthy compassion and teares, than the fearefull stirre of the people? It seemed, when the most horrible sound of the bell called *Aue Maria*, that gaue notice of his death, to the end to praise to God for him, sent furies to all both men and women.

One ran here, an other there, some two together, others without order or reason: all wept, all cried, all howled out, saying: Ah, good God whereto are we brought? What shall become of vs? If the infection doth afflict vs, who shall praise for vs? Ah that we had not deferved it! Oh how God is worthy with vs! With manie other exclamations sufficient to haue rent the marble stones, and clouen the wals in sunder. He was a man of much prayer and reading, as euer was anie, and in priuat behauior had not his like. Two things there were that made him wonderfull wise. The one, he would in all affaires heare

counsell. The other, he had still recourse vnto prayer. Cruelie he was as wise as helie. I confesse that in respect of his example onelie, I learned to vnderstand this place of saint Paule concerning his care of all the churches: *Quis infirmatur & ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur & ego non uror? Who is weake and I am not sicke: Or who is offended and I burne not? And that which followeth.*

To be briefe, toward the end of his daies, and being hoze baited, he conceiued two excellent imaginations. The one, concerning that great and wonderfull college that is now at building in your Rome, for the teaching (a wonderfull matter) of all languages in the world. The other, the same which he propounded and began to put in execution touching the recouerie of the gods of the catholike apostolike Romish church. The same was it which he did so highlie commend to the clergie, yea to the christi- an princes, and vnto his successor, to the end that the Romane see might recouer the full brightnesse of his glorie, and to deprive the enemie of mankind that innumerable gaine of soules, that through his subtiltie he doth dailie make. These were his last words when he left vs with the water in our eyes, and sorrow in our hearts, for the losse of a thing of so great value. Neuerthelesse, sith it is to no purpose to weepe, it resteth that we do two things. The one, that so much as in vs lieth, we indenuer to reteine those notable institutions, and walke in that path which he hath prescribed for vs. The other, that we haue recourse to God with prayer, that he will send vs a successor worthy him: and that as Simplician succeded saint Ambrose, so to this Ambrose an other Simplician in vertue and holinesse maie succed.

This is that small matter, Oh blessed soule, which my foolish and vnmete tong is able this day to viter of thee in midst of these sighs and lamentations. How shall it cease: howbeit, at time convenient, both this daie and euer, my heart shall discourse of thee. Oh wretch that I am! O ye Romane people, to whome happeneth still the contrarie of that which happened to the Romane soules, that was wounded and maimed vpon one of his legs, at a certeine victorie that he obtained. For he said, that at euerie step that he set, and vpon the least paine that he felt of his leg, he called to mind the most honorable blason of his glorie: but I contrariwise, in the least commendations that I may obtaine, shall thinke vpon my losses. For when soeuer I shall boast, that I haue bene seruant to such a holinesse, and so great a personage, I must necessarilie with all remember what a god I am deprived of. Let vs therefore praise to our god God, that it may please him of his grace with his holie spirit to inspire the most reuerend cardinals, the electors of the holie apostolike and Romish see, to the end his holinesse successor, succeding in the holie see, may likewise succed in those vertues and holinesse, wherewith he was indued and replenished.

This is the parasiticall and flattering sermon of a popeling, patched together like a beggers mantle of sundrie rotten rags diuerslie colored: wherein there is as much learning as wit; and as much of both as of truth and goodnesse in this praiser and the praised: of whome (because it is sinne against the holie ghost to speake otherwise than according to the motion of a god and sound conscience) an epitaph imprecatorie (as fit for him as a pudding for a friers mouth) is here placed as a conclusion of this his memorie, and appliable vnto all and euerie one of that antichristian and diabolical succession.

Albus an ater (lector) cognoscere sicut

Papa, tibi dicam qua ratione licet;

Et metamorphosin lepidam spectabis: olorem

no wise of you
will believe
the reporter.

Two images
nations in
Gregories
head toward
his death.

Some traitors
deuile
for the persecu-
tion of the
gospel.

God rot out
all of that suc-
cession, & send
his truth free
passage a-
gainst poperie.

Blasphemy
soule that hath
lost the solace
and comfort.

Faithfullie
translated out
of the French
copie printed
at Paris for
Peter Zebert
dwelling in
Parce Street,
with Kings
priviledge 1585

*Eae papam, certum protinus ater erit.
Et quocunque meat, fordes testudo relinquit,
Sic immundiciem linquit ubique suam.
Monstrum tale vorax absorbeat ergo barathrum,
Atque Deo penas tempus in omne laet.*

When this Gregorie was deceased, shortly after (least the ouerlong vacancie of the sacred and apostolike see should preiudice the Romish prelacie and cleargie) the succession came to *Sixtus Quintus*, who according to the disposition of his predecessors intending to mainteine the title of his supremaie, and to beare rule ouer mens consciences, as though peremptorie authoritie had by priuilege passed vnto the bishops of that see to controll and giue the checke to all christendome; one not or minute whereof the beast now residing at Rome not meaning to relinquish, but rather to fortifie and aduance, vndertook to intermedle with princes of renowne, as professing to bring them within the compasse of his iurisdiction: inso much that falling to the extreame point of his antichristian power, he let stie (but as paper shot) his excommunications, thinking that if anie thing were able to daunt and appall the courages of mightie men, this were the waie. But herein *Sixtus Quintus* was solified, for proofe whereof behold an answer to the excommunication latelie denounced and published by the said *Sixtus Quintus*, pope of Rome so called, against two christian princes vndermined, and sent to Rome as followeth.

The answer of Henrie king of Nauarre,
and Henrie prince of Conde, to the excommunication of Sixtus Quintus,
now pope, &c.

Henrie by the grace of God king of Nauarre, prince of Bearne, chiefe peer and prince of France, opposeth himselfe against the excommunication of *Sixtus Quintus*, terming himselfe pope of Rome, aouching the same to be false, and appealeth to the court of peers of France, of whome he hath the reputation to be the first in degre. And as concerning the crime of heresie, whereof he is falslie accused by the said excommunication, he answereth and affirmeth, that my lord the pope, fauouring his holinesse and reuerence, hath therein most falselie and wickedlie lied: and that the pope himselfe is an heretike, which he offereth to proue publikelie in a generall or common counsell lawfullie assembled. Where if he shall refuse to appeare and submit himselfe, as by his owne canons and decrees he is speciallie bound, the said king doth and will hold and repute him a verie antichrist, and in that qualitie of antichrist denounceth perpetual warre against him: protesting in the meane time, the popes wicked sentence to be vnlawfull and insufficient, and to prosecute against him and his successors (for reparation of honoz) reuenge of the iniurie thereby offered to him and all the princes of his blood, as the lewdnesse of the act and the present necessitie doe require. For in times past, the princes and kings his progenitors haue bene able to chastise the insolencie and arrogancie of such companions as the pope is, when they forgot their duties, and exceeded the limits of their vocacion and place, confounding and intermingling their spirituall iurisdiction with the tempozall: the said king of Nauarre being in state nothing inferior to them, doth hope, that God will giue him the grace to reuenge the wrong and iniurie hereby done to his soueraigne, his familie and blood, and to the sapream courts and seats of iustice and parlement in France, vpon the said pope and his successors: and to that end and pur-

pose he imploereth the aid, succour, and assistance of all true christian kings, princes, common-weales, whome this case doth concerne, together with the allies and confederats of the crowne of France, against the tyrannie and usurpation of the said pope and of the associated conspirators against the state of their soueraigne, enemies to God, France, and the common peace and quiet of christendome. The like protestation is also made by Henrie of Bourbon prince of Conde, vnto whome the excommunication likewise reacheth. ¶ Fired and set by vpon the Pasquile at Rome to the view of all men.

¶ Thus farre of two popes, who though they be but prophane priests, & more foreigners to England both by birth and beliefe; yet sith they haue bene ouerbold to busie themselves with the affaires not onelie of other christian princes, but also with the state of our nation, wherinto they haue had too far an insight, by the aid of certeine vnnaturall and degenerate people; manie of them being fugitiues, and carieng about them euen in their bosome a conscience bespotted with sinnes of exceeding horroz and heinousnesse: in consideration hereof, as also of other practises tending to an vniuersall desolation of truth and louers of truth, as also to the dissolution of ciuill policie and destruction of our most gracious soueraigne ladie queene Elisabeth, the lords annointed and lieutenant, principall within his owne dominions: what faithfull subiect can but note them; howbeit, none otherwise than the reports of them haue passed vnder manie eyes and through manie hands, printed euen in fozen speech, before the same were published in English. At which popes, meaning now to make a stop, we will come againe to matters of our owne.

¶ In this yeare 1585, euen in Aprill, at the pleasant prime, sir Walter Raleigh knight, being incouraged by the reports of his men of the goodnesse of the soile and the fertilitie of the countrie, which they had discovered this yeare last past, and now by his maiestie called Virginia, with knightlie courage counteruaileable to his double desire of honour, by vndertaking hard aduenturs, furnished to his great charges eight sailles of all sortes, and immediatlie set them to the sea, ordeining sir Richard Greenefield his kinsman (a gentleman of verie god estimation both for his parentage and sundrie god vertues, who for loue he bare vnto sir Walter Raleigh, together with a disposition that he had to attempt honozable actions wortie of honour, was willing to hazard himselfe in this voyage) his lieutenant, intaining him either to carrie himselfe, or to leaue some gentleman of god wortie with a competent number of soldiers in the countrie of Virginia, to begin an English colonie there. Who with the ships aforesaid, hauing in his companie sir John Arundell, Thomas Candish, Rafe Lane, Edward Gorges, John Stukelie, Edward Stafford, Phillip Amadis, Arthur Barlow, Thomas Veriot, and diuerse other gentlemen with a competent number of souldiers, departed from London in Aprill aforesaid. But after they had sailed certeine numbers of leagues at the sea, by force and violence of fowle weather they were separated one from another; so that sir Richard Greenefield being singled from his fleet, all alone arrived in the Island of Hispaniola in the west Indies, about the middelt of June following, where he determined resolutelie to remaine, vntill he had built a bote (for he had lost his owne bote in the tempests aforesaid.)

Wherevpon immediatlie after his landing, finding a place to his liking, he esconced himselfe in despite of the Spaniards, who by all possible means did there best endeavour by proffering of sundrie fairmit-

The king of Nauarre imploereth the aid of all christian kings, &c. against the tyrannie and usurpation of the pope.

*Abt. Flex chi-
rographo D. G.
militis.*
Sir Walter Raleighs chargeable voyage to the foresaid land, intelic disclosed, and by the queenes maiestie named Virginia.

Sir Richard Greenefield lieutenant to sir Walter Raleigh for this voyage.

Gentlemen that associated sir Richard Greenefield,

Sir Richard Greenefield singled from his companie by fowle weather arriveth in Hispaniola.

Sixtus quintus pope of Rome next after Gregorie the good felow of bonn companion.

Excommunication a perilous bolt to shoot at princes.

magie in uis ward th.

traitor: uisse perles of the

not out hat lures, & giues with free & a poperie.

The popes excommunications against foreign princes are to be esteemed but as paper shot.

The king of Nauarre giueth the pope the lie.

he god that host by solace onfozt.

The king of Nauarre denounceth perpetual warre against the pope.

itselfe lated out French printed aris for r. Jaberling in e street, & kings lege 1585

His thier forgetfulness is wilfull, as agreeable to their ambitious humoz.

The valiant-
ness of sir Ri-
chard Greene-
field against
the Spani-
ards.

A parles ten-
ding to the
concluding of
an amitie be-
tweene the
English and
Spanish.

what kind of
cattell for vit-
telling sir Ri-
chard Greene-
field transpor-
ted to Virgi-
nia.

Sir Richard
Greenefield
meeteeth with
the rest of his
fleet and is in
danger of
shipwracke.

Sir Richard
Greenefield
establisheth
an English
colonie in
Virginia by
commission.

Sir Richard
Greenefield
descrieth a
Spanish ship,
chalet and
surpriseth hir.

In other bot-
age resolved
upon by sir
Walter Ra-
leigh for the
supplye of those
that were left
in Virginia.

Four thousand men
trained by
shot in the citie
of London.

Shirsmith be-
fore the queens
maiestie at
Grenewich.

thes, to enforced him to retire to his ship: but he no-
thing appalled with their brags kept his ground.
Twelue daies after his arrivall there, after Thomas
Candish arrived at the same place, where sir Richard
Greenefield was encompassing of himselfe, to the great
reioysing both of themselves & their companies. The
Spaniards finding it too hard for them (notwith-
standing their multitudes) to remove these few re-
solute Englishmen by violence, came to a parlee, and
in the same concluded an amitie, that the one na-
tion might in safetie traffike with the other. Now
when sir Richard Greenefield had taried in that Is-
land almost a moneth, and had built his bote, reit-
telled himselfe, and laden his ships with hoxses,
mares, kine, sheep, swine, &c: to transport with him
to Virginia (because these sorts of cattell heretofore
were not to be found in that countrie) he departed
thence; and in his waie he made discoverie of manie
Islands and haucens upon the continent adjoining,
and arrived safelie in the new discovered countrie
(where he met with the rest of his fleet that attended
his comming thither) about the middell of Julie
next ensuing, not without great danger of ship-
wracke. For at the verie entrance into the harbo-
rough, his ship strake on the ground, and did beat so
manie strokes upon the sands, that if God had not
miraculouly delivered him, there had bene no
waie to avoid present death. In this danger his ship
was so hurt, that the saltwater came so abomi-
nantlie into hir, that the most part of his corne, salt,
meale, rice, biscet, & other provisions that he should
have left with them that remained behind him in
the countrie was spoiled.

After he had remained there certaine daies, accor-
ding to his commission from sir Walter Raleigh,
he began to establish a colonie, appointing master
Rafe Lane (a gentleman of good account) generall
of those English which were to remaine there, being
in all to the number of an hundred and seaven per-
sons, amongst whom diverse gentlemen remained;
namelie, Philip Amadis, Edward Stafford, Per-
uitt, Kendall, Videaux, Adon, Periot, and others.
When he had taken sufficient order for the establish-
ing of master Lane and his companie aforesaid, lea-
ving with them as much of all provisions as his
plentie would give him leave, he weighed anchor for
England. But in his returne, not having failed ma-
nie leagues from the coast of Virginia, he descried
a tall ship of foure hundred tons or thereabouts, ma-
king the same course that he did, unto whom he gaue
chase, and in few houres by goodnesse of saile over-
tooke, and by violence wan, richlie laden with sugar,
hides, spices, and some quantitie of gold, silver, and
pearles: she was the viceadmirall of the fleet of *San-
to Domingo* that yere for Spaine. After this good for-
tune, having a merie gale, not manie daies after he
arrived at Wilmouth in October next ensuing;
where sir Walter Raleigh meeting with him, did
presentlie resolve upon another voyage, to supplie
Rafe Lane, and his companie that were left with
him in Virginia, the next spring following: which
accordinglie was performed with all expedition.]

In Aprill about the fourteenth daie, by command-
ment of hir maiesties most honorable privie
councell, the citizens of London appointed out of the
companies of the same citie to the number of foure
thousand men, with armour, ensignes, drums, fises,
and other furniture for the warres, the greater part
whereof (or almost all of them) were shot, the other
were pikes and halberds in faire cozzets: all those
to be trained by vnder expert capteins, with serge-
ants of the bands, widlers, and other necessarie offi-
cers, mustered and skirmished dallie at the spiles
end, and in saint Georges field, and on the eighteenth

daie of Maie (having overnigh set forward out of
saint Georges field) mustered in the parke at Gren-
wich, and skirmished befoze the queens maiestie,
who gaue to them great thanks for their aduencie
and paines: sith hir maiestie might perceiue the ap-
pliablenesse of those hir people, even in pastime not
bold of perill, to delight hir eyes and reioise hir hart;
esteeming nothing too deere to part withall, so it
might anie waies concerne dutie to hir highnesse.
In discharge whereof as she hath no forwarder sub-
iects in hir land, so to discover, inquire, and persecute
the disoll none readier, even to the hazard of their
lines, for the safetie of hir life, which is the life of the
whole land, and the prop of true religion: in respect
whereof we saie and praise with the well wishing sub-
iect, that upon seeing & hearing of hir highnesse, fell
into such an admiration of hir excellencie, that he left
these verses among manie after his goodlie death:

*Inclyte da longum dici, Deus, Elisabetha Est,
Elisabetha tua Est, religioque tua Est:
Da Deus haud unquam dici, Fuit Elisabetha,
Elisabetha Fuit, religioque Fuit.*

¶ On the nineteenth of Maie being Ascension
eue, Edward Wotton esquier, descended of a
worthy parentage, was ambassado: into Scot-
land, to establish a league of amitie betwene the
two nations of England and Scotland: whome I
will now leave in that countrie executing his com-
mission, and turne my pen to some persons of that
surname, who for their singularitie of wit & learning,
for their honour and gouernement in and of the
realme about the prince, and elsewhere at home and
abroad, deserue such commendations, that they me-
rit *Nineo signari lapillo*. In treating of whome I will
neither make mention of the antiquitie of that wo-
rthy familie from the first originall, nor yet treat
of Richard Wotton, living in the time of Edward
the first, the father of John Wotton coroner of
Dunstable an officer of great account in those daies
and father to an other John Wotton, &c: nor of Ri-
chard Wotton or Wotton, an officer of the exchequer
in the time of Edward the second, nor of sir Nicho-
las Wotton knight, living about the daies of Ri-
chard the second, nor of anie other Wottons whereof
this Edward Wotton is descended: but onelie of
such Wottons his ancestors, who of late time lived
with in the compasse of my memorie, and were the
sonnes of sir Robert Wotton of Boston Palherbe
in Kent knight, descending not to be forgotten, in
that he was father to two such worthy sonnes, as I
doe not remember that euer England nourished at
one time for like honour, disposition of mind, fauour
and seruice to their countrie.

The sonnes of this sir Robert Wotton, whereof
we intend to intreat, were sir Edward Wotton
knight the eldest, and Nicholas Wotton doctor
both lawes the yonger sonne. Whereof the first be-
ing a man of great estimation in the countrie for
his orderlie and wise managing of the priuat af-
faires of his countrie of Kent, was for his fidelitie
and good carriage in small things made lord and ru-
ler of great things. For king Henrie the eight, un-
derstanding the grauitie of the man, his rare wit,
deepe iudgement, great experience, and other parts
required in a found counsellor, did admit this sir Ed-
ward into his owne bosome, and made him of his
privie counsell: whose modest mind being so farre
estranged from desire of honour, as that he would
not accept it by great inforcement (a vertue verie
rare, and such as declareth a noble mind iudiciallie
grounded upon the truth of diuine philosophie) re-
fused the honorable place of the chancellozship of Eng-
land, accounting that the vertue of the mind made
a man honorable, and not the honorable place. For
as

The London-
ners commen-
ded.

Fr. Thin.

A league of a-
mitie betwene
England and
Scotland
established:
Edward
Wotton esqui-
er ambassado:

The Wot-
tons an an-
cient familie,
and of special
name in de-
scriptive kings
reignes.

Sir Robert
Wotton of
Boston Pal-
herbe in Kent,
a man of sin-
gular note.

Sir Edward
Wotton and
Nicholas
Wotton do-
ctor of both
lawes, the
rare sonnes of
a rare father.

Sir Edward
Wotton one of
king Henrie
the eighthes pri-
ue counsell.

Sir Edward
Wotton refus-
eth to be lord
chancellor of
England.

Chm. 555. le re-
gistrare lap. 3.

3. *saiſt ſaint Chryſoſtome; Honor verus virtus animi: eſt, hic honor nec à Caſaribus præſtatur, neque adulatione conſequitur, neque pecunia præparatur; nihil fucati in ſe habet, nihil ſummati, nihil occulti huius honoris ſucceſſor eſt, nullus eſt a cuſator: nullus ingratus.*

Edward in (et.
courage).

Therefore not being ambitious of honour (after which the best doe often hunt, although such greedy desire of honour and ambition be, as faith Barnard, *Futile malum, secretum virus, pestis occulta, doli artifex, mater hypocrisis, luctus parens, victorum origo, cinis sanctitatis, exaceratrix cordium, ex remedijs morbos creans, ex medicina languorem generans*) did further increase his honour and aduance him to greater credit; as appeareth by this, that king Henrie the eight, whom this man had long and faithfullie serued in his life time, made him one of his executors, and the disposer of his testament at the time of his death; with whom also in the same authoritie he iointed his brother doctor Nicholas Cotton, a man of no lesse merit than the other, and rightlie deserving to be here iointed in remembrance with his brother after their deaths, since almost equall honoz, like loue, the same authoritie in the common-weale, one bloud, and one Christ did ioint them together in perfect amitie during their liues: of which Nicholas Cotton I will not speake anye more (except that as his brother refused the chancello:ship, so he in the beginning of the reigne of this quene, refused the bishoppie of Canturburie) but that which this worshipfulle gentleman Thomas Cotton of Boston shalherbe equiure now liuing (sonne to the said sir Edward, and nephew to the said Nicholas, this Thomas being a great and fast fauoror of his countrie, not vnthankfull vnto him therefore) hath set downe in a statelie and rich towe of curious workemanship, formed after the order of a pyzamis, and placed in the church of Canturburie, on which is ingraued in a faire stone of marbyle this epitaph following: wherein his birth, his parents, his honoz at home, his ambassages abroad, and other things necessarie to the knowledge are faithfullie set downe.

Epitaphium ce-
lebre Nicholai
Woottoni prim-
post monasterio-
di solutionem
Cantuar. decan-

*Nicholaus Woottonus Roberti Woottoni equitis auro ex
Anna Belknapa filius, utriusque iuris doctor, ecclesie huius
primus itemque metropolitane ecclesie diui Petri Eboracen-
sianae, Henrico 8. Eduardo 6. Mariae & Elisabethae An-
glie regibus a secretis concilijs ad Carolum 5. Caesarem bis, ad
Philippum Hispaniarum regem semel, ad Franciscum primi
Francorum regem semel, ad Henricum secundum eius filium
ter, ad Maria Hungariae reginam Belgarum praesidem semel,
ad Gulielmum Cleuensem ducesu bis, legatione functus. Re-
nouate pacis inter Anglos, Franco, & Scotos, inter Guinas
& Arderam anno 1540. similiter, & ad castrum Camera-
cense anno 1559. Denique Edinburgi Scotia anno 1560. or-
atorum unus, hic tandem fere septuagenarius requisit. Hec
ille ante mortem & ante morbum quasi fatalem diem praesen-
tens, & cygneam cantionem propheticam canens, sua manu in
musco scripta reliquit.*

Annus ætatis
cum è vita ex-
cessisset.

Qui apud tales principes (diuina providentia gubernante) laudabiliter, & in tot ac tantis causis (quarum magnitudo grauissima, utilitas publica fuit) feliciter bonam vitam suam partem consumpsit; eam virum sapientem & experientissimum ipsa inuidia iudicare debet. Quam semper ab omni contentione honorum fuerit illud decalarat, quod ad hanc ecclesiasticam dignitatem non ambitione vlla sua inflammatus, nec amicorum opera usus, aspirauit: sed eam vtramque Floribus octatus (hominis merito & virtute provocatus) vltro detulit. Cumq; idem rex illustrissimus morbum lethalem ingrauescere per sentiret, & Eduardus principis sane excellentissimi, adhuc tandem pueri & reipublicae administranda imparis, imbecillam aetatem senili prudentia secretioris concilij sui, regendum existimaret, illis instituit hunc Nicholaum (absentem tunc in Francia legatum) vnum esse voluit. Eduardus regi iam medio regni curriculo prope confecto, vnus primarius secretarij fuit, quem locum tenere potuisset, nisi &

Homo summa
laude dignus
Woottonus ut
ipfa invidia in
dice.

Dignitatis gra-
dus quibus
Woottonus is
est insignitus
regnantibus
diversis prin-
cipibus.

suis & assiduis amicorum precibus abdicandi veniam impe-
trasset. Corpus illi erat gracile, qui tem & paruum sed erectum,
habitu sano, vultu liberali, vultu exquiritum, quem semel
tantum in die capere consueverat, valitudo adeo firma, ut ra-
moribus aliquem sentiret: animus vero totius libet ac literis
dicatus: artium medicum, iurisperitentie, & theologi a stu-
dio intentus: linguarum Romane, Italice, Gallice, & Ger-
manice inferiori cognitione pulchre exornatus. Ita vir iste
genere clarus, legationibus clarior, domi ac foris clarissimus, hono-
rare florens, labore fructus, etate confectus, postquam decanus
huius ecclesie anno 25. dies 29. praefuisset, Londini January
26. anno nostrae salutis 1556. pie & suspiriter in Domino ob-
dormiuit. Thomas Wootton nepote herede relicto, qui ei hoc
monumentum non honoris ergo quo abundavit vultus & flo-
rescit mortuus, sed amoris causa quem memoria colet ut debet
semperiterna consecrauit.

Reman quatuor-
decim in foliis
one memorabi-
lium lucientia
descriptio.

*Fidelices ecclesie
christi Canons-
riensis.*

Monumentum
in demortui
memoriam amo-
ris ergo erectum

In which epistaph it appeareth what he was, & how
greatlie learned and reuerenced fo; the same. Where
fo; needing not to speake anie more of him, sith, I
shall not be able with due maiestie of stile to expresse
his worthinesse; I will yet, leauing what other wise
his merit might challenge to be spoken, note one
strange and rare thing, which to my remembrance
never happened to anie one man befoze the same, be-
ing this that he had not onelie beene counsellor; to
foote kings and quenes of England following in
succellion of time, but also that he had been thirtene
seuerall times ambassado; and orator; to diuers
princes fo; the affaires of the publike wealth, and the
princes hono; . Thus leauing this worthy doctor
with his nephew Thomas Wotton, father to Ed-
ward Wotton sent ambassado; to Scotland, which
occasioned me to treat thus much of the Wottons.
I conclude, that it is a singular blessing of God, no
commonlie giuen to euerie race, to be beautified
with such great and succeeding hono; in the descents
of the familie. Whereof this Edward Wotton nobly
liuing, hath in the life of his father giuen great proofe
of continuance to descend to their posteritie, in that
he in these his yong yeares, hath bene (after his tra-
uell ouer the most part of Europe) twise imploied in
ambassages fo; the seruice of his countrie; first to
the king of Portugal, & now to the king of Scots
with whome I will at this time set end to this dis-
course of the Wottons.]

This is touch-
ed in the
former epitaph
among other
his prefer-
ments.

Commendation of Edward
Watton, in
respect of his
great traue-
ling ouer the
most part of
Europe and
his imploy-
ments in
ambassages.

On the one and twentieth daie of June, Henrie
Perrie earle of Northumberland, prisoner in the
Tower of London upon vehement suspicion of
high treason, was there found dead, and also of his
owne diuellish intent, and of his malice before pro-
tended to haue murdered himselfe, as more mani-
festlie and at large may appeare, by an inquisition
made by a substantiall iurie, taken before the cor-
oner as followeth verbatim with the record.

¶ A copie of the said inquisition.

An inquisition taken at the citie of London, shew-
ing that within the towre of London, in the parish of
Alhallowes Barking, in the ward of the Towre of
London, on Mondaie being the one and twentieth daie
of June, in the yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne
reigne ladie Elisabeth by the grace of God quene of
England, France, and Ireland, defendour of the faith
etc, the seven and twentieth: before William Squier
gentleman cojoner to our said soveraigne ladie
the quene within the citie of London and the libe-
ties of the same, vpon the view of the bodie of Hen-
rie Persie knight, late earle of Northumberland
late prisoner there within the Towre of London a-
foresaid, for suspicion of high treason by him sup-
posed to be done, there lieng dead, and laine: by the
othes of Nicholas Wheeler, Simon Hostepole,
Thomas Gardener, William Leueson, Owen
Morgan, Henrie Lodge, William Abraham, Wil-
liam Horne, Thomas Russell, John Porter, Robert
Dow-

A quest of
inquirie vpon
his violent
& voluntarie
death.

Dolwe, Anthonie Hall, William Curtis, Thomas Wood, Matthew Dolman, Thomas Martin, Richard Sleford, John Crof, Philip Smith, Thomas Tallo, and Henrie Bowdler, of god and lawfull men of the same ward, and of thre other wards to the same ward next adjoining, as the maner and custome is in the citie aforesaid, to inquire how, in what maner, and when the said Henrie Percie late earle of Northumberland came to his death.

The verdict of the iurie deliuered vpon their oths.

Which iurie do saie vpon their oths, that on the one & twentieth daie of this instant moneth of June, in the yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie Elisabeth by the grace of God queene of England, France, and Ireland, defendoz of the faith, &c: the seuen and twentieth aforesaid, and long before the foresaid Henrie late earle of Northumberland prisoner in the Tower of London situate in the parish of Alhallows Barking aforesaid, for suspicion of high treason aforesaid, by him against our souereigne ladie the queene supposed to be committed; and the foresaid earle so remaining prisoner, and being placed in a certeine chamber within the Tower of London aforesaid, there prisoner remaining, imagining and intending himselfe duellishlie and feloniouslie to kill and murder before the foresaid one & twentieth daie of June: that is to saie, the sixteenth daie of June in the seuen and twentieth yeare aforesaid, did prepare a certeine dag of iron and Steele of the value of ten shillings: and also certeine bullets of lead, and a certeine quanttie of gunpowder, contained in a certeine small box, and caused the foresaid gun, the bullets of lead and the gunpowder to be brought in to the foresaid chamber vnto him the same earle of Northumberland, and to be deliuered to the same earle then and there by the hands of James a Vice peoman, to execute his duellish and felonious purpose and intention.

The meanes that the earle made and prepared to destroy himselfe.

Which dag aforesaid, the foresaid earle caused secretly to be hidden in a certeine mattris vnder the bolster of his bed in the chamber aforesaid, and then and there, the foresaid one and twentieth daie of June in the seuen and twentieth yeare aforesaid, betwene the houres of twelue and one in the night of the foresaid one and twentieth daie of June, thinking and intending to prosecute and follow his duellish intention and purpose aforesaid, did bolt the doore of the foresaid chamber, and the inner part of his said chamber towards himselfe, least anie man should foresee or withstand his duellish, felonious, and malicious intent: and the said doore of his foresaid chamber, being so bolted; the same earle then and there into his bed himselfe did lye; and vpon this after ward, that is to saie, the foresaid one and twentieth daie of June, in the seuen & twentieth yeare aforesaid, about the houres aforesaid, within the Tower of London aforesaid, situate and being in the parish of Alhallows Barking aforesaid, in the ward of the Tower of London aforesaid, not hauing the almighty God or his feare before his eyes, but being moued and seduced by the instigation of the duell, of his malice afore pretended; did take vp into his hands the foresaid dag of iron and Steele, then and there made ready, charged with gunpowder, and thre bullets of lead, and the foresaid dag to the left part of his breast nere vnto the pape of the same part of his brest, then and there feloniouslie and duellishlie did put, and vpon the same part of his brest the foresaid dag did discharge.

The order of the action that was the earls destruction.

By reason of the violence of which gunpowder, and of the foresaid thre bullets of lead, the foresaid earle into his bodie and heart, and through his chine bone, even into his right shoulder, himselfe then and there with the foresaid bullets of lead feloniouslie and

voluntarie did strike; giuing vnto himselfe then and there one mortall wound, of the depth of twelue inches, and of the bredth of two inches: of which mortall wound aforesaid, the foresaid earle with in the Tower of London aforesaid, the daie, yeare, parish, and ward aforesaid, instantlie died. And so the iurie doth saie vpon their oths aforesaid, that the foresaid earle, the daie, yeare, and place aboue written, of his duellish intent aforesaid, and of his malice before pretended, feloniouslie and voluntarie himselfe did kill and murder in maner and forme aforesaid, against the peace of our souereigne ladie the queene, hir crowne and dignitie. But what goods and cattels the foresaid earle in the time of the felonie and murder to himselfe aforesaid committed, had, or as yet hath, the iurie knew not, &c: in witness whereof, &c. This was the verdict of the iurors, wherby the maner how, and the matter wherby the earle dispatched himselfe is trulie declared: which being taken for truth (as deseruing no lesse, the parties well knowing of credit) it remained to provide for the bestowing of his wretched carcase, which on the thre and twentieth daie of June was buried in saint Peters church within the said Tower of London. This was the end of that gracelesse earle, the maner of whose murder, and part of his treasons are here dilated, as the same was publikelie deliuered in the Star chamber, and after published in a booke intituled;

The bredth and depth of his wound.

Henrie earle of Northumberland buried in the Tower.

30 A true and summarie report of the declaration of some part of the earle of Northumberland's treasons, deliuered publikelie in the court at the Star chamber by the lord Chancellor and others of hir maiesties most honorable priue counsell, & counsell learned, by hir maiesties speciall commandement, together with the examinations & depositions of sundrie persons touching the maner of his most wicked and violent murder committed vpon himselfe with his owne hand, in the Tower of London, the 20 daie of Iune, 1585.



M Alice, among other essentiall properties pertaining to hir ouglie nature, hath this one not inferior to the rest and the worst, incredulitie, wherewith the commonlie posseseth the minds and affections of all those that are infected with hir, so blinding the eyes & iudgement of the best and clearest sighted, that they can not see or perceiue the bright beames of the truth, although the same be deliuered with neuer so great puritie, profe, circumstance and probabilitie. It is said that no truth passeth abroad vnaccompanied with hir contrarie; and as they go, truth is ever constrained to yield the precedence and preheminnence to hir yokesfellow falshood, whose lodging is alwaies first made and prepared without a harbinger in the corrupt nature of mankind, by whome she is first receiued, interteined and harbored at all times: wherof in our dallie experientie there happen manie and dangerous demonstrations, especiallie in matters of the highest moment, tending to excuse or accuse the actions of the greatest personages.

Incredulitie an essentiall propertie of malice.

Truth and falshood commonly concurre and are opposites.

Where was of late deliuered in publick by persons of honour, credit, and reputation, a large declaration of certeine treasons practised by the late earle of Northumberland, of the maner of his vntimelie death, being with his owne hand murdered in the Tower, and of the causes that brought him thither vnto. The particularities whereof are such and so manie, as for the helpe of my memorie (comming then to the Star chamber by occasion, and not looking for anie such presence of the nobilitie and priue counsell as I found there at that time, and not looking for anie such cause of that nature to haue bene handled there that daie) I took notes of the severall mat-
ters

An ingredience into the historie of Northumberland.

edth
th of
ind.

ters declared by the lord chancellor, maister attour-
neie, and solicitor generall, the lord chiefe baron, and
maister vicechamberlaine: for (as I remember) they
spake in order as they are here marshalled, and there-
fore I place them in this sort, and not according to
their precedence in dignitie.

The manner of
the earles ma-
king aware of
himselfe not
generallie be-
lieved.

Upon the hearing of the treasons with their
proofs and circumstances, and the desperat maner
of the earles destruction deliuered in that place, and
by persons of that qualitie, I supposed no man to
haue bene to void of iudgement or the vse of com-
mon reason, that would haue doubted of anie one
point or particle thereof, untill it was my chance
(falling in companie with diuerse persons at sun-
drie times, as well about the citie of London as a-
broad) to heare manye men report variable and cor-
ruptlie of the maner and matter of this publike de-
claration, possessing the minds and opinions of the
people with manifest vntruths: as, that the earle had
bene vnjustlie detained in prison without proofe or
iust cause of suspicion of treason: and that he had
bene murdered by deuise and practise of some great
enimies, and not destroyed by himselfe. These dan-
gerous reports haue ministred vnto me this occasion
to set forth vnto thy view and consideration (gentle
reader) this short collection of the said treasons and
murder, as neere vnto the truth as my notes taken
may lead and permit me, with the view of some of
the examinations them selues concerning this cause
for my better satisfaction since obtained. Which I
haue vnderaken for two respects: the one, to con-
vince the false and malicious impressions and con-
structions receiued and made of these actions, by
such as are in heart enemies to the happy estate of
hir maiesties present gouernement: the other, be-
cause it may be thought necessarie for the preventing
of a further contagion like to grow (by this creeping
infection) in the minds of such as are apt (though o-
therwise indifferent) in these and the like rumors,
to receiue the bad as the good, and they the most in
number. Wherein if I haue seemed more bold than
wise, or intermedled my selfe in matters aboue my
reach, and not appertaining vnto me, I craue par-
don where it is to be asked, and commit my selfe to
thy friendlie interpretation to be made of my simple
trauell and dutifull meaning herein.

Persons of
honour and
worthip af-
sembled in the
Star-cham-
ber, in whose
presence the
said treasons
were can-
celled.

Upon the thre and twentieth daie of June last, as-
sembled in the court of Star-chamber, sir Thomas
Bromie knight lord chancellor of England, Wil-
liam lord Burleigh lord tresuroz of England, Geo-
rge earle of Shrewsburie lord marshall of Eng-
land, Henrie earle of Derby, Robert earle of Leis-
cester, Charles lord Howard of Effingham lord
chamberlaine, Henrie lord Hunsdon lord gouernoz
of Berwik, sir Francis Knollis knight tresuroz,
sir James Cross knight comptrolloz of hir maie-
sties household, sir Christopher Hatton knight vice-
chamberlaine to the quenes maiestie, the lord chiefe
iustice of hir maiesties bench, the maister of the
rolles, and the lord chiefe baron of the exchequer,
and others. The audience berie great of knights,
esquiers, and men of other qualitie, the lord chan-
celloz began byiesle and summarilie to declare, that
whereas Henrie late earle of Northumberland, for
diuerse notable treasons and practises by him taken
in hand, to the danger not onelie of hir maiesties
roiall person, but to the perill of the whole realme,
had bene long detained in prison, and looking into
the guilt of his owne conscience, and perceiving by
such meanes of intelligence, as he by corrupting of
his keepers and other like deuises had obtained, that
his treasons were by sundrie examinations and con-
fessions discovered, grew thereby into such a despe-
rat estate, as that thereupon he had most wickedlie

destroyed & murdered himselfe. Which being made
known to the lords of hir maiesties priuite counsell,
order was thereupon taken, and direction giuen to
the lord chiefe iustice of England, the maister of the
rolles, and the lord chiefe baron of the exchequer, to
examine the maner and circumstances of his death,
which they with all good indeuor and diligence had
accordinglie perfozmed. And least through the sin-
ister meanes of such persons as be euill affected to the
present estate of hir maiesties gouernement, some
bad and vntrue conceits might be had as well of
the cause of the earles deteinement, as of the maner
of his death: it was therefore thought necessarie to
haue the truth thereof made known in that pre-
sence: and then he required hir maiesties learned
counsell there present to deliuer at large the particu-
larities both of the treasons, and in what sort the earle
had murdered himselfe. Then began John Dopham
esquier, hir maiesties attourneie generall, as fol-
loweth.

Examinants
appointed for
and about the
manner of
Northum-
berlands selfe
murder.

The earle of Northumberland about the time of
the last rebellion in the north, in the eleuenth yeare
of hir maiesties reigne (then called by the title of
Henrie Perrie knight) had vnderaken the con-
uincing awaie of the Scotch quene: for the which (as
appeareth by a record of the fourteenth yeare of hir
maiesties reigne) in the court of hir maiesties bench
he was indicted, he confessed the offense, and put him-
selfe to hir maiesties mercies. At which time, vpon
his said confession, submission, and faithfull promise
of his dutie and allegiance to hir highnesse from
thenceforth, the quenes maiestie of hir mercifull na-
ture was pleased, not to loke into his offense with
the extremitie of hir lawes; but dealt therein as by
waie of contempt onelie, as may appeare by the re-
cord: the effect whereof was then shewed in the court,
vnder the hand of one of the clerkes of hir maiesties
said bench, *In hac verba.*

Maister at-
turneie, name-
ly John Doph-
ham discoue-
reth the earles
treasonable
practises.

40 An extract of the said record conti- ning the said earles indictment.



Memorandum, that Henrie Perrie late
of Linmouth in the countie of North-
umberland knight, was indicted in the
terme of Easter, in the fourteenth yeare
of hir maiesties reigne, for that hee with diuers o-
thers did conspire for the deliuering of the quene
of Scots out of the custodie of the erle of Shrews-
burie. Vpon which indictment the same Henrie Perrie
did confesse the offense, and did put himselfe to the
quenes mercie: and thereupon iudgement was
after giuen by the court, that the said Henrie should
paie to the quene for a fine for his said offense, five
thousand markes, as appeareth by the record thereof
in court.

*Per Mich. 14. & 15. Elisabetha regina,
rotulo quinto inter placista regina. Con-
cordat cum recordo.*

Per Io. Iue.

By this record it maie appeare that the earle had
his hand in that rebellion. But for a further proofe
thereof, it is most manifestlie discovered in a cer-
taine tract written by the bishop of Ross (wherein
he sheweth how faithfullie he behaued himselfe in
the managing of those treasons, at and about the
time of that rebellion) that the said earle was in ef-
fect as farre plunged into the same, as the late earle
his brother, howsoever he wound himselfe out of the
danger thereof at that time. Northumberland these
traitorous practises, the quenes maiestie was con-
tented to remit all within a short time, and then ac-
cepted.

The erle con-
fesseth his of-
fense, and is
put to 5000
markes fine.earle
thum-
berland
Lower.allie
trial
ie ofand
com-
mune
opinion.edth
the
mber:

A summe of
the traitorous
purposes
whereunto the
earle was en-
tered with a
gracelesse re-
solution.

The treasons
of Throck-
morton com-
municable
with the earle.

In inuasion
of this land by
twenty thou-
sand men con-
cluded vpon.

Waine with
all of his ac-
curst flampes
shall (I hope
in God) be
found false
prophets.

cepted most graciously of him both in honor and fa-
vor, though unworthily bestowed upon him, for that
he utterly forgetting those graces and favors recei-
ued at his maiesties mercifull hands, with a grace-
lesse resolution was contented to enter into a new
plot now latelie contriued, not onelie for the deli-
uering of the Scottish queene, but for the inuading
of the whole realme, the ouerthrow of the govern-
ment, aswell concerning the state of religion, as o-
therwise, the danger of his maiesties sacred per-
son, and aduancing of the said Scottish queene to the
regall crowne and scepter of this realme, wherevnto
his maiestie is lineallie and lawfullie borne and
descended, and wherein God of his mercie conti-
nue his long in happie state of gouernement, to the
increase of his owne glorie, and the comfort of his
louing and obedient subjects.

Then did maister Attorneie enter into the parti-
cularities of the treasons, leaning manie parts
thereof vntouched, because the case stood so as it was
not then convenient to reueale them (as he said) in
respect that they touched some other persons undealt
withall at that time, shewing that Throckemortons
treasons were not old, but fresh in euerie mans me-
morie, and how far forth they reached vnto the earle,
he declared. And for that the treasons of Throcke-
morton tended especiallie to the inuading of the
realme with foren forces, the purpose of that in-
uasion long before intended, is proued by sundrie
examinations and confessions taken here within
the realme, aswell of his maiesties owne subjects as
others, by letters intercepted, written from and to
the conspirators abroad and at home, and by other
good aduertisements and intelligences had from
foren parts discovering the same. He declared that
in a letter written from doctor Sanders to doctor
Allen out of Spaine, in the yeare 1577, it is set
downe among other things, that the state of Chris-
tendom stood vpon the stout assailing of England.

That in a letter sent to the said Allen from Rome,
touching audience giuen by the pope to the ambas-
sadors of certeine foren princes, betwene the pope
whom a league was agreed on against the queenes
maiestie, there were inclosed certeine articles con-
teining in effect, that the realme should be inuaded
with twentie thousand men at the charge of the said
pope and princes, that his maiestie should be depo-
sed, and some English catholike elected king. That
it was confessed that the comming ouer of so ma-
nie priests into the realme, was to win great num-
bers to the catholike partie, to loine (if opportunitie
serued) either with foren inuasion, or with tumult
at home. That at Parbonne in Province, there
was met an Englishman, being the head preacher
there, who gaue intelligence to one of his maiesties
subjects, that the realme should shortly be inuaded
by a foren king, and the popish religion restored:
and said further, that priests came into England and
dispersed themselves in countries, to make their
partie strong. A message was sent in Nouember
1581, to doctor Allen from a subject of this realme,
by a feminarie priest then returning beyond the
seas: that whereas he had receiued word from Al-
len at Abhallontide before, that men and all things
were in a readinesse, if the place of landing might
be knowen: that Allen should shortly send word
whether things were in such readinesse or not: and if
they were, he would then send him such perfect in-
structions as he could. One Waine executed for
treason, confessed that this realme could not conti-
nue in the state wherein it was, for that the pope
had a speciall care thereof, and would in short time
either by foren princes, or by some other meanes
wooke a change of things here.

From hence, maister Attorneie fell into the
treasons confessed by Francis Throckemorton,
shewing that the state of this realme had bene of-
ten presented to the consideration of a foren prince,
who after long hearkening to the motion, had resol-
ued to yeld what furtherance he might, and to giue
all aids necessarie for the reforming of religion, so
they might be backed by such as were well affected
within this countrie. That the duke of Guise had
solicited for two yeares together the pope and other
princes, to supplie him with forces: but being cros-
sed by the death of a great personage, it was now
growne to this passe, if there could be a partie found
in England to loine in that action, and convenient
places and meanes for landing, and other things
necessarie, there should be a supplie for Guise of for-
ren strength. Francis Throckemorton was recom-
mended from beyond the sea to Don Barnardino
de Pendoza, ambassado: resident for the Spanish
king here in England, who acquainted Throcke-
morton what plot was laid for the enterpryse of the
duke of Guise, and that he was willing to confere
with Throckemorton in the matter, who therevpon
acquainted the said ambassado: with the plot of the
hauens, and with the noble men and gentlemen
that he had set downe as fit to be dealt withall in
that cause. Throckemorton said, that the bottome
of this enterpryse (which was not to be knowen to
manie) was, that if a toleration of religion might
not be obtained without alteration of the gouerne-
ment, that then the government should be altered, &
the queene remoued. That the Scottish queene was
made acquainted from the duke of Guise with the
intention to relieue her by these forces.

It was in debate betwene Throckemorton and
the Spanish ambassado:, how the Scottish queene
might be deliuered, as by an enterpryse to be made
with a certeine number of hostes: and it was told
Francis Throckemorton by his brother Thomas
Throckemorton, that it was a principall matter in
debate beyond the seas, how she might be deliuered
with safetie: the lacke of resolution wherein, was the
principall state of the execution of the attempt of
inuasion. Pendoza told Francis Throckemorton
about Bartholomewtide 1583, that one Pope
was come into England to sound the earle of Por-
thumberland, and other principall men in Suffer:
and about the end of September following, the
same Pendoza told him, that Pope was Charles
Paget, and that he came not onelie to sound the
men, but to view the places, the hauens, the prouin-
tions and meanes, and nécessitie and commoditie of
mens abidings that should loine with the foren
forces. It was deuised, that such noble men and o-
thers, as would be contented to assist the foren for-
ces (being iustices of peace & of credit in their coun-
tries) might by colour of their authoritie leuie men
as for his maiesties defense, and yet emploie them
to assist the foren forces. The lord Paget was
made acquainted with this deuise, and answered,
that it was a good course, and that he had thought
vpon it before. Pendoza told Throckemorton, that
Charles Paget had bene in Suffer, and had spoken
with those that were there, and that he came to
moue the earle of Northumberland and others. The
night before Throckemorton was apprehended, he
came to the lord Paget, and desired him that he
would not acquaint the earle of Northumberland
and certeine others (whome he named) with such
matters as had passed betwene them two, touching
the practise of this inuasion: and the lord Paget wil-
led him to deale as wiselie for his part as he would
do for himselfe, and all should be well: but (quoth
the lord Paget) the earle of Northumberland
knoweth

Francis
Throckemorton re-
commended to
Don Barna-
dino de Pendo-
za & made
acquainted
with that
which cost him
his life.

Francis
Throckemorton
owns confessions do
confirm the
report of these
practises, see
pa. 1374, 1375.

Francis
Throckemorton
desireth
the lord Pa-
get not to
make the earle
prince to the
consultations
of them two.

knoweth you well enough. It was once agreed among the confederats, that the duke of Guise should land in Suſſer, being over against Deepe and For-
mandie: which after was misliked, because those parts lye too nere to hir maiesties greatest force and force, and that the people thereabout for the most part were protestants.

Maister attourneie shewed further, that in summer last, there was taken upon the seas, sailing towards Scotland, a Scottis Jesuit, about whome there was found a discourse written in Italian of a like enterprise to be attempted against England, which should haue bene executed in September or October then last past: wherein assurance is made that the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Dacres that is dead, whom they termed lord Dacres, and of all the catholike lords and gentlemen in the north parts (where the inuasion should haue bene attempted) setting it downe, that it is not said by coniecture that these men are assured, but that it is certeinlie knowne that they will ioyne with the foreen forces. In the said discourse it is also affirmed that the priests dispersed in the realme, can dispose of the other catholikes of the realme, as they shall be ordered: and that the popes excommunication should be renewed and pronounced against hir maiestie, and all those that shall take hir part: and that all such should be holden traitors that did not ioyne with that armie by a date.

When maister attourneie had thus proued the purpose of inuasion, he proceeded to the proue of Charles Pagets coming over about the practise and prosecution of that enterprise. And first, that Paget came to Petworth in September 1583, was secretlie receiued, and brought in the night late to the earle of Northumberland into his gallerie at Petworth, by one of the earles seruants: where the earle and he had secret conference together by the space of a large houre: from thence Paget was libertie conueied backe into the towne by the same seruant, and there lodged all that night, and the next night following was conueied secretlie to a lodge in the earles parkes at Petworth, called Cowmager lodge, where he was kept with like secretie by the space of eight daies in theretoote: and the seruant by whome Paget was thus conueied, was by the said earle assigned and commended in no wise to discover Pagets being there. The earle of Northumberland, upon the arrivall of Charles Paget, sent for the lord Paget with the promise of this seruant, who was made before that Charles came over to see things in order: and to settle contentions betwene the lord Paget and him. The lord Paget came to Petworth, stayed there three nights, lodged in the earles house, conferred much with Charles Paget, and with the earle together sundrie times.

The earle after his apprehension, being at severall times examined what could be saides that should betwene the lord Paget and Charles his brother, when they were together at Petworth, answered one while, that they talked sundrie times and conferences: and another while, that there was nothing said in conference betweene him and Charles his brother: he confessed that he for his part knew the truth, but that he was bound to the earle. All which speeches he said, for that if both failed one by occasion of service of the earle and good of the lord Paget after his departure out of the realme: that he had vision of his kinnes and good of the other countie of influence exercised in London: and therefore their speech of the passing of Charles will at Petworth, was but a device, to shadow their malicious conspiracy.

And for better proue thereof, it was alleged by maister attourneie, that Charles Paget returning from Petworth to the house of one William Dantes, nere to the place where Paget had landed in Suſſer, and take shipping againe at his departure beyond the seas, sent to William Shelleie esquire, residing then at his house at Michelgrove, distant about a mile from the house of William Dantes, to come unto him (who within few daies before had bene at the lodge at Petworth with the said Paget) and now at their meeting in a coppie where to Dantes house, Paget entred into speech and discourse with him of diuers matters, and at the last among other things, he began to be inquisitive of the strength and fortification of Portsmouth, and what forces and strength hir maiestie had in the other parts westward.

Paget brake out and declared unto him that foraine princes would seeke reuenge against hir maiestie of the wrongs by hir done unto them, and would take such time and opportunitie as might best serue them for that purpose, and said that those princes desired to see the Scottis queene kept a prisoner here as she was, and would use all their forces for hir deliuerie: that the duke of Guise would be a healer therein, and that the earle of Northumberland would be an assistant unto them, willing Shelleie what success should happen, to follow the earle of Northumberland, affirming that there was not a noble man in England of conduct and government like to the said earle: saying further, that the earle of Northumberland was affected to the Scottis queene, and would do what he could for hir advancement: that the duke of Guise had forces in a readinesse to be employed for the altering of the state of religion here in England, and to set the forsaieued Scottis queene at libertie.

Shelleie gathered by these and other speeches which passed betwene him and Paget, that Paget had dealt with the earle as a chiefe partie, and a man for to ro in these actions: and Paget confessed that he came over to breake and deale in these matters. Paget belieued further, that the catholikes would all ioyne for so good a purpose, for that it should be a means to reforme religion. He said, the Sir Shelleie be in the north parts, because Shelleie had not any commandment for that there were no safe lodging places as for that it was in more than one place the queenes enemies would be ready to catch the man that should come there: the Sir Shelleie, the earle of Northumberland would not come in Suſſer, but would come into the north parts.

When maister attourneie gathered by the first part of the confession of the treasons and conspiracies of the confederates in this point, he remembred then Thomas Cogerton clerk, whom he remembered to have seen the earle of Northumberland by the commandment of his grace, to be carrying Shelleie to the earle Northumberland, who he had seen together with the first treasons in that part of England he said of his brother Charles his brother, whom he would have of service to stand in the continuing concealing of them: and therefore he was ready to cover the truth in all the possible manner he could devise. And first of concealing the name of the lord Paget, and then the name of the place where he was, and the name of the man who was his brother Charles, whom at the same time the lord Paget was acquainted with conferences with Charles: and was acquainted by him with the earle of his continuing there, as you shall see with what he said in that matter at Petworth.

The confession that remained the earle is come to the

William Dantes an aduocate this purpose to be: what consultation passed between him and Charles Paget.

Shelleie was then sent by the earle of Northumberland to follow the earle of Northumberland, affirming that there was not a noble man in England of conduct and government like to the said earle: saying further, that the earle of Northumberland was affected to the Scottis queene, and would do what he could for hir advancement: that the duke of Guise had forces in a readinesse to be employed for the altering of the state of religion here in England, and to set the forsaieued Scottis queene at libertie.

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The confession that remained the earle is come to the

In the north parts should the purpose of inuasion of this land have bene made.

Charles Paget coming over about the practise and prosecution of that enterprise.

The earle after his apprehension, being at severall times examined what could be saides that should betwene the lord Paget and Charles his brother, when they were together at Petworth, answered one while, that they talked sundrie times and conferences: and another while, that there was nothing said in conference betweene him and Charles his brother: he confessed that he for his part knew the truth, but that he was bound to the earle.

alwaie the lord Paget, grew vpon the apprehension of Throckmorton, who being committed to the Tower, and charged with high matters, was in case to be dealt withall by waie of extremitie to be made to confesse the treasons charged vpon him; in reuealing whereof, Charles Pagets comming to Petworth, and the cause of his repaite thither could not be concealed. So man at this time within the realme could accuse the earle of these confederacies, but the lord Paget onlie, who stood in danger to be discovered by Francis Throckmorton: the safetie therefore of the earle rested altogether vpon the lord Pagets departing out of the realme. Which was procured by the earle with so great expedition, as that Throckmorton being committed to the Tower about the seventh daie of November 1583, the earle made meanes the twelue daie to haue the lord Paget provided of shipping in all hast by William Shelleie, wherein the earle vsed such importunat intreatie, & sent so often to hasten the preparation of the ship, that the same was provided, and the lord Paget imbarcked by the 14. of the same moneth following, or thereabout.

The departure of the lord Paget some after discovered, and how, and by whom he was conueied a waie: hir maiestie vpon good cause taking offense thereat, the earle being then at London had notice thereof, and of the confessions of Throckmorton (who began to discover the treasons) came presentlie down to Petworth, sent immediatlie for William Shelleie, who comming to him to Petworth the next morning about dinner time, yet the earle in a dining parlour readie to go to his dinner. The earle took Shelleie aside into a chamber, and as a man greatlie distracted and troubled in mind, entred into these speeches: Alas I am a man cast awaie! And Shelleie demanding what he ment by those speeches, the earle answered: The actions I haue entred into, I feare will be my vtter vndoeing, and ther vpon desired Shelleie to keepe his counsell, and to discover no more of him than he must needs. The earle moreover at this meeting intreated William Shelleie to conueie away all such as he knew to haue bene employed and were praiue of the lord Pagets going a waie, and of Charles Pagets comming ouer, which was accordingly performed by Shelleie: and the earle for his part conueied alwaie a principall man of his owne, whom he had often vsed in messages into France, and had bene of trust appointed by the earle, to attend on Charles Paget, all the time of his staie at Connigar lodge.

After solicitor pursuing the matters that made the earles practises and deuises for the concealing of his treasons manifest, declared further: that after the earle and Shelleie had obtained some libertie in the Tower after their first restraint: the earle found meanes to haue intelligence with Shelleie, & was aduertised from him of all that he had confessed in his first examinations, taken before they were last restrained: since which time, the earle by corrupting of his keeper hath practised to haue continuall aduertisements as before, as well of things done within the Tower as abroad: in so much as by his said keeper he had sent and conueied twelue severall letters out of the Tower within the space of nine or ten weekes; and one of those on sundae the twentieth daie of June in the morning, when he murdered himselfe the night following.

By the same corruption of his keepers he sent also a message to William Shelleie by a maidseruant in the Tower, by the which he required him to stand to his first confessions, and to go no further; for so it would be best for him, and he should keepe himselfe out of danger. Wherevnto Shelleie returned answer by the same messenger, that he could hold

out no longer, that he had concealed the matters as long as he could, and willed the earle to consider that there was a great difference betwene the earles estate and his: for that the earle in respect of his nobilitie was not in danger to be dealt withall in such sort as he the said Shelleie was like to be, being but a priuat gentleman, and therefore to be vsed with all extremitie to be made confesse the truth: wherefore he aduised the earle to deale plainlie, and to remember what speeches had passed at his house at Petworth, when Charles Paget came last thither.

James Price by the same corruption of the earles keeper came to William Shelleie on the fridaie or saturdaie before Trinitie sundaie last, and told him that the earle was verie desirous to vnderstand how farre he had gone in his confessions: and at Prices instance, Shelleie did set downe in writing the effect of the said confessions, and sent the same to the said earle: who vpon the sight thereof, perceiving the treasons reuealed and discovered, and knowing thereby how heinous his offenses were, fearing the iustice and severitie of the lawes, and to the ruine and overthrow of his house, fell into desperation, & so to the destruction of himselfe. For confirmation whereof, it was confessed by one Jaques Pantins, a grome of the earles chamber, who had attended on the earle in the Tower by the space of ten weekes before his death, that he had heard the earle often saie, that master Shelleie was no faithfull friend vnto him, and that he had confessed such things as were sufficient to overthrow them both: that he was vndone by Shelleies accusations, affirming that the earle began to despair of himselfe, often with teares lamenting his cause, which the earle said to proceed onlie of the remembrance of his wife and children, saying further, that such matters were laid vnto his charge, that he expected no fauour, but to be brought to his trial, and then he was but a lost man: repeating often that Shelleie had vndone him, and still mistrusting his cause, wished for death.

Herewith master solicitor concluded, and then sir Roger Manwood knight, lord chiefe baron of hir maiesties exchequer, entered into the description of the earles death, and in what sort he had murdered himselfe: shewing first how the same had bene found by a verie substantiall iurie chosen among the best commoners of the citie, impanelled by the coroner vpon the view of the bodie, and diligent inquirie by all due meanes had according to the law, and declared, that vpon the discouerie of the intelligence conueied betwene the earle and Shelleie, it was thought necessarie for the benefit of hir maiesties seruice, by such of hir highnesse most honourable priuate counsell, as were appointed commissioners to examine the course of these treasons, that Jaques Pantins attending vpon the earle, and the earles corrupt keepers should be removed.

Wherevpon Thomas Bailiffe gentleman, sent to attend on the earle of Northumberland, vpon the removing of Palmer and Jaques Pantins from about the said earle (who from the beginning of his last restraint attended on him) for the reasons lastlie before mentioned, was by the lieutenant of the Tower on the sundaie about two of the clocke in the after none (being the twentieth of June) that by with the earle, as appointed to remaine with him, and serue him in the prison for a time, untill Palmer, Pantins, and Price, then committed close prisoners, might be examined, how the earle came by such intelligences as were discovered to haue passed betwene the earle and Shelleie, and betwene the earle and others. Bailiffe serued the earle at his supper, brought him to his bed about nine of the clocke, and after some seruises done by the earles commandement,

This was a shift but yet succourlesse, as appareth by the sequie.

The earle and Shelleie confere, and as men dismayed for the discouerie of their dealings are extreme perisite.

What deserued the keeper that should be corrupted by an offender so malicious?

The earle and Shelleie communicate their minds by message.

James Price a messenger, and from betwene the earle & Shelleie.

The earle so commethly desperate and forsooth not to destroy himselfe.

Sir Roger Manwood describeth the manner how the earle murdered himselfe.

Thomas Bailiffe the one & twentieth of June 1585, deposed.

Palmer, Pantins and Price committed close prisoners. At this Price is supposed to be mistaken for Edward Price.

mandement, departed from the earle to an utter chamber, where he laie part of that night: and being come into his chamber, the earle rose out of his bed and came to his chamber doze, and bolted the same unto him in the inner side, saieing to Bailiffe, he could not sleepe vntil he his doze were fast.

*A desperate
disturbance!*

About twelue of the clocke at midnight, Bailiffe being in a slumber, heard a great noise, seeming unto him to be the falling of some doze, or rather a peece of the house: the noise was so sudden and so great, that he started out of his bed, and crieng vnto the earle with a loud voice, said: My lord, know you what this is? The earle not answering, Bailiffe cried and knocked still at the earles doze, saieing, My lord, how do you? But finding that the earle made no answer, continued his crieng and calling, untill an old man that laie without, spake vnto him, saieing, Gentleman, shall I call the watch, seeing he will not speake? Yea (quoth Bailiffe) for Gods sake. Then did the old man rise, & called one of the watch, whome Bailiffe intreated with all possible speed to call maister lieutenant vnto him. In the meane time Bailiffe heard the earle giue a long and most greuous grone, and after that, gaue a second grone: and then the lieutenant (being come) called vnto the earle, who not answering, Bailiffe cried vnto the lieutenant to breake open the earles chamber doze bolted vnto him in the inner side, which was done, and then they found the earle dead in his bed, and by his bed side a dag, wherewith he had killed himselfe.

*Sir Owen
Hopton
knight, lieutenant
of the
Tower, 1585.*

Sir Owen Hopton knight, examined vpon his oth, affirmed that on sundaie last at night, lesse than a quarter of an houre before one of the clocke after midnight, he was called vpon by the watch to come to the earle of Northumberland, who had bene called vnto by maister Bailiffe his keeper, and would not speake as the watch told him. Whereupon the said Sir Owen went presentlie to the earles lodging, opened the utter dozes, till he came vnto the chamber where maister Bailiffe laie, which was next to the earles bedchamber. Bailiffe said to this examinatus as he came in, that he was wakened with a noise as it were of a doze or some great thing falling, & that he had called on the earle, and could haue no answer. And this examinatus going to the earles chamber doze, finding the same bolted fast on the other side within the earles lodging, so as he could not go into the earle, this examinatus called on the earle, telling him the lieutenant was there, and prayed his lordship to open the doze.

*The warders
with their hal-
berds were
at the earles
chamber doze.*

But this examinatus hauing no answer made vnto him, and finding the doze fast bolted in the inner side of the earles chamber with a strong iron bolt, so as they could not enter into the same out of the lodging where the said Bailiffe laie, without breaking vpon the chamber doze, caused the warders which were with this examinatus, to thrust in their halberds, and to wrest the doze thereby, as much as they could, and withall to run at the doze with their feet, & with violence to thrust it open, which they did accordingly. And when this examinatus came into the chamber, in turning vpon the sheets, he perceiued them to be bloudied: and then searching further, found the wound, which was verie nere the pap, not thinking at the first sight, but that it had bene done with a knife.

*The place of
the bodie
where the
earle had
bowed him-
selfe.*

This examinatus went thereupon presentlie to write to the court, and toke the warders into the utter chamber, & left them there untill he returned, bolting the doze of the earles bedchamber on the outside. And as soone as this examinatus returned from writing of his letter to the court, he searched about the chamber, and found the dag in the doze, about

three foot from the bed, nere vnto a table that had a greene cloth on it, which did somewhat shadow the dag: and after, turning downe the bed cloths, found the bor in the which the powder and pellets were, on the bed vnder the couerlet; and saith, that the chamber where the earle laie, hath no other doze but that one doze which was broken open as aforesaid, saue one doze that went into a priuie, which hath no manner of passage out of it: and that the earles lodging chamber, and the entering to the priuie, are both walled round about with a stone wall, and a bricke wall, and that there is no doze or passage out of or from the said earles bedchamber or priuie, but that onelic doze which was broken open by the appointment of this examinatus. The warders that were with this examinatus at the entrie into the prison, and the breaking vpon of the earles chamber doze, and the doing of the other things aforesaid, were Michaele Siblete, Anthonic Davies, William Kiland, and John Potter, and one John Pinner this examinatus seruant was there also.

*the bor and
pellets in the
bed.*

*This is a
manifest proofe
and full of suf-
ficient credit,
that none
could come at
him to doe him
violence.*

For the proofe and confirmation of the seuerall parts and points of this deposition, Siblete, Davies, Kiland, Potter and Pinner were deposed, and they *Prima voce* affirmed so much thereof to be true, as was reported by the examination of the lieutenant, concerning the comming of the lieutenant vnto the earles chamber, the breaking vpon of the doze being bolted with a strong belt on the inner side, the finding of the earle dead vpon his bed, the dag lying on the ground, the powder and pellets in a bor on the bed vnder the couerlet, with the rest of the circumstances thereunto appertaining. They affirmed also, that there was but one doze in the earles chamber, saue the doze of the priuie, which together with the chamber was strongly walled about with stone and bricke: and further (as I remember) the lord chiefe baron confirmed the same, hauing viewed the chamber himselfe where the earle lodged, and was found dead.

*Deponents
Prima voce, con-
firming the
lieutenants
deposition vpon
his examina-
tion.*

Jaques Pantins in his examination of the one and twentieth of June confesseth, that James Price deliuered the dag to the earle his maister in this examinatus presence: whereupon he presentlie suspected that the earle meant mischief to himselfe, and therefore did his induour to perswade the earle to send awaie the dag, and told the earle that he knew not how the diuell might tempt his lordship, & that the diuell was great; but could by no means preuaile with the earle in that behalfe: and saith moreover, that the earle required him to hide the dag, and he thereupon hanged the same on a nail within the chimneie in the earles bedchamber, where the earle thinking the same not to be sufficientlie safe in that place, it was by the earles appointment taken from thence, and put into a slit in the side of a mattresse that laie vnder the earles bed, nere to the beds head, and that the same sundaie morning that the earle murdered himselfe at night, he saw the dag lying vnder the earles beds head. The dag was bought not manie daies before of one Adrian Spulan a dag-maker, dwelling in east Smithfield, as by the said Spulan was testified *Prima voce* vpon his oth, in the open court, at the time of the publike declaration made of these matters in the Star chamber.

*Of whom the
dag was
bought.*

All these particularities considered, with the depositions and proofs of the witnesse concerning the earles death; first, how he came by the dag; secondlie, how long he had kept the same, and in what secret maner; thirdlie, the earles bolting of his chamber doze in the inside; fourthlie, the blow of the dag; fifthlie, the breaking vpon of the earles chamber doze by the lieutenant of the Tower; and lastlie, the finding of the earle dead as aforesaid: What is he so

Attestyng. Simple

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*Price
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*The dag
found in the
doze, and*

simple that will thinke or imagine, or so impudent and malicious that will anonch and report, that the earle of Northumberland should haue bene murdered of purpose, by practise or deuise of anie person, affecting his destruction in that manner? If men consider the inconuenience happened thereby, as well in matter of state, as commoditie to the quenes maiestie, lost by the puenient of his triall, who can in reason coniecture the earle to haue bene murdered of policie or set purpose, as the euill affected some to conceiue?

The principall cause that made the earle laie hands vpon himselfe.

If the earle had liued to haue receiued the censure of the law for his offenses, all lewd and frivollous objections had then bene answered, and all his goods, cattels and lands by his atteindor had come vnto hir maiestie, and the honour and state of his house and posteritie vtterlie ouerthrowne: the consideration and feare whereof appeareth without all doubt to haue bene the principall and onelie cause that made him laie violent hands vpon himselfe. If objections be made, that to murder him in that sort might be a satisfaction to his enemies, who could be pacified by no meanes but with his blood: that seemeth to be as improbable, for that it is commonlie discerned in the corrupt nature of man, that when we are possessed with so profound a hatred, as to seeke the death of our enimie, we imagine and wish his destruction to be had with the greatest shame and infamie that can be deuised: thinke you not then, that if the earle of Northumberland had anie such enimie that knew the danger wherein he stood, and that his triall and condempnation by law would draw vpon him the losse of his life, lands and goods, fame, honor, and the vtter subuersion of his house, would be so kindharted vnto him, as to helpe to take awaye his life onelie, & saue him all the rest? I suppose there is no man of iudgement will beleue it.

The lord of Hunsdon declared how the dag was more than ordinary charged: and how the earle dispatched him selfe.

But to returne to the manner of the earles death. It was declared by the lord Hunsdon, and the lord chiefe baron, that the dag wherewith the earle murdered himselfe, was charged with three bullets, and so of necessitie with more than an ordinarie charge of powder, to force that weight of bullets to worke their effect. The earle lieng vpon his backe on the left side of his bed, toke the dag charged in his left hand (by all likelihood) laid the mouth of the dag vpon his left pap (having first put aside his wastecote) and his shirt being onelie betwene the dag and his bodie (which was burnt awaye the breadth of a large hand) discharged the same, wherewith was made a large wound in his said pap, his heart pearced and torne in diuerse lobes or peeces, three of his ribs broken, the chinebone of his backe cut almost in sunder, and vnder the point of the shoulder blade on the right side within the skin, the three bullets were found by the lord Hunsdon, which he caused the surgeon in his presence to cut out, lieng all three close together within the breadth and compasse of an inch or thereabout: the bullets were shewed by his lordship at the time of the publication made in the court at the Star chamber.

Three bullets found vnder the point of the earls shoulder blade.

A slanderous report of the quenes enemies and the earles fauourers answered.

And whereas it hath bene slanderouslie giuen out to the advantage of the earle, as the reporters suppose, that he was imprisoned & kept in so strict, narrow and close ronne, with such penurie of aire and breath, that thereby he grew sickelie and wearie of his life, and that to haue bene the cause chiefe why he murdered himselfe; if it were so that he died by the violence of his owne hand which they hardlie beleue. To answer that penurish and senselesse slander, there was much spoken by the lord chiefe baron, who had viewed and caused verie exactly to be measured the chambers and rooms within the prison where the earle laie, being part of hir

maiesties owne lodging in the Towre. The particular length and breadth of the said chambers & rooms, and the qualitie of the lights and windows, expressed by the said lord chiefe baron, I can not repeat: but well I doe remember it was declared, that all the daie time, the earle had the libertie of five large chambers, and two long entries within the vtter doore of his prison: three of which chambers, and one of the entries laie vpon two faire gardens within the Towre wall, and vpon the Towre wharfe, with a pleasant prospect to the Thames, and to the countrie, more than five miles beyond. The windowes were of a verie large proportion, yielding so much aire and light, as more cannot be desired in anie house. Note therefore how maliciouslie those that fauour traitors and treasons, can deliuer out these and the like slanderous speeches, to the dishonor of hir maiestie, noting hir counsellors and ministers with inhumanitie and vcharitable seueritie, contrarie to all truth and honestie.

The earle wanted no prospect or pleasure nor walks of conuenient libertie.

When the lord chiefe baron had finished this discourse of the manner of the earles death, with the circumstances, and had satisfied the court and audience concerning the qualitie of the prison where the earle had remained, sir Christopher Hatton knight hir maiesties vicechamberlaine, who (as is termed) had bene speciallie imployed by hir maiestie among others of hir private counsell in the looking into and examining of the treasons aforesaid, aswell in the person of the earle as of others, and at the time of the earles commitment from his house in St. Martins to the Towre of London, sent vnto him from hir maiestie to put the earle in mind of hir maiesties manifold graces and fauors in former times conferred vpon him, proceeding from the spring of hir maiesties princelie and bountifull nature, and not of his desertings, and to aduise him to deliuer the truth of the matters so cleerelie appearing against him, either by his letters private to hir maiestie, or by speech to maister vicechamberlaine, who signified also vnto him, that if he would determine to take that course, he should not onlie not be committed to the Towre, but should find grace & fauor at hir maiesties hands, in the mitigation of such punishment as the law might laie vpon him.

Sir Christopher Hatton reuerelie to the court and audience declaring of hir maiesties worthie and such fauour bestowing.

And here Mr. vicechamberlaine repeated at length the effect of hir maiesties message at that time sent to the earle, beginning first with the remembrance of his practise undertaken for the conueying awaye of the Scottish quene about the time of the last rebellion (as hath bene declared in the beginning of this tract) and that he confessing the offense being capitall, hir maiestie neuertheless was pleased to alter the course of his trial by the iustice of hir lawes, and suffered the same to receiue a slight and easie punishment by waie of mulct or fine of five thousand marks, whereof before this his imprisonment (as it is crediblie reported) there was not one penie paid, or his land touched with anie extent for the payment thereof, which offense was by hir maiestie not onelie most gracionlie forgiven, but also most chrestianlie forgotten, receiuing him not long after to the place of honor that his ancestors had intioied for manie yeares before him, and gaue him such entrance into hir princelie fauor and good opinion, that no man of his qualitie receiued greater countenance and comfort at hir maiesties hands than he; insomuch that in all exercises of recreation, vsed by hir maiestie, the earle was alwaies called to be one: and whensoever hir maiestie shewed hir selfe abroad in publike, she gaue to him the honor of the best and highest seruices about hir person, more often than to all the noble men of the court.

The quenes maiestie misgarded the prisoners which the law should haue awarded against the earle.

The quenes maiesties nature is to loue hir enemies, so that they could change their nature, and loue hir highnesse as gailes.

But the remembrance of these most grations and more

more than extraordinarie fauours and benefits received, nor the hope given unto him by maister vice-chamberlaine of hir maiesties disposition of mercie towards him, nor the consideration of the depth and weight of his treasons against hir maiestie, hir estate, hir crowne and dignitie, with the danger thereby like to fall upon him by the course of hir highnes lawes, to the utter ruine and subuersion of him and his house (standing now at hir maiesties mercie) could once moue his heart to that naturall and dutifull care of hir maiesties safetie that he ought to haue borne towards hir, and the most worthy he had merited at his hands, or anie remorde or compassion of himselfe and his posteritie: but resting upon termes of his innocencie, hauing (as you maie perceiue) conuicted awaite all those that he thought could or would anie waie accuse him, he made choise rather to go to the Tower, abide the hazard of hir maiesties high indignation, and the extremite of the law for his offenses.

All which was a notable augur of his fall, and that God by his iust iudgement had for his sinnes and ingratitude taken from him his spirit of grace, and deliuered him ouer to the enemie of his soule, who brought him to that most dreadfull & horrible end, whereunto he is come: * from the which, God of his mercie defend all christian people, and preserve the queenes maiestie from the treasons of hir subiects, that the maie liue in all hapinesse, to see the ruine of hir enemies abroad and at home, and that she, and we hir true and louing subiects, maie be alwaies thankfull to God for all his blessings bestowed upon vs by hir, the onlie maintainer of his holie gospel among vs.

The earle standeth upon termes of his innocencie, all the world seeing the cause to be contrary.

To this position let all true harted Englishmen say, Amen.

The arrivall and intertainment of the deputies for the low countries.

On the six & twentieth of June arrivied at London deputies for the estates of the netherlands, or low countries, who were lodged about the Tower street, & had their diet for the time of their abode here, verie worshipfullie appointed (all at the charges of hir maiestie) in the Clothworkers hall in Spinchelane, nere to the said Tower street. These on the nine & twentieth of June, being the feast of the apostles Peter & Paule repaired to the court, then at Grenewich, where by vertue of their commissions from the united countries, they presented to hir maiestie the souereigntie of those countries, to wit of Brabant, but the commission (for the siege) of Antuerpe not full authorized, of Guelder, of Flanders, of Holland, of Zeland, of Utrecht, and of Friseland. For Brabant, Jaques de Crise great bailie of Brabantes counsellour of the Franks. For Gueldere, Ruterger of Barfild, gentleman. For Flanders, Roell de Garsie lord of Schonewalle. For Holland, John Wanderingdoet, lord of Postwicke, Josse de Penin pensionarie of Dordrecht, John of old Barnevelt pensionarie of Rotterdamme, and D. Francis Paolso. For Zeland, Jacob Dales counsellor and pensionarie of Tergoest. For Utrecht, Paulus Buiss doctor of the lawes. For Friseland, J. Fritzma, gentleman: W. Ansona president of Friseland: and Lads Jangema, gentleman. All these falling on their knees tofore hir maiestie, and so remaining for a long space, one of them, to wit, Josse de Penin counsellor and pensionarie of Dordrecht, one of the commissioners for Holland, made to hir maiestie this oration in French as followeth.

The said deputies oration in French to hir maiestie at Greenwich.



Adame, les estats des provinces vnies des pais bas, remercient tres humblement vostre maiesté de la bonne affection & faueur, quel à pleu de monstrier au-

dicts pais en leur necessites, & confermer par tant de tesmoignages euidens; & encores dernièrement, quand apres l'exécrable assassinat comme en la personne de feu monsieur le prince d'Oranges, il à pleu a vostre maiesté faire entendre audits estats par son ambassadeur le sire Dauison, le soing qu'icelle auoit a nostre defenle & obseruation, & ausly par le sire de Crise, le grand desplaisir que vostre maiesté auoit conceu, de voir l'esdits estats frustres de l'esperance quelle auoient fondée sur le traicte de France. Mais que le soing que vostre maiesté a tousiours en de nostre bien & conseruation n'estoit pour cela en rien diminué, aine quel l'augmentoit, plustost a mesure que la necessité de nos affaires le requiert, dont ledits pais en general, & chacun d'eulx en particulier demeurèrent perpetuellement tresoblises a vostre maiesté, pour le recognoistre avec tout fidelité & obeissance.

Et comme ledits estats considerent Madame, que depues le deces endit sire prince d'Oranges, ils ont fait perte de plusieurs de leurs places & bonne villes; & que pour la conseruation desdits pais il leur est besoing d'un prince & sire souverain, qui les puisse garantir & defendre contre la tyrannie & inique oppression des Espaignols & leurs adherés, qui l'efforcent de plus en plus par leurs sinistres armes & tous autres moyens, de destruire & ruiner lesdits pais, de fonds en comble & reduire ce pouure peuple en vne seruitude perpetuelle, pire que des Indes sous l'insupportable ioug de la detestable inquisition d'Espaigne. Considerans ausly que les corps des villes & communaites desdits pais ont vne fermée asience, que vostre maiesté ne les voudra veoir perir au gre de leurs ennemis, qui leur font cest l'og & cruelle guerre, a toute oultrance laquelle les estats desdits pais bas (ensuiuant leur deuoir & obligation quels ont a leurs bourgeois & ycitogens) ont estes contraincts de soutenir, repousser, & destourner, pour la tyrannie & seruitude manifest qu'on taschait d'introduire & imposer au pouure peuple, & pour conseruer leur liberté, droits, priuileges, & franchises, avec l'exercice de la vray religion chrestienne, dont vostre maiesté porte a bon droit le tiltre de protectrice & defenderesse, contre laquelle lesdits ennemis & leurs associes, ont & fait tant de ligue, dresse tant de cauteleuzes, embushes, & trahisons, & ne cessent encore tout les iours de practiquer & machiner contre la personne de vostre maiesté, & au preiudice du reque & transquillite de ses royaumes & estats, laquelle le bon Dieu a preserve iusques a present, pour le bien de la chrestienté, & sustentation de ses eglises.

Sy est ce Madame, que pour ces causes, & raisons, & autres bonnes considerations, lesdits estats ont prins par ensemble vne bonné & fermée resolution, de prendre leurs recours a vostre maiesté, veu que cest vne chose ordinaire a tous peuples & nations oppressees, de recourir en leurs calamites & oppressions, pour support & faueur contre leurs ennemis, aux roys & princes voisins, & singulierement a ceulx qui sont douez a magnanimité, pieté, iustice, & autres vertus royales, & a cest effect nous ont lesdits estats depute vers vostre maiesté, pour presenter a icelle la principaulté, souveraineté, & iuste domination desdits provinces, sous certaines bonnes & equitables condicions, concernantes principalement la conseruation de l'exercice de la religion reformée, & de leurs ancienne priuileges, libertes, franchises & vances, & l'administration du fait de la guerre, police, & iustice esdits pais.

Et combien que lesdits pais ayent beaucoup souffert par ces longues & continuelles guerres, & que l'ennemy se soit empare de plusieurs villes & places fortes esdits pais, toutes fois, oultre ce qu'es

Atttttt.

paiz

pais de Brabant, Gueldre, Flandre, Malins, & Queris-
fel, se maintenant encores maintes bonnes villes &
places contre l'effort de l'ennemy, sy est ce que les
pais d'Holland, Zeeland, Vtrecht, & Frise sont en-
cores, graces a Dieu, en leur entier, ou il y a beaucoup
de grandes & fortes villes, & places belles, riuieres,
profondes, ports & haures de mer, desquelles vostre
maiesté & ses successeurs pourront tirer plusieurs
bons seruices, fruiets, & commodites dont il n'est
de faire yci plus long recit. Seulement que ceste cy
entre autres merite bien vne consideration speciale
que la coniuñction desdits pais d'Holland, Zeeland,
Frise, & des villes de l'Escluze, & Okeleynd en Fladres
auec les royaumes de vostre maiesté, emporte quant
& soy l'empire absolu de la grand mer oceane, &
par consequence vne assurance & felicité perpetu-
elle pour les subiects de vostre serenissime maiesté.
La quelle nous supplions treshumblement que son bon
plaisir soit de nous accorder lesdits points ou condi-
tions, & ce en suiuant, vouloir accepter pour soy &
ses successeurs legitimes en la couronne d'Angle-
terre protecteurs de la religion reformée, la iustice
principaute & seigneurie souveraine desdits pais &
consequemment du recepuoir les peuples desdits
pais, comme vous treshumbles & trefobeissants sub-
iects sous la protection & sauuegarde perpetuelle
de vostre maiesté, peuples certainement autant fi-
delles, ayant leurs princes & seigneurs (a parler &
sans iactance) que nul autre de la chrestienté.

Ce faisant Madame, vous conserueres tant de
belles eglises, qu'il a pleu a Dieu en ce dernier temps
assembler esdits pais a present en beaucoup de lieux
fort affliges, & esbranles & deliureres lesdits pais &
peuples (nagueres auant l'inique maison des Espaig-
nols) tant riches & florissans, pour la grande commo-
dité de la mer, ports, haures, riuieres, traffiqs, & ma-
nufactures dont ils sont doues de nature. Vous les
deliureres (dis ie Madame) de ruine & perpetuelle
seruitude de corps & ame, qui sera vng œuvre vraye-
ment roial & trefexcellent, agreable a Dieu, profitab-
le a toute chrestienté, digne de louange immor-
telles, correspondant a la magnanimité & vertus he-
roïques de vostre maiesté, & conioinct avec l'asseu-
rance & prosperites des royaumes & subiects d'icelle.
Et surce presentons a vostre maiesté lesdits articles
ou conditions, en reuerence, prians le grand Roy
des roys de preseruer vostre maiesté de ses ennemis,
l'accroistre en gloire & felicité, & l'auoir en sa seinte
garde a perpetuité.

*Fait par Iosse de Menin, concelier & pensionnaire de
Dordrecht. An. 1585. 29 de Iune, A Greenwich.*

The foresaid oration in English.

MAdam, the states of the vniited prouin-
ces of the low countries most humble
thanke your maiestie for the good affecti-
on & fauor, which it pleased you to shew to
the said countries in their necessitie, & to confirme
the same with so manie euident testimonies; & that
lastlie, after the execrable assault committed vpon
the person of the late prince of Orange, at what
time it pleased your maiestie to let the said states
vnderstand by your ambassadoz maister Danison,
what care you had of our defense and preservation,
and also by seigneur de Cris, the great displeasure
which your maiestie conceived, to see the states fru-
strated of the hope which they had founded vpon the
treatie of France. But since the care which your
maiestie hath alwaies had ouer our good and con-
seruation is not thereby any whit diminished, but
hath moze plentifullie increased, according as the
necessitie of our affaires required, for which the said

countie in generall, and euerie of vs in particular
remain perpetuallie bound to your maiestie, and
acknowledge the same with all fidelitie and obet-
sance.

And as the said states (Madam) do consider that
since the decease of the prince of Orange they
haue sustained the losse of diuerse of their holds and
good towne; and that for the preservation of the
said countie it is needfull for them to haue a prince
and soueraine ruler, which may warrant and defend
them against the tyrannie and vnjust oppression of
the Spaniards and their adherents, which daily
moze and moze inforce themselves by their sinister
power and all other meanes to destitue and ouer-
throw the said countries, and reduce this poze peo-
ple in perpetuall seruitude, worse than that of the
Indians vnder the importable yoke of the detesta-
ble inquisition of Spaine. Considering also that
the bodie of the towne and communalities of the a-
foresaid countries haue a firme hope, that your ma-
iestie will not see them perishe according to the desire
of their enemies, which make this long and cruell
warre, all which outrages the states of the said
low countries (following the diligence and band
which they owe to their burgeses and citizens) are to
sustaine, repell, and to turne from them, by reason
of the manifest tyrannie & seruitude which the Spa-
niards attempt to bring in & to late vpon the poze
people) thereby to preserve their liberties, rights,
privileges, and franchises, with the exercise of the
true christian religion, whereof your maiestie by god
right carrieth the title of protectrice and defendresse,
against which the said enemies and their associats al-
ready haue and still do make manie leagues, deuise
manie subtilties, treasons, and ambushes, not cea-
sing daily to practise and imagine them against the
person of your maiestie, and to the prejudice of the
rest of your realme and states, whome the good God
hath preserved untill this present, for the wealth of
the christians, and sustentation of their churches.

Wherefore (Madam) it is so, that for these causes,
reasons, & other considerations, the said states haue
assembled and concluded vpon a good and firme reso-
lution to haue recourse vnto your maiestie, sith it
is an ordinarie matter amongst all people and op-
pressed nations, in their calamities and oppressions
to craue support and fauor against their enemies, of
kings and princes neere vnto them, but especiallie
of those who be indued with magnanimitie, pietie,
iustice, and other princelie vertues, to which effect the
states haue appointed vs to come vnto your maiestie
to present vnto the same the principallitie, soue-
reignitie, and iust government of the said prouinces
vnder certaine good and equall conditions, chiefie
concerning the preservation of the exercise of the re-
formed religion, and of the ancient privileges, li-
berties, franchises, and customs, and next of the ad-
ministration of the affaires, policie, and iustice of
the warres in the said countie.

And although that these countries haue suste-
ned much hurt by these long and continuall warres,
and that the enemy hath taken diuers strong places
and forts in the same countries: yet there is besides
the same in the countries of Brabant, Gelderland,
Flanders, Palmes, & Querset, manie good towne
and places, which defend themselves against the
force of the enemy, and the countries of Holland,
Zeland, Vtrecht, and Frise be yet (thanks be to
God) entire and whole: in which there be manie great
and strong towne and places, faire rivers, and
depe ports and hauens of the sea, out of which your
maiestie and your successors may receiue diuerse
good seruices, fruiets, and commodities, thereof it is
needlesse here to make any long recitall. Whiche
this

The distressed
state of these
countries, and
the danger of
the prince of
Orange.

The hope that
the low coun-
trie people had
in hir highnes
helpe.

Spanish ser-
uitude import-
table.

The cause
why the de-
puties for the
states came
into England,
and their care
vnto hir high-
nesse oppressed.

The govern-
ment & princi-
pallitie of the
low countries
presented to
the queens
maiestie.

The queens
maiesties most
gracious fauor
acknow-
ledged.

Whiche god
townes and
places yet res-
taining in the
low countries
defensible a-
gainst the ene-
mie.

The writing
of the low
countries to
the realmes of
England, &c.
how benefit-
full.

Protection of
the reformed
religion a part
of their state.

The loialtie
and faithfull-
nesse of the
low countries
people con-
mended.
Benefits like
to those upon
the land pro-
tection under-
taken of his
highnesse.

The said de-
votion do pre-
sent certaine
articles and
conditions to
his maiestie
concerning
their state.

Yield and
obedience
for publi-
cation of sediti-
ous books.

Five or rather
fewer than
the fall of a
bell in Lon-
don were into
Downegate.

this amongst other matters deserveth good and es-
peciall consideration, that the uniting of those coun-
tries of Holland, Zeland, Frise, and the townes of
Sluze and Ostend in Flanders, unto the realmes
of your maiestie importeth so much as the absolute
gouvernement of the great ocean sea, and by conse-
quence, an assurance and perpetuall felicitie for the
subiects of your most high maiestie. Which we most
humble beseech, that it will please the same to con-
descend unto us in the said points and conditions,
and in that which followeth, which is, that you will
for you and your lawfull successors in the crowne of
England be protectors of the reformed religion, as
the principall iusticer and soveraigne gouernour of
the said countries: and consequentlie to receiue the
people of the same, as your most humble and most
obedient subiects under the protection and continu-
all safeguard of your maiestie; they being a people as-
suredlie so faithfull and louing to their princes and
lords (be it spoken without vaunting) as any other
nation is throughout christendome.

In doing whereof (O Adam) you shall preserve
manie goodlie churches, which it hath pleased God to
assemble in these latter times in the same coun-
tries, at this present in manie places greivously af-
flicted, and you shall deliuer the same countrie and
people (of late before the uniuersall deas of the house of
Spain) herie rich and flourishing, through the great
commoditie of the sea, ports, hauens, riuers, traf-
fike, and merchandize, whereof they be naturallie in-
dued. You shall I saie (O Adam) deliuer them from
ruine and perpetuall bondage of bodie and soule,
being a worke right roiall and most magnificent,
acceptable to God, profitable to all christianitie,
worthie immortall commendation, answerable to
the magnanimitie, and herocall vertues of your
maiestie, and ioined with the assurance and prosper-
ritie of your dominions and subiects. Whereupon
we present unto your maiestie the said articles and
conditions, reuerentlie praiering the King of kings
to preserve your maiestie from your enemies, to in-
crease your glorie and felicitie, and for euer to keepe
you in his holie protection.

This oration ended and the summe thereof con-
sidered, it pleased the queenes maiestie, by direction
of hir wise and politike counsell, to incline hir hart
(alwaies pitifull and replenished with commiseration)
to the ease and relæse of the said oppressed people.
And because hir owne subiects should not be bitter-
lie vnacquainted with hir highnesse doings in that
case, there was published by authoritie a booke
thereof as in due place hereafter followeth.

On fundaie the fourth of Iulie, Charles lord Ho-
ward, late lord chamberleine was made lord ad-
mirall, and Henrie lord Hunsdon was made lord
chamberleine of household. On the fift daie of Iulie
Thomas Awfeld a seminarie priest, and Thomas
Webbie diar, were arraigned at the sessions hall in
the Old baillie, found guiltie, condemned, and had
iudgement as felons to be hanged: for publishing
of bookes containing false, seditious, and slanderous
matter, to the defamation of our soveraigne ladie
the queene, and to the excitation of insurrection and
rebellion, as more at large appeareth in their indict-
ments. These were on the next morrow, to wit, the
fift of Iulie, executed at Tyborne accordinglie. On
thursdaie the sixteenth of Iulie, by the sudden fall of
a bricke wall in Thames street of London, nere br-
to Downegate, five persons were overwhelmed
and slaine, to wit, a man & his wife (the wife being
great with child) and two children, the one their own,
the other a nurse child, and a poore man that liued by
charitie, hauing no knowne dwelling place. On the

same sixteenth of Iulie was sir Francis Russell
knight, lord Russell, third sonne to Francis Russell
earle of Bedford, slaine with a dag in the borders of
Scotland beside Berwik, by a Scot boine in those
parts, as they met vpon a true daie, as more at
large appeareth in the historie of Scotland. On the
next morrow, to wit, the seuenteenth of Iulie, Fran-
cis Russell earle of Bedford, knight of the garter,
and one of hir maiesties priuie counsell, father to the
late named sir Francis, lord Russell slaine on the
borders of Scotland, deceased, and was honorable
buried at Cheintes in Bedfordshire on the eight of
September next following.

On the thre and twentieth of Iulie certeine soul-
diers were pressed in the seuerall wards of the citie
of London, which souldiers being furnished for the
warres, and clothed in red cotes, all at the charges
of the companies and citizens, set forth toward the
seas on the thirtenth of August, and were transpor-
ted ouer into Holland, Zeland, &c: as other the like
souldiers out of other parts of the realme before had
bene, to serue for the defense of the low countries
vnder generall ports, and other approued cap-
teins. On the fourth daie of August, betwixt the
hours of foure and five of the clocke in the morning,
at the end of the towne called Nottingham in Kent,
eight miles from London, in a lane not farre from
the houses, the ground began to sinke, thre great
elmes being swallowed vp, the tops falling down-
ward into a hole with the rotes upward, turning
round in the falling, and driuen into the earth past
mans sight, to the wonderfull amazement of manie
honest men of the same towne, being beholders of
this strange sight: and before ten of the clocke that
present day, the ground & trees were sonke so low,
that neither the one or other might be discerned, the
hole or vauit being sometimes filled with water, and
otherwhiles neither bot to me, trees, or water maie be
perceiued: the compasse of this hole is about foure
score yards, and being sounded with a lead and line
of fiftie sadams, cannot therewith find or feele any
bottom. Ten yards distant from this place, there is
another peece of ground sonke in like maner, which
parcell of ground falleth still into the high waie to
the great feare of that whole towne, but especiallie
to the inhabitants of a house not far distant from
the aforesaid places.

On the fiftenth daie of September, to the num-
ber of two & thirtie seminarie, massing priests and
others, late prisoners in the tower of London, Spar-
thall, Kings bench, and other places, were imbar-
ked in the Marie Martine of Colchester, on the
southside of the Thames right ouer against S. Ba-
tharines, to be transported ouer into the coasts of
Normandie, to be banished this realme for euer, by
vertue of a commission from hir maiestie, before
specified in pag. 379.

A copie of the certificat written and
directed into England by the said
banished men.



Whereas vpon your honours commission
directed vnto Anthoine Hall, and Tho-
mas Stockar, for the transporting of vs
whose names are vnder written, into the
coasts of Normandie, who accordinglie toke vs into
a barke called the Marie Martine of Colchester, on
the south side of the Thames, right ouer that part of
saint Batharines next to London bridge, the fiftenth
day of September 1585, according to the computa-
tion of England: our will is to testifie vnto your
good honours, that they the said Anthoine Hall & Tho-
mas Stockar haue generallie so well besed vs in all
respects,

Earle of Bed-
ford and the
lord Russell
his sonne de-
ceased.

Souldiers
sent to aid the
low countries
of Holland,
Zeland, &c.

Ground and
trees sonke
and swallowed
vp in Kent
eight miles
from London.

Seminarie
and massing
priests ban-
ished.

Note in this
certificat an
acknowledg-
ment of verie
great English
courtesie to the
seminaries in
their transpor-
tation.

The semina-
ries suddentlie
assaulted and
in danger of
death by a
Fluſinger as
they were pas-
sing ouer sea.

The semina-
ries are set on
shore at Bul-
logne through
their owne in-
oportunitie.

respects, that we can not but acknowledge our
selues much beholding (as much as in them laie) to
so courteous & loving officers. Henric the 11. com-
ming along the sea, and meeting with his maiesties
admirall in the downes, who promising that we
should not be disturbed in our course into the pro-
vince of Fozmandie, according to your honours said
commission, we had not from him departed two
leagues, when as a Fluſinger with his people sud-
denlie entred vpon vs, being peaceable shouled vnder
the hatches, and in our quiet rest, with their
swozds drawne, their calleiuers and their matches fi-
red in their hands, to our great terror & discomfort,
the most of vs being berie soze sea sicke, expecting
at that instant nothing but either the rigorous dint
of swozd, or bullet of calleiuier. Howbeit parloe being
had by our said commissioners with them, they de-
parted, after which time we considering the generall
danger on the seas, besought with one consent your
honours commissioners to set vs on land at Calice:
but they in no wise yielding therevnto, at last by
reason of our impoſtunitie in such danger & weak-
nesse, yielded to set vs on shore at Bullogne, partlie
by reason of the feare we were then put in, & partlie
for that we feared afterward more unreasonable
measure: but speciallie the greatest number of vs so
soze sicke, that berie tedious vnto vs it seemed to
beare so long and dangerous a passage. In witness
whereof to this our certificat we haue all subscribed
our names the nineteenth of September 1585. Will.
Gimlets, R. Fen: Jo. Pele: Christopher Small, &c.

We haue heard before that certeine souldiers out
of diuers parts of this realme were transported ou-
uer the seas into Holland and Zeland, &c: with such
convenient and seruiceable furniture, as might be
presupposed necessarie for defense: whom we will
leave vpon their gard, and more clarelie to set forth
the reasons of their transportation, we doe meane
here, as we promised before page 1413. When we
came to due place, to deliuer a booke published by au-
thortie concerning that argument, the title and
substance whereof in all points agreeable with the
printed copie first extant, doth orderlie follow.

A declaration of the causes moouing
the queene of England to giue aid to the defense of
the people afflicted and oppressed in
the low countries.

Kings and
princes souer-
aignes, are to
pay account
of their actions
onlie to al-
mightie God,
the king of
kings.



Although kings and princes soueraignes,
owing their homage and seruice onlie
vnto the almightie God the king of all
kings, are in that respect not bound to
pay account or render the reasons of their actions
to anie others but to God their onlie soueraigne
Lord: yet (though amongst the most ancient and
christian monarchs the same Lord God hauing com-
mitted to vs the soueraintie of this realme of
England and other our dominions, which we hold
immediatlie of the same almightie Lord, and so
thereby accountable onlie to his diuine Maieſtie)
we are notwithstanding this our prerogative at this
time speciallie moued, for diuerſe reasons hereafter
brieflie remembred, to publish not onlie vnto our
owne naturall loving subjects, but also to all others
our neighbours, speciallie to such princes & ſtates as
are our confederats, or haue for their subjects cause
of commerce with our countries and people, what
our intention is at this time, and vpon what iust and
reasonable grounds we are moued to giue aid vnto
our next neighbours the naturall people of the low
countries, being by long warres and persecutions
of strange nations there, lamentable afflicted, and

in present danger to be brought into a perpetuall
seruitude.

First, it is to be vnderſtood (which percase is not
perfectlie knowne to a great number of persons)
that there hath bene, time out of mind, cuen by the
naturall ſituation of thoſe low countries and our
realme of England, one directlie oppoſit to the other,
and by reason of the readie croſſing of the seas, and
multitude of large and commodious hauens respec-
tuelie on both ſides, a continuall traffike and com-
merce betwixt the people of England, and the natu-
rall people of thoſe low countries, and ſo continued
in all ancient times, when the ſeueral provinces
thereof, as Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and o-
ther countries to them adioining, were ruled and
poſſeſſed by ſeueral lords, and not vnitd together,
as of late yeares they haue bene by intermarria-
ges, and at length by concurrences of manie and
ſundrie titles haue alſo bene reduced to be vnder
the gouernement of their lords that ſucceeded to the
dukedome of Burgundie: whereby there hath bene
in former ages manie ſpeciall alliances and con-
federations, not onelie betwixt the kings of England
our progenitors and the lords of the ſaid countries
of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, and their adherents:
but alſo betwixt the verie naturall ſubiects of both
countries, as the prelates, noblemen, ciſſiens, bur-
geſſes, and other communalities of the great cities
and port towne of either countrie reciprocalie, by
ſpeciall obligations and ſtipulations vnder their
ſeales interchangeable, for maintenance both of
commerce and intercoure of merchants, & alſo of
ſpeciall mutuall amitie to be obſerued betwixt the
people and inhabitants of both parties as well eccle-
ſiaſticall as ſecular: and verie expreſſe prouiſion in
ſuch treaties contained for mutuall fauours, affec-
tions, and all other friendlie offices to be vſed and
proſecuted by the people of the one nation towards
the other. By which mutuall bonds, there hath con-
tinued perpetuall vnions of the peoples hearts toge-
ther, and ſo by waie of continuall intercoures, from
age to age the ſame mutuall loue hath bene inuiol-
lable kept and exerciſed, as it had bene by the
wozke of nature, and neuer vtterlie diſſolued, nor
yet for anie long time diſcontinued, howſoeuer the
kings, and the lords of the countries ſometimes
(though verie rarelie) haue bene at difference by ſu-
miſter meanes of ſome other princes their neigh-
bours, enuieng the felicitie of theſe two countries.

And for maintenance and teſtimonie of theſe na-
turall vnions of the peoples of theſe kingdoms and
countries in perpetuall amitie, there are extant ſun-
drie authentike treaties and tranſactions for mutu-
all commerce, intercoure and freid amitie of an-
cient times: as for example, ſome verie ſolemnelie
accorded in the times of king Henrie the firſt our
progenitor, and Philip the ſecond duke of Burgun-
die, and inheritor to the countie of Flanders by
the ladie Margaret his grandmother, which was a-
boue one hundred & fortie yeares paſt, & the ſame al-
ſo renewed by the noble duke Charles his ſon, father
to the king of Spaines grandmother, and huſband
to the ladie Margaret ſiſter to our great grandfa-
ther king Edward the fourth: and after that, of new
ofttimes renewed by our moſt noble & ſage grand-
father king Henrie the ſeuenth, and the archduke
Philip grandfather to the king of Spaine now be-
ing: and in latter times, often renewed betwixt our
father of noble memorie king Henrie the eight, and
Charles the ſixt emperor of Almanie, father alſo to
the preſent king of Spaine.

In all which treaties, tranſactions, and confede-
rations of amitie and mutuall commerce, it was
alſo at all times ſpeciallie and principallie contained
in

Naturall con-
feds of the an-
cient contin-
all trade be-
twixt the peo-
ple of England
& them of the
low countries.

Confeder-
ations both
betwixt the
kings of
England and
lords of the
low countries,
and alſo the
ſubiects of
both countries.

The people of
both the coun-
tries bound
by ſpeciall
obligations
interchange-
able, for mutu-
all fauours
and friendlie
offices.

Treaties ep-
tant of ancient
time, betwixt
the kings of
England and
the dukes of
Burgundie,
for the com-
merce betwixt
their coun-
tries.

Comendat-
for the ſubiects
of either ſide,
ſhew mutuall
fauours one to
the other.

in expresse words, by conventions, concord, and conclusions, that the naturall people, and subiects of either side, should shew mutuall fauours and duties one to the other, and should safelie, frelie and securelie commerce together in euerie their countries; and so hath the same mutuall and naturall concourse and commerce bene without interruption continued in manie ages, farre aboute the like example of anie other countries in christendome, to the honour and strength of the princes, and to the singular great benefit and enriching of their people: untill of late yeares that the king of Spaine departing out of his low countries into Spaine, hath bene (as it is to be thought) counselled by his counsellors of Spaine, to appoint Spaniards, forrenners and strangers of strange blood, men more exercised in warres than in peaceable gouernement, and some of them notable delighted in blood, as hath appeared by their actions, to be the chiefest gouernours of all his said low countries, contrarie to the ancient lawes and customes thereof, hauing great plentie of noble, valiant and faithfull persons naturallie borne, and such as the emperor Charles, and the king himselfe had to their great honours vsed in their seruice, able to haue bene imployed in the rule of those countries.

Spaniards and strangers laicly appointed gouernours in the low countries, to the violation of the liberties of the countie.

But these Spaniards, being mere strangers, hauing no naturall regard in their gouernement to the maintenance of those countries and people in their ancient and naturall manner of peaceable liuing, as the most noble and wise emperor Charles, yea and as his sonne king Philip himselfe had, whilst he remained in those countries, and vsed the counsels of the states and naturall of the countries, not violating the ancient liberties of the countries: but contrariwise, these Spaniards being exalted to absolute gouernement, by ambition, and for priuatre lucre haue violentlie broken the ancient lawes and liberties of all the countries, and in a tyrannous sort haue banished, killed and destroyed without order of law, within the space of few moneths, manie of the most ancient and principall persons of the naturall nobilitie that were most worthe of gouernement. And howsoever in the beginning of these cruell persecutions, the pretense therof was for maintenance of the Romish religion: yet they spared not to deprive verie manie catholikes and ecclesiasticall persons of their franchises and priuileges: and of the chiefest that were executed of the nobilitie, none was in the whole countie more affected to that religion than was the noble and valiant countie of Egmond, the verie glorie of that countie, who neither for his singular victories in the seruice of the king of Spaine can be forgotten in the true histories, nor yet for the crueltie vsed for his destruction, to be but for ever lamented in the hearts of the naturall people of that countie.

The destruction of the nobilitie, and the people of the countries by the Spaniards gouernment.

The lamentable violent death of the countie of Egmond, the glorie of those countries.

And furthermore, to bring these whole countries in seruitude to Spaine, these forren gouernours haue by long intestine warre, with multitude of Spaniards, and with some few Italians and Almains, made the greater part of the said countries (which with their riches by common estimation answered the emperor Charles equallie to his Indies) in a manner desolat, and haue also lamentable destroyed by sword, famine, and other cruell manners of death, a great part of the naturall people, & now the rich towne and strong places being desolate of their naturall inhabitants, are held and kept chiefly with force by the Spaniards. All which pittifull miseries and horrible calamities of these most rich countries and people, are of all their neighbours at this daie, euen of such as in ancient time haue bene at frequent discorde with them through naturall con-

The rich towne and strong places which the Spaniards are possessed by the Spaniards.

passion verie greatly pitied, which appeared speciallie this present yeare, when the French king pretended to haue receiued them to his protection, had not (as the states of the countie & their deputies were answered) that certeine vntimelie and vnlooked for complots of the house of Guise, stirred and maintained by monie out of Spaine, disturbed the good and generall peace of France, and thereby vrged the king to forbear from the resolution he had made, not onlie to aid the oppressed people of the low countries against the Spaniards, but also to haue accepted them as his owne subiects. But in verie truth, howsoever they were pitied, and in a sort for a time comforted & kept in hope in France by the French king, who also hath oftentimes earnestlie solicited vs as queene of England, both by message and writing to be carefull of their defense: yet in respect that they were otherwise more frendlie knit in ancient friendship to this realme than to anie other countie, we are sure that they could be pitied of none for this long time with more cause and griefe generally, than of our subiects of this our realme of England, being their most ancient allies and familiar neighbours: and that in such manner, as this our realme of England and those countries haue bene by common language of long time resembled and termed as man and wife.

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And for these vrgent causes and manie others, we haue by manie frendlie messages and ambassadoys, by manie letters and writings to the said king of Spaine our brother and alie, declared our compassion of this so euill and cruell vsage of his naturall and loiall people by sundrie his martiall gouernours and other his men of warre, all strangers to these his countries. And furthermore, as a good loving sister to him, and a naturall good neighbour to his low countries and people, we haue often, and often againe most frendlie warned him, that if he did not otherwise by his wisdom and princelie clemencie restraine the tyrannie of his gouernours and crueltie of his men of warre, we feared that the people of his countries should be forced for safetie of their liues, and for continuance of their native countie in the former state of their liberties, to seeke the protection of some other forreine lord, or rather to yeld themselves wholie to the souerainie of some mightie prince, as by the ancient lawes of their countries, and by speciall priuileges granted by some of the lords and dukes of the countries to the people, they do pretend and affirme, that in such cases of generall iniustice, and vpon such violent breaking of their priuileges they are free from their former homages, and at libertie to make choise of anie other prince to be their prince and head.

The French kings offers to haue aided and receiued to his subiection the oppressed people of the low countries.

The queene of Englands continuall frendlie aduise to the king of Spaine for restraining of the tyrannie of his gouernours.

The proofe whereof by examples past is to be seene & read in the ancient histories of diuerse alterations, of the lords and ladies of the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zealand, and other countries to them vnitied by the states and people of the countries; and that by some such alterations, as the stories do testifie, Philip the duke of Burgundie came to his title, from which the king of Spaines interest is deriued: but the further discussion hereof, we leaue to the view of the monuments and records of the countries. And now, for the purposes to staie them from yelding themselves in anie like sort to the souerainie of anie other strange prince, certeine yeares past, vpon the earnest request of sundrie of the greatest persons of degree in those countries, and most obedient subiects to the king, such as were the duke of Alcot, and the marquisse of Haurie yet liuing, and of such others as had principall offices in those countries in the time of the emperor Charles, we yelded at their importunate requests, to grant them

The queene of Englands means vied to staie the states of the low countries from yelding their subiection to anie other forreine prince.

them press of monie, onelie to continue them as his subiects, and to mainteine themselves in their iust defense against the violence and cruelties of the Spaniards their oppressours, thereby strengning them from yielding their subiecton to anie other prince from the said king of Spaine: and during the time of that our aid giuen to them, and their staie in their obedience to the king of Spaine, we did frendlie acquaint the same king with our actions, and did still continue our frendlie aduises to him, to moue him to command his gouernours and men of warre, not to vse such insolent cruelties against his people, as might make them to despaire of his fauours, and seeke some other lord.

And in these kind of perswasions and actions we continued manie yeres, not onelie for compassion of the miserable staie of the countries, but of a naturall disposition to haue the ancient conditions of freind amitie and commerce for our kingdoms and people to continue with the states and the people of the said dukedome of Burgundie and the appendants, and namelie with our next neighbours the countries of Flanders, Holland and Zeland. For we did manifestlie see, if the nation of Spaine should make a conquest of those countries, as was and yet is apparantlie intended, and plant themselves there as they haue done in Naples and other countries, adding thereto the late examples of the violent hostile enterpryse of a poluer of Spaniards, being sent within these few yeres by the king of Spaine and the pope into our realme of Ireland, with an intent manifestlie confessed by the captains, that those numbers were sent aforesaid to seise vpon some strength there, to the intent with other great forces to pursue a conquest thereof: we did (we saie againe) manifestlie see in what danger our selfe, our countries and people might thozille be, if in conuenient time we did not speedilie otherwise regard to prevent or staie the same. And yet notwithstanding our said often requestes and aduises giuen to the king of Spaine, manifestlie for his owne weale and honor, we found him by his counsell of Spaine so unwilling in anie sort to incline to our frendlie counsell, that his gouernours and chiefe persons in his low countries increased their cruelties towards his owne afflicted people, and his officers in Spaine offered daillie greater injuries to ours, refusing this for traffike: yea, they of his counsell in Spaine would not permit our expresse messenger with our letters to come to the king their masters presence: a matter verie strange, and against the law of nations.

And the cause of this our writing and sending to the king, proceeded of matter that was woorthie to be knowne to the king, and not vnnmeet now also to be declared to the world, to shew both our good disposition towards the king in imparting to him our griefes, and to let it appeare how euill we haue bene vsed by his ministers, as in some part may appeare by this that followeth. Although we could not haue these manie yeres past anie of our seruants, whom we sent at sundrie times as our ambassadours to the king our good brother (as was meet) suffered to continue there without manie injuries and indignities offered to their families, and diuerse times to their owne persons by the greatest of his counsellours, so as they were constrained to leaue their places, and some expelled and in a sort banished the countrie, without cause giuen by them, or notified to vs: yet we, minding to continue verie good frendship with the king, as his good sister, did of long time and manie yeres giue fauourable allowance to all that came as his ambassadours to vs, sauing onelie vpon manifest dangerous practises attempted by

two of them to trouble our estate, whereof the one was *Girald Despes*, a verie turbulent spirited person, and altogether unskillfull and vnapt to deale in princes affaires being in amitie, as at his returne into Spaine he was so there also reputed: the other and last was *Bernardin de Mendoza*, one whome we did accept and vse with great fauour a long time, as was manifestlie seene in our court, and we thinke cannot be denied by himselfe: but yet of late yeres (we know not by what direction) we found him to be a secret great fauourer to sundrie our euill disposed and seditious subiects, not onelie to such as lurked in our realme, but also to such as fled the same, being notozoullie condemned as open rebels & traitours, with whome by his letters, messages, and secret counsels he did in the end deuise how with a power of men, partlie to come out of Spaine, partlie out of the low countries, whereof he gaue them great comfort in the kings name, an inuasion might be made into our realme, setting downe in writing the manner how the same should be done, with what numbers of men and ships, and vpon what coasts, ports, and places of our realme by speciall name, and who the persons should be in our realme of no small account, that should fauour this inuasion, and take part with the inuadours, with manie other circumstances declaring his full set purpose and labours taken, to trouble vs and our realme verie dangerously, as hath bene most claretlie proued and confessed by such as were in that confederacie with him, whereof some are fled and now doe frequent his company in France, and some were taken, who confessed at great length by writing the whole course here, in held by the said ambassadour, as was manifestlie of late time published to the world vpon Francis Throgmorton a principall traitours examination.

And when we found manifestlie this ambassadour so dangerous an instrument, or rather a head to a rebellion and inuasion: and that for a yere or more together he neuer brought to vs anie letter from the king his master, notwithstanding our often request made to him that he would by some letter from the king to vs, let it appeare that it was the kings will that he should deale with vs in his masters name in sundrie things that he propounded to vs as his ambassadour, which we did iudge to be contrary to the king his masters will: we did finally cause him to be charged with these dangerous practises, and made it patent to him how, and by whome, with manie other circumstances we knew it, and therefore caused him in verie gentle sort to be contented within some reasonable time to depart out of our realme, the rather for his owne safetie, as one in verie deed mortallie hated of our people: for the which we granted him fauourable conduct, both to the sea and ouer the sea: and therevpon we did speedilie send a seruant of ours into Spaine with our letters to the king, onelie to certifie him of this accident, and to make the whole matter apparant vnto him: and this was the messenger aforesaid mentioned, that might not be suffered to deliuer our message or our letters to the king.

And beside these indignities, it is most manifest how his ministers also haue both heretofore manie times, and now lastelie practised here in England by meanes of certeine rebels, to haue procured sundrie inuasions of our realme, by their forces out of Spaine and the low countries: verie hard recompenses (we may saie) for so manie our good officers. Wherevpon we hope no reasonable person can blame vs, if we haue disposed our felices to change this our former course, and more carefullie to looke to the safetie of our selfe and our people: and finding our owne dangers in deed verie great and imminent, we haue

The enterpryse of the Spaniards in Ireland sent by the king of Spaine and the pope.

The refusal of the quenes messenger, and his letters to the king of Spaine.

The iust causes of dissimulation of Bernardin Mendoza out of England.

See the tumultuous confession of Francis Throgmorton in page 1372.

The courtiers dealing of his maiestie with Mendoza (a man mortallie hated) departing out of England.

hæue the more vrgentlie prouoked to attempt and accelerat some good remedie, for that besides manie other aduises giuen vs both at home & from abroad, in due time to withstand these dangers, we haue found the generall disposition of all our owne faithfull people verie readie in this case, and earnest in offering to vs both in parlements and otherwise, their seruices with their bodies and blood, and their aids with their lands and goods, to withstand and p̄uent this present common danger to our realme and themselves, euidentlie seene and feared by the subuerting and rotting vp of the ancient nation of these low countries, and by planting the Spanissh nation and men of war, enemies to our countries, there so nere vnto vs.

The queene of England's proceeding for the deliuerie of Scotland from the seruitude wherein the house of Guise meant to haue brought it.

And besides these occasions and considerations, we did also call to our remembrance our former fortunat proceeding by Gods speciall fauor, in the beginning of our reigne, in remedying of a like mischæse that was intended against vs in Scotland by certaine Frenchmen, who then were directed onelie by the house of Guise, by colour of the marriage of their nèce the queene of Scots with the Dolphin of France, in like manner as the offspring of the said house haue euen now latelic sought to attaine to the like inordinate power in France: a matter of some consequence for our selues to consider; although we hope the king our god brother professing sincere friendship towards vs, as we professe the like to him, will moderate this aspiring greatnesse of that house, that neither himselfe, nor the princes of his blood be oueruled, nor we (minding to continue perfect friendship with the king & his blood) be by the said house of Guise & their faction disquieted or disturbed in our countries. But now to returne to this like example of Scotland aforesaid. When the French had in like manner (as the Spaniards haue now of long time attempted in the low countries) sought by force to haue subdued the people there, and brought them into a seruitude to the crowne of France, and also by the ambitious desires of the said house of Guise, to haue proceeded to a warre by waie of Scotland, for the conquest of our crowne for their nèce the queene of Scots (a matter most manifest to the common knowledge of the world) it pleased almightie God, as it remaineth in god memorie to our honor and comfort, to further our tention and honorable and iust actions at that time in such sort, as by our aiding then of the nation of Scotland being fore oppressed with the French, and vniuersallie requiring our aid, we procured to that realme (though to our great cost) a full deliuerance of the force of strangers and danger of seruitude, and restored peace to the whole countrie, which hath continued there euer since manie yerres, sauing that at some time of parcialities of certaine of the noble men, as hath bene vsuall in that countrie, in the minoritye of the young king, there haue risen some inward troubles, which for the most part we haue in fauor of the king and his gouernors v̄sed means to pacifie: so as at this daie such is the quietnesse in Scotland, as the king our deare brother & cousin, by name James the first, a prince of great hope for manie god princelie respects, reigneth there in honor and loue of his people, and in verie god and perfect amitie with vs and our countrie. And so our actions at that time came to so good successe by the godnesse of God, as both our owne realme, and that of Scotland, hath euer since remained in better amitie and peace than can be remembred these manie hundred yerres before; and yet nothing hereby done by vs, nor anie cause iustlie giuen: but that also the French kings that haue since succeeded, which haue bene thre in number, and all brethren,

The realme of Scotland restored to the ancient freedom, and so possessed by the present king by the means onelie of the queene of England.

haue made and concluded diuerse treaties for god peace with vs, which presentlie continue in force on both parties, notwithstanding our foresaid actions attempted, for removing out of Scotland of the said French forces, so transported by the ouelie direction of the house of Guise.

And therefore, to conclude for the declaration of our present intention at this time, we hope it shall of all persons abroad be well interpreted, as we know it will be of such as are not led by parcialitie, that vpon the often and continuall lamentable requests made to vs by the vniuersall states of the countries of Holland, Zeland, Guelbers, and other prouinces with them v̄nited (being desperat of the king of Spaines fauours) for our succours to be yielded to them, onelie for their defense against the Spaniards and other strangers, and therewith finding manifestlie by our often and importunat requests and aduises giuen to the king of Spaine, no hope of reliefe of these their miseries, but rather an increase thereof by daile conquests of their towne and slaughter of their people (though in verie truth we cannot impute the increase of anie late cruelties to the person of him that now hath the title of generall gouernor, shewing his naturall disposition more inclinable to mercie and clemencie, than it seemeth he can direct the hearts of the Spaniards vnder him, that haue bene so long trained in shedding of blood vnder the former Spanissh gouernors) and joining therewith our owne danger at hand, by the ouerthrow and destruction of our neighbors, and accessle and planting of the great forces of the Spaniards so nere to our countries, with precedent arguments of manie troublesome attempts against our realme: we did therefore by god aduise and after long deliberation determine, to send certaine companies of souldiours to aid the naturall people of those countries, onelie to defend them and their towne from lacking and desolation, & thereby to procure them safetie, to the honor of God, whome they desire to serue sincerelie as christian people according to his holie word, and to inioie their ancient libertie for them and their posteritie, and so consequentlie to preserve and continue the lawfull and ancient commerce betwixt our people and those countries and ours.

And so we hope our intention herein, and our subsequent actions will be by Gods fauor both honorable interpreted of all persons (sauing of the oppressors themselves, and their partizans) in that we meane not hereby, either for ambition or malice (the two roots of all iniustice) to make anie particular profit hereof to our selfe or to our people; onelie desiring at this time to obtaine by Gods fauor for the countries, a deliuerance of them from warre by the Spaniards and foraines: a restitution of their ancient libertie and gouernement by some christian peace, and thereby a libertie for our selues and our realme to be free from innading neighbors: and our people to inioie in those countries their lawfull commerce and intercoure of friendship & merchandise, according to the ancient vsage and treaties of intercoure, made betwixt our progenitors and the lords and carles of those countries, and betwixt our people and the people of those countries.

And though our further intention also is, or maie be, to take into our gard some few towne vpon the sea side next opposite to our realme, which otherwise might be in danger to be taken by the strangers, enemies of the countrie: yet therein considering we haue no meaning at this time to take and reteine the same to our owne proper vse: we hope that all persons will thinke it agreeable with god reason and princelie policie, that we should haue the gard

The conclusion of the causes of sending of certaine companies of English souldiours to the defense of the oppressed people of the low countries, and to withstand the attempts against this realme.

These speciall things reasonable desired by the queene of England.
1. The end of swarres with restitution of the low countries to their ancient liberties.
2. Suertie fr̄s inuasion of her owne realme.
3. And renewing of the mutual traffike betwene the countries.
The causes of taking some towne into her maiesties custodie.

and vse of some such places for sure access and re-
 cesse of our people and souldiours in safetie, and for
 furniture of them with bittels and other things re-
 quisit and necessarie, whilst it shall be needfull for
 them to continue in those countries for the aiding
 thereof in these their great calamities, miseries, and
 imminent danger, and untill the countries may be
 deliuered of such strange forces as do now oppresse
 them, and recover their ancient lawfull libertie
 and manner of gouernement, to liue in peace as they
 haue heretofore done, and do now most earnestlie
 in lamentable manner desire to do, which are the
 verie onelie true ends of all our actions now inter-
 ded: howsoeuer malicious tongues maie utter their
 cankred conceits to the contrarie, as at this daie
 the world aboundeth with such blasphemous reports
 in sayings and infamous libels, as in no age the
 diuell hath more abounded with notable spirits re-
 plenished with all wickednesse to utter his rage a-
 gainst professors of christian religion. But thereof
 we leaue the reuenge to God the searcher of hearts,
 hoping that he beholding the sinceritie of our heart,
 will grant god successe to our intentions, whereby
 a christian peace may insue to his diuine honor, and
 comfort to all them that loue peace trulie, and will
 seeke it sincerelie.

An addition to the declaration,
 touching the slanders published of
 hir maiestie.

After we had finished our declaration, there
 came to our hands a pamphlet written in
 Italian, printed at Milan, intituled *Nu-
 no aduso*, directed to the archbishop of Mi-
 lan, containing a report of the expugnation of An-
 twerp by the prince of Parma: by the which we found
 our selfe most maliciouslie charged with two nota-
 ble crimes, no lesse hateful to the world, than most
 repugnant and contrarie to our owne naturall in-
 clination. The one with ingratitude towards the
 king of Spaine, who (as the author saith) saved our
 life being iustlie by sentence adiudged to death in
 our siliers time: the other, that there were some
 persons procured to be corrupted with great promi-
 ses, and that with our intelligence, as the reporter
 addeth in a parenthess in these words (as it was
 said) that the life of the prince of Parma should be
 taken awaie. And for the better proving and coun-
 tenancing of this horrible lie, it is further added in
 the said pamphlet, that it pleased the Lord God to
 discover this, and being two of the wicked persons
 to iustice. Now, knowing how men are maliciouslie
 bent in this declining age of the world, both to
 iudge, speake, and write maliciouslie, false, and
 irreuerentlie of princes: and holding nothing so
 deere unto vs, as the conseruation of our reputa-
 tion and honor to be blamelesse: we found it verie
 expedient, not to suffer two such horrible imputa-
 tions to passe vnder silence; lest for lacke of answer,
 it might argue a kind of guiltinesse, and did there-
 fore thinke, that what might be alledged by vs for
 our iustificacion in that behalfe, might most aptlie
 be ioined vnto this former declaration now to be
 published, to late open before the world, the manner
 and ground of our proceeding in the causes of the
 low countries.

The summe of
 a slanderous
 pamphlet pub-
 lished in the
 Italian tongue
 against the
 quenees ma-
 iestie.

The quenees
 maiestie is
 getous ouer
 the conserua-
 tion of hir re-
 putation.

In answer to
 the first point
 of the said pam-
 phlet, clearing
 hir highnes of
 ingratitude.

And for answer of the first point wherewith we
 are charged, touching our ingratitude towards the
 king of Spaine; as we do most willinglie acknow-
 ledge that we were beholding vnto him in the time
 of our late sister, which we then did acknowledge ve-
 ric thankfullie, and haue sought manie waies since

in like sort to requite, as in our former declaration
 by our actions maie appeare: so do we bitterlie de-
 nie as a most manifest vnturth, that euer he was
 the cause of the saving of our life as a person by
 course of iustice sentenced vnto death, whoeuer car-
 ried our selfe towards our said sister in dutifull sort,
 as our losaltie was neuer called in question, much
 lesse anie sentence of death pronounced against vs:
 a matter such, as in respect of the ordinarie course
 of proceeding, as by processe in law, by place of tri-
 all, by the iudge that should pronounce such sentence,
 and other necessarie circumstances in like cases visi-
 all, especiallie against one of our qualitie, as it
 could not but haue bene publicke knowne, if anie
 such thing had bene put in execution. This then be-
 ing true, we leaue to the world to iudge how mali-
 ciouslie and insouleslie the author of the said pam-
 phlet dealeth with vs, in charging vs by so notable
 an vnturth, with a vice that of all other we do most
 hate and abhorre. And therefore by the manifest vnturth
 of this imputation, men not transported with
 passion maie easilie discern that vnturth is contem-
 ned in the second, by the which we are charged to
 haue bene acquainted with an intended attempt a-
 gainst the life of the said prince: a matter, if anie
 such thing should haue bene by vs intended, must
 haue proceeded either of a mistaking we had of his
 person, or that the prosecution of the warres in the
 low countries was so committed vnto him, as no
 other might prosecute the same but he.

And first for his person, we could neuer learnes
 that he hath at anie time, by act or speech, done anie
 thing that might iustlie breed a mistake in vs to-
 wards him, much lesse a hatred against his person
 in so high a degree, as to be either puaie or assenting
 to the taking awaie of his life. Besides, he is one of
 whom we haue euer had an honorable conceit, in re-
 spect of those singular rare parts we alwaies haue
 noted in him, which hath woone vnto him as great
 reputation, as anie man this daie liuing carrieth of
 his degree and qualitie: and so haue we alwaies de-
 liuered out by speech vnto the world, when anie oc-
 casion hath bene offered to make mention of him.
 Now touching the prosecution committed vnto him
 of the warres in the low countries, as all men of
 iudgement know, that the taking awaie of his life
 carrieth no likelihood that the same shall worke anie
 end of the said prosecution: so is it manifestlie
 knowne, that no man hath dealt more honorablie
 than the said prince, either in dulie obseruing of
 his promise, or extending grace and mercie, where
 merit and desert hath craved the same: and there-
 fore no greater impietie by anie could be wrought,
 nor nothing more preiudiciall to our selfe (so long
 as the king shall continue the prosecution of the
 cause in that forcible sort he now doth) than to be
 an instrument to take him awaie from thence by
 such violent means, that hath dealt in a more ho-
 norable and gracious sort in the charge committed
 vnto him, than anie other that hath euer gone be-
 fore him, or is likelie to succeed after him.

Now therefore how vnlikelie it is, that we ha-
 ving neither cause to mistake of his person, nor that
 the prosecution of the warres should cease by losse of
 him, should be either author, or anie waie assenting
 to so horrible a fact, we referre to the iudgement of
 such as looke into causes, not with the eyes of their
 affection; but do measure and weigh things accord-
 ing to honor and reason. Besides, it is likelie if
 it had bene true that we had bin anie waie charge-
 able (as the author reporteth) the confessions of the
 parties executed (imposing such matter as by him
 is alledged) would haue bene both produced and pub-
 lished: for malice leaueth nothing vnsearched, that
 maie

The second
 point of the
 pamphlet an-
 swered to the
 full satisfacti-
 on of anie that
 is reasonable.

The prosecu-
 tion of the
 warres in the
 low countries
 is not like to
 cease, though
 the prince of
 Parma were
 dead.

This being
 done ponde-
 red, all the
 world maie se
 how vntrulie
 hir highnes
 is slandered.

The nature of
 malice comp-
 maie

mate nourish the
 The best cour-
 ther princes can
 ouerfloweth with
 through the grace
 to direct our coun-
 thew their wills
 by desert to late ill
 as; wishing: assur-
 nishment that sad
 shall receiue at the
 uing of princes an
 Gods ministers;
 thought by all god
 face of the earth.

Given at
 and the
 Ladie sh.

In the moneth
 manic hoistles and
 sparfe to be tran-
 tries. And on the si-
 rable lord Robert
 lieutenant genera-
 hir maiestie and the
 tostone of Goldes-
 brethren, all in fear
 people met him, an
 the tostone, where
 next morrow set fo-
 tostone he was ac-
 cused. On the eight
 diuers lordes and kn
 where he was inter-
 uenour, the Graue
 and others passing
 to Spidleborough,
 rable to his person;
 spent, as occasions
 amissat, then to Rot
 he lodged euen in
 range was slaine.
 ance, he removed
 interteined with ter-
 rare inuention than
 were the people (but
 his committing. Cert
 entred, the lord lieut
 in their furniture en-
 ceured of the burgo
 with seuen severall
 noted, that eight yea-
 ged, and therefore
 which at that time
 brought therefore a
 byaule apparelled,
 they assailed by Spa
 and small shot a long
 retiring continued
 that bittels waied
 ter the poets, of what
 attired accordingly
 after which they pre-
 cats aloue in sunder,
 robbing women of t
 Sicknesse now po
 this they presented
 men on heapes, and
 capteine, who was
 matted, holding t
 trailed pikes, drowne
 into the ground, and

in a fen-
ce of feto
pods.

The reward
of wicked
and infamous
persons shall
be at the
hands of God
and men.

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The first then
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The second
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The third
the queen.

maie nourish the venome of that humoz.

The best course therefore that both we and all o-
ther princes can hold in this vnsfortunat age that
ouerfloweth with numbers of malignant spirits, is
through the grace and goodnesse of almightie God,
to direct our course in such sort, as they maie rather
shew their wills through malice, than with iust cause
by desert to late ill, or deface princes either by speech
or writing: assuring our selues that besides the pun-
ishment that such wicked and infamous libelloz
shall receiue at the hands of the almightie for dep-
raising of princes and lawfull magistrats, who are
Gods ministers; they both are and alwaies shall be
thought by all good men, vnworthy to liue vpon the
face of the earth.

Given at Richmount the first of October, 1585,
and the 27 yeare of the reigne of our soueraigne
ladie the queene, to be published.

In the moneths of Nouember and December,
manie horses and men were shipped at the Tower
wharffe to be transported ouer into the low coun-
tries. And on the first of December the right hono-
rable lord Robert Dumble earle of Leicester, lord
lieutenant generall (after he had taken his leaue of
hir maiestie and the court) with his traine entered the
towne of Colchester in Essex, where the maior & his
brethren, all in scarlet gownes, with multitudes of
people met him, and so with great solemnitie entered
the towne, where he lodged that night, and on the
next morrow set forward to Warwich, into the which
towne he was accordingly receiued and intertained.
On the eight of December, accompanied with
diuers lords and knights, he arriued at Flushing,
where he was intertained by sir Philip Stonele go-
uernour, the Graue Sporis, the States of the towne,
and others passing honorable. The next day he sailed
to Spiddebozough, where his receiuing was answer-
able to his person; and after certeine daies there
spent, as occasions then moued, he came to Willt-
amstat, then to Rotherodam, then to Delph, where
he lodged euery in the house where the prince of Or-
ange was slaine. And after a daie or twos tar-
iance, he remoued thence to Donhage, where he was
intertained with ten severall shewes, of no lesse
rare inuention than exquisite sumptuousnesse, so glad
were the people (best and worst, one with another) of
his comming. Certeine daies passed, and Januarie
entered, the lord lieutenant with three hundred horses
in their furniture entered Leiden, where he was re-
ceiued of the burgomasters, burgesses, and others,
with seuen severall shewes that folloiw. It is to be
noted, that eight yeares before this, they were besie-
ged, and therefore now presented their extremities,
which at that time they were driuen into. They
brought therefore a faire woman on the stage verie
bzaueilie apparelled, & she represented the towne, hir
they assailed by Spaniards, with false fiers of great
and small shot a long time in order of battell, & then
retiring continued their siege; here they laie so long
that bittels wared scarce, and then they presented as-
ter the poets, of what this shew had passed. Famine
attired accordingly then breathed into the woman,
after which they presented men rending dogs and
cats aliue in sunder, and fed on them, andouldioz
robbing women of their children.

Sickness now possessed hir and pestilence, and
this they presented in abrupt burials of towner-
men on heapes; and lastlie with a bzaue buriall of a
captaine, who was borne ouer the stage with dead
matches, howling trumpets, waapt by ancients,
trailed pikes, & atone paces; and after he was put
into the ground, and bid farewell with a boile of

great and small shot. The Spaniards pittieing hir,
writ and sent letters by diuers messengers, all
which she read and refused, without returne of an-
swer: now hope possessed hir, and therefore they
toke another waie. Now she commanded a light
to be set on the highest steeple in the towne, to signi-
fie vnto the prince of Orange that laie in Delph,
how they hoped for succor; who againe by deuise of a
doute sent them promise of aid, by which doute they
promised to attend the good houre, and so the shew
ended.

Now came Gods prouidence, vpon whome
the towne relied, and she leaped: Gods prouidence
in the dead of the night ouerthrow a peece of the
wall and battlement of sir and twentie peles. Which
the enimie hearing, and fearing the prince and his
power to be entered for their aid, they fled, whome
when the towne had in pursute, they put all they o-
uer toke to the sword, the rest escaped by flight, and
so with the woman as it were now at libertie they
presented the towne, they marched a waie merilie
with great triumph. At the last they brought in a
woman verie bzaue, armed as the other was, hir
they besieged with a Spaniard, intised with a
Frenchman, and flattered with an Italian rouse,
the Spaniard put by, she fled the stage, and leaping
off hastilie hid hir selfe vnder the earls cloke, whom
he shadowed, and the Spaniard threatning mar-
ched a waie. The earle led hir to his lodging, where in-
to he entered with shot. On the scaffold were written
these verses, in effect as followeth in English:
We Flemings being banished, now wailing here,
We are as they in Babylon, by the water clere,
Because we wold not worship idols, but Gods word,
And might not sing our praise vnto the Lord,
Are we driuen out as now dooth appeere,
But our deliuerance is now verie neere,
For God hath looked vpon our miserableness,
And sent vs a prince whom he will blesse,
Which praised be God as it dooth beseech,
Who hath deliuered vs from dangerous case,
And humbled the heart of such a noble queene,
As hath sent vs a gouernor now in this space,
Laieng his hand to the warres through his grace,
And his arme mightilie, the which vs defend,
Thus praised may he be world without end,
Which sendeth such a prince aboue all that liueth,
And one that gouerns to gods honor he now giueth.

So passing on to my lords lodging, on the daye
of the entring were written these verses following:

Pro auspicijs illustrissimi & generosissimi comitis
Roberti Dudlei, regia maiestati apud Anglos
à consilijs, & gubernatoris Belgia, &c: ad Ho-
landos consolatio.

Inter Iberiadum furias & tigridis iras,
Oppressi fletum comprimitote viri,
Nos licet innumeris hostilia bella periculis
Assidue insistent, mille neceque trahant,
Nostra tamen Domini rebus fiducia fides
In Domino miseris expedit facile.

Nicanor Lestrigeneris viribus male nostras
Cernices pulsat, barbara verba vomens:
Viribus at Lestranis iugulabitur ille,
En Machabaeus adest, qui Nicanora premit,
Auspicio Christi, qui in vitam funera vertit,
Qui fidei vindex, qui mala nostra lenat.
En generose comes, Dauidis pia sacra sequitur,
Iusticia exerce iura seuerata tua:
Et tibi praesens magnum qui temperat orbem,
Vt pede victricis colla teras Golia.

On the daie after his comming to the towne,
he was banquetted, at which banquet were orations
and deuises manie. On the first of Januarie he
came backe from Leiden vnto Donhage. The
tenth

The fourth
shew of sepa-
rately seruatur.

The fifth shew
of hope to be
succored.

The first shew
of aid promi-
sed.

The last shew
of libertie, once
topie, and tri-
umph.

These verses
seeme to be
made by no
meritician, cer-
haps they
were deuised
by some of
Leiden.

These verses
ten upon the
daye of the
lord lieuten-
ants lodging.

The lord lieuten-
ant return-
eth backe from
Leiden to
Donhage.

The generall
saile proclaimed
and deuoutlie
obserued.

The lord lieuten-
nant rideth
to Sheneeling,
and is presen-
ted with a few
English ver-
ses.

Titles of ho-
nor ascribed to
the lord lieuten-
ant, with a
reciting at
his coming.

The estates
sworne to the
queene of
England.

The earle of
Leicester in-
stalled at
Donhage,
with the man-
ner and order
thereof.

Persons of
honor and
sworship.

The cove-
nants between
the queene
maiestie and
the ciuities,
read in Latine
and deliuered
to and fro.

fenth he mustred part of his hoisemen, to the num-
ber of five hundred or more, and then pointed them
into severall garrisons, and to severall governours,
the carle of Essex was that daie made generall
of the hoisles. The eleuenth daie he came from
Donhage to Leidon. The twelfe daie a generall
saile was proclaimed through Holland, Gelderland,
and Friseland, which was kept with great zeale.
The lord lieutenant spent that daie till night with
preaching, reading, and singing of psalmes; neither
he or anye of his eating anye thing. The nineteenth
of Januarie he came from Leidon to Donhage,
where in his time of abode he rode to a little fith-
ertowne two miles from the Hage, named Shene-
ling, which townie doth bound on the maine seas. In
this townie he was presented with these verses:
Like as the sea goddesse Thetis had ingendred,
The valiant Achilles to the Greeks defence,
So hath now this English Thetis, who all praise de-
Sends vs this Achilles to our assistance, (serued)
Wherefore we yeeld him all due reuerence.

These wordes were written in the great hall at
Donhage, containing terms of honor & welwishing:
Beatus qui facit opus Domini fideliter. Inclyto
principi Roberto Dudlæo comiti Leicestria, inter
magnates maximè pio, prudenti, forti, Dei permisso
a regina misso, prefecto ac gubernatori Belgarum,
prosperum hunc optatumque aduentum toto læti-
tiaz suæ gratulamur, ecclesiæ & reipublicæ salutem
optamus, federati ordinis Belgij, additi celsitudini
eius. ¶ Deus caput, Deus dirigat.

On the five and twentieth of Januarie, the lord
lieutenant was installed and sworne, and likewise
all the states sworne to the queene. The manner of
the installing was thus. At Donhage is a maruel-
lous faire hall, at the vpper end thereof are five or
six large steps ascending, which do reach to a faire
chamber, at the vpper end thereof on high was pla-
ced a cloth of estate, in the middell of which were the
armes of England, and against them my lord was
seated: on each side of him two steps descending
sat twelue of the principall states, & below them sat
the residue, to the number of twentie right before
my lord, but foure or five steps descending. On the
right hand of my lord did stand the prince of Por-
tugal, next him the lord Hozleie, next master Morris
governor of Spunster, next sir William Russell, and
sir Robert Germin, with diuers men of great ac-
count. On the left hand of my lord did stand the
Graue Morris, next the earle of Essex, sir William
Stanleie, sir Robert Stapleton, and sir Thomas
Parat, with diuers others of great account. Thus
being placed, a Dutchman made a large oration in
Dutch, declaring the causes of the matter in hand,
with thanks to the queenes maiestie and the lord
lieutenant.

Then was read in Latine the covenants be-
twene the states, the queene and my lord: this done
the covenants were deliuered to my lord, which he
deliuered to the states, and the states deliuered an
other to him: then was my lord demanded to bowe
the same by oath, who holding his hand to heauen did
swear to the covenants. The like did the states, hol-
ding vp their hands, bowe to perforce. Then againe
were the states sworne to the queene and my lord
by their lieutenant in those affaires. This done, my lord
gaue to them severall thanks, and they severallite
did giue to him the like, which being done, my lord
passed through to his chamber, the trumpets all
sounding before him. And here as matter of conue-
nience requirerth, we purpose to touch the preemp-
torie authoritie committed to the said lord lieuten-
ant by common consent of the states: being as
followeth in the placard.

A placard containing the authoritie
given by the states of the low countries, unto the
mightie prince, Robert earle of Leicester, baron
of Denbigh, &c. for the government of the
said low countries: translated out of
Dutch into English, as fol-
loweth.



The generall states of the united prouin-
ces of the low countries, to all those
which shall see or heare these present wri-
tings, health and dilection. ¶ Euen as it
hath pleased hir maiestie of England mercifullie to
send ouer into these countries the high and mightie
prince and lord, lord Robert earle of Leicester,
baron of Denbigh, and one of the priuie counsell,
knight of the noble order of the garter, and not onlie
to admit and institute his excellencie as chiefe head
aboue all militarie souldiers on horse or foot, which
hir maiestie hath sent or shall send ouer hereafter in-
to these countries; & to the end to assist vs with coun-
sell, aid & aduise, according to his great experience,
policie and wisdome in the direction of publike af-
faires of the land, as well touching the feates of
warre, as other waies, in conseruation of all that
which most tendeth to the profit of the foresaid land,
to bringe backe and reduce the same into such good or-
der and rule as it hath bene in times past, to the end
that so much the better and orderlie he maie resist the
force and tyrannie of our enemies, and to frustrate
all his practises: but also besides this to honour and
enrich his foresaid excellencie with greater authori-
tie, might and commandement, aboue all his mai-
esties admirals and viceadmirals, and ships of war,
to command them all, & to emploie them to the ser-
uice of these countries, and in such order as his ex-
cellencie shall find needfull for the same countrie;
and that his excellencie following hir maiesties
commandement, desirous to shew the effect of the
good will and affection which he beareth to these af-
faires, and to the pperuation of the same, and also
of the true christian religion, and hath imploied him-
selfe so willinglie in the foresaid matters, that his
excellencie for that onlie cause hath left and aban-
doned his native countrie and goods, and transported
himselfe hitherward amongst vs: so that hir mai-
estie and his excellencie could neuer haue done or
shewed vnto vs a greater benefit than this.

Therefore are we resolved, with god and ripe de-
liberation, to certifie all men by these presents, that
we haue desired, accepted, and authorised the fore-
said mightie and honorable prince, lord Robert earle
of Leicester, &c. to be our gouernor and generall
captaine ouer all the united prouinces, and associat
cities and members of the same. And we giue vnto
his excellencie, besides the authoritie of hir maiestie
giuen vnto him, the highest and supreme comman-
dement, and absolute authoritie aboue, and in all
matters of warfare by sea and by land, to execute
& administrat the same to the resistance of the eni-
mie, euen as his excellencie shall thinke most com-
modious to the preservation of these countries: and
so further, to do all such things as appertene to
the office of a generall capteine. And furthermore,
we commit the administration & vse of policie and
iustice ouer the foresaid united prouinces, and asso-
ciat cities and members of the same into his hands,
to execute and administrat the same with such power
and authoritie, as haue had in times past all the o-
ther gouernors of these low countries before him;
and especiallie, as haue bene exercised, and law-
fully administrat in the time of Charles the first; re-
serued onlie the lawes and priuileges of the fore-
said countries: also with especiall power to collect
profits, and receiue, and administrat all the contri-
butions

Note folow-
ing the title and
of excellencie
the states giue
to the earle
their gouern-
ment, and the
honorable ser-
uice to him
pointed.

The good will
and affection
of the lord
lieutenant
performed
the promises
much and his
good prince
desire.

The states
agreed the
emptie and
authoritie
into the lord
lieutenant
hands in re-
spect of his
gouernment.

The authori-
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the lord lieuten-
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countrie.

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performance
of iustice and
diligence in-
posed to all
persons of the
low countries
(under paine
of punishment
) to the
high lieuten-
ant.

the promise of
assistance cut
at least the
carle of obe-
dience might
be hindered.

Councillors
in matters of
state elected
by the lieuten-
ant.

Lower top
persons and
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butions which are agreed and condescended, or shall hereafter be consented or agreed, to the maintenance of the warres: and also, that which is or shall be delivered hereafter into his excellencies hands: and this all according to the vertue of other letters and missives written more at large touching the same agreement. All which former charge and commission, his excellencie through our earnest desire hath accepted, and hath delivered solempne oth and assurance into our hands, first of all, for the preservation of the true christian religion, and maintenance of the privileges and rights of these lands and provinces, members, and cities of the same.

We therefore order and command all governors of provinces and cities, all admirals and vice-admirals, all officers, colonels, captains, their officers and souldiours by sea and land, and furthermore, all other councillors, officers, treasurers, receivers, bailiffs, burgomasters, marshals, magistrates, gentlemen, burgers, & other inhabitants & subjects of these lands, of what qualitie or condition soever; that they & euerie of them do acknowledge his foresaid excellencie in the qualitie of gouernement, and capteine generall ouer the foresaid united provinces, to honor, respect and obeie him, as they ought to do, without making anye difficultie in doing the same, upon paine of falling in the displeasure and anger of his excellencie, and to be punished according to the heauines of the fault, and as reason shall require. And to the end that no bodie should pretend ignorance, we command expresselie to make knowne these ordinances, to proclame and publish them, whereas men are accustomed to proclame all publications; proceeding, and commanding to proceed with rigor against all disdainors and neglectors of the same, according to the order of punishment before mentioned, without anye fauour or dissimulation to the contrarie, because we haue thought the same to be expedient for the preservation of the countrie. Given in our congregation & assemblie

in the Hage, the sixt daie of Februarie, 1586, by ordinance of the foresaid generall states.

This placard thus passed, the lord lieutenant bending his mind to his charge undertaken, did ordaine certeine speciall men, natives borne, of the counsell, to the intent that such affaires as chanced to occur, might by them be conuenientlie managed. And as he took order for matters of policie, so was he studious in preferring martiall affaires, providing by good lawes and ordinances not onelie concerning common souldiours, but captains in like sort, that a conuenient course and well becoming the excellencie of his place, might be observed in all militarie busines: for prouide whereof these lawes touching captains; as a note of the rest may serue.

First, no capteine, officer, or other person, shall receiue or intertaine anye other mans souldiour or seruant, without consent of his former capteine or master, neither shall intile anye other mans souldiour from him, upon paine of losse of a moneths wages, and to restore the partie to his former capteine or master.

Secondlie, no capteine shall send forth anye men to do anye enterprise, without knowledge of the generall or chiefe officer appointed thereunto, upon paine of losse of his place.

Thirdlie, all priuat captains being no head officers, shall watch and ward with their ensignes, wlesse it be by speciall leave, upon paine of the losse of a moneths paie, & for the second time losse his place.

Fourthlie, no capteine shall sell or ransom his prisoner without licence of the generall, and shall

not suffer them to depart without shaling the high marshall priue to the same, upon paine to lose his prisoner, and imprisonment.

Fifthlie, anye capteine finding anye souldiour, of what band or companie so euer, which hath transgressed anye of these lawes & ordinances, may take him & bring him vnto the marshall to be punished.

Sixthlie, that no capteine shall receiue or intertaine anye person into his paie under him, but that he cause the said souldiour to receiue the oth, upon paine to the capteine for not obseruing the same, of losse of a moneths paie.

Seauenthlie, no inferiour capteine shall for corruption or anye other cause, licence anye of his souldiours to depart the campe or garrison, without speciall licence of the generall or head officer, upon paine of losse of his moneths paie, and expulsion out of his office.

Eighthlie, if anye capteine hereafter receiuing his souldiours paie, do not paie the same vnto them within eight daies after, and being demanded, then upon complaint made, and the capteine there of indicted, he shall lose his moneths paie, and be deposed of his office, banished the campe, and disabled from thenceforth to serue in the armie.

Ninthlie, captains & officers shall resort to their souldiours lodgings, to see in what state their armes and munition be in, and to giue great charge that their furniture be alwaies in a readinesse, their coats with all peeces belonging to the same, and their calceurs to be made cleane & oiled, to haue match and powder drie, and strings for their bowes, their bills and holberds to be kept cleane and sharpe, upon paine and punishment arbitrarie, according to the qualitie of their negligence.

Tenthlie, that euerie capteine or officer shall cause these said statutes to be read euerie twentieth daie to them of their charge, as well housemen as footmen, & to follow the same so nere as they may.

Now when the state of the countrie was troubled for in such sort as before ye haue heard, the lord lieutenant proceeded to other actions, inasmuch that on the first of March he came from Hage to Leiden, and the third of March from Leiden to Harlem, there being honorable intertaine, according to the maner in other places before named, with sundrie representations: on the tenth daie of March he came from Harlem to Amsterdam, a towne counted inuincible, being there receiued in most sumptuous sort with diuersitie of shewes & ceremonies. The like also were exhibited vnto him coming to Utrecht, the people of which towne shewed themselves greatlie to fauour our Englishmen, for there came to the towne from the Leger three hundred or foure hundred souldiours, so sick and poore, that it was wonder to see their miserie: and the towne shewen not onelie receiued them, but also relieved them with meat drinke and cloths, giuing them for the most part new shirts and other necessaries apparell; looking so vnto them for their health, that whereas for the most part they were in great danger of death, few or none of them at that time perished.

The three and twentieth of April, the earle of Leicester being lieutenant, and gouernour generall of his maiesties forces in the low countries of the united provinces (as is aforesaid) and making his residence at that time in Utrecht (a great and goodlie towne vpon the frontiers of Holland) kept most honorable the feast of S. George therein, the proceedings whereof being so princelie performed to the honor of our nation, in the view of so many thousand strangers, I could not chuse (hauing gotten the true and faithfull description by one William Strickland)

A, B, C, D, E.

The lord lieutenant cometh from the Hage to Harlem, & how he was receiued.

Utrecht people cometh to their great kindness shewd to the Englishmen.

S. Georges feast solemnly observed at Utrecht.

note what a title and title excellencie the states giue the earle their gouernour, and the honorable service to him appointed.

the acknowledgment and performance of the same in all parts of the countries under paine of punishment to the lieutenant.

the promise of assistance cut it off the ears of obedience might be observed.

The good will and affection of the lord lieutenant to performe the premises signified and by good grace fulfilled.

The states against the presumptuous and thoutie put into the lord lieutenants hands in respect of his gouernment.

concerning the matters of the lord lieutenant.

comes for persons and things.

the authority given to the lord lieutenant, as other gouernours his predecessors had in the countries.

the

George
least solemnly
observed at
Stricht.

get *alias* Portculis an officer at armes in that ser-
vice) to make some breste remembrance of the ma-
ner thereof in this booke, to wit. The streets of
tricht being large and faire, were rankt and set with
eight ensignes of burgers richly appointed, wear-
ing scarffes knit like roses white and red upon their
armes, betwene whome from the court of my lord
vnto the cathedrall church called the Dome, the pro-
ceeding was on horsebacke. First rid the trumpet-
toys apparelled in scarlet, laid with silver lace, found-
ing their trumpets most roiallie, their bannerols be-
ing displayed and richly limmed with my lords
armes. Then followed the gentlemen, capteins, co-
ronels, and his maiesties sworne men, to the number
of a foztie horse, richly adozned in cloth of gold, sil-
uer, and silks, of all colours. After came six knights,
four barons, with the counsell of estates: the right
honourable earle of Essex accompanied the bishop
of Cullen prince elector; and the prince of Portin-
gall rid by himselfe: next proceeded the capteine of
the gard, the treasurer and controller of the household,
bearing their white stanes; after whom followed two
gentlemen vthers, and Portculis herald in a rich
cote of armes of England.

A lieutenant
mounted in the
robes of order.

Then came my lord most princelike, inuessed in
his robes of the order, garded by the principall bur-
gers of the towne, which offered themselves to that
seruice, besides his owne gard, which were a fiftie
halberds in scarlet cloaks, garded with purple and
white veluet. He being thus honourable brought
vnto the church, after due reverence done vnto the
queenes maiesties estate, which was there erected on
the right hand, he took his owne stall on the left, by
certaine degrees lower. Then began prayers, and a
sermon made by maister Inelostubs my lords chap-
leine, after which my lord proceeded to the offering;
first for his maiestie, & then for himselfe, the which he
performed with such decorum & princelike behauiour,
that all generallie spake most honorable of him.

These solemnities being done, his lordship retur-
ned as he came, leaving behind him the earle of Es-
sex and certaine gentlemen to accompanie the prin-
ces and the ladies of the court. His court was a
faire and large house, belonging in times past to the
knights of the Rhobes, in which was a verie great
hall richly hong with tapisserie; at the vpper end
whereof was a most sumptuous cloth and chaire of
estate for the queens maiestie, with hir armes and
sile thereon, and before it a table covered with all
things so requisit as if in person she had bene there;
on the left hand almost at the tables end was my
lords trencher and stole, for he would haue no chaire.
The tables being covered, & all degrees assembled,
my lord before the estate of his maiestie knighted a
Dutch gentleman, called sir Martin Skinke, for his
manifold seruices done to his countrie, the which
done, the vthers marshalled the feast. At the table
on the right side of the hall sat the young prince of
Portingall, the prince elector and his wife, the prin-
cesse Semelle, the earle of Essex, the Graue of Poris
and his ladie, & betwene euerie ladie was an Eng-
lish lord or knight placed. On the left side sat the
states and cheefe burgers of the towne, and the grand
prior of Amerford (who came to see the feast) was by
my lords appointment placed vppermost at that ta-
ble. Then began the trumpets to found in the seruice
which was (most princelike & abundant seruiced on
the knee) carued & tassed to his maiesties trencher.

Martin
Skinke
knighted, who
promised
Portculis to
show him
seuente en-
signes that he
had now in
the field.

So prosecute the sumptuousnesse, statelimesse, and
varietie of deuices in seruice at this banquet, requi-
reth a discourse of manie lines, and therefore lea-
ning it to the imagination of the reader (hauing re-
lation to the former) we will heere surcease; remem-
bring thus much to the honour of the lord lieute-

nant, that sundrie militarie exploits or stratagems
were with no lesse magnanimitie attempted, than
with felicitie atchieved against the enimie, during
the time of his abode in those countries, which it
were better vtterlie to omit, than not with conueni-
ent dignitie to record: being herein semblable as-
cribed to his honour, as sometimes was the poet
Horace to Agrippa, *Qui sibi non conuenire tam sublimis
argumentum asseruabat; proinde Varium poetam rectius
scripturum eius praelara facinora dicebat, qui ad Homerici
felicis statem proximè accedere videbatur.* And now to
leau him in the hands of God, vpon whome depen-
deth his honours hope, we will here leau the ne-
therlands, and approach to matters of England.

On the one and twentieth date of this Iannarie, Seminarie
two seminarie preests (before arreigned and con-
demned) were hanged to the Tburne, and there
hanged, botwelled, and quartered. Also on the same
date, a wench was burnt in Smithfield for posses-
sion of hir aunt and mistresse, and also attempting
to haue done the like wicked offense to hir uncle.

On the second date of February, or the feast of the
purification of our blessed ladie, doctor John White,
giff archbishop of Canturburie, William lord Cob-
ham lord warden of the five ports, and Thomas lord
Buckhurst, were chosen and taken to be of his ma-
iesties priue counsell: the two first, to wit, the
archbishop and the lord Cobham were sworne the
same date, and the third on the next morrow. And
here, as in other places of these chronicles, where we
haue set downe certaine collections of right worthy
personages in high calling and verie honourable
office, we are lead by some reason to deliuer a cata-
log of the names (at least) of such archbishops as
haue successiuelie possessed the metropolitan see of
Canturburie, therein impling their antiquitie and
authoritie, &c: and from thence proceed to saie some-
what of the lord Cobhams and lord wardens of the
cinque ports, as a matter of some consequence, by
means of the mutuall aduancement at one instant
which his highnesse of speciall grace vouchsafed them
both. And to begin with Canturburie, being first na-
med, you shall vnderstand that Augustine the monke
(according to the receiued opinion of Chronogra-
phers) was the first archbishop which occupied that
metropolitan see, next whome succeeded one Lauren-
tius, then Melitus, Iustus, Honorius, Deusdedit, The-
odorus, Brightwaldus, Tatwinus, Nothelmus, Cut-
bertus, Beguinus, Lambertus, Athelardus, Wilfre-
dus, Theologildus, Athelredus, Plegmundus, Athel-
mus, Wolfelmus, Odo Seuerus, Dunstanus, Ethelga-
rus, Siricius, Aluricius, Elphegus, Liuingus, Agelno-
thus, Edinus; and so forward with the residue before
and after the conquest, which being multiplied by
nities, do make vp the complet number of thre
score and twelue.

Where by the waie we might touch the varietie
of their names (sith autho:rs therein do dissent) as al-
so the time wherein they liued and flourished, with
some commemoration of their aces and deeds, both
in church and commonwealth. But this kind of dis-
course being ecclesiasticall, is vnproper for this se-
cular historie: therefore labouring no further there-
in, we will remit the reader to such autho:rs as
professe haue ample treated of that argument: mind-
ing now by waie of note in a few lines to touch the
thre late p:imats, as they haue succeeded ech other
since the co:zonation and regiment of his maiestie:
the first of whom was Martin Parker, whose pre-
decessor Reg. Pole dieng, he was aduanced, and
intoied the same aduancement certaine yeares,
(hauing ben the seuenth archbishop of that see) du-
ring which time he did much good diuerse waies,
deseruing well not onlie of the church, but also

Seminarie
preests
t: d at
burne.
A wench
burnt in
Smithfield

Archbishop
Canturburie
lord Cobham
lord Buckhurst, of the
priue coun-
cell.

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The name
of archbishop
of Canturburie
from the
first to the

The note of
Reginald Scot
equiter con-
cerning Dou-
uer haven.

Considerati-
ons whyle the
building of
Douer haven
is here recog-
nized.
Douer the
newest place
of England to
France.
Douer the
most conueni-
ent place of
England for a
hauen.

Reasons whyle
a harbor at
Douer should
be so benefi-
ciall.

A true com-
memoration of
queene Eliza-
beth.

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of the commonwealth. Not having spoken elsewhere of this man, we will here state our course; concluding this collection of archbishops in their successions, with the two renowned divines and doctors, the one Edmund Grindall late deceased; the other John Whitgift now living; of whom no more but silence, for vertue doth sufficiently commend her selfe. Now order would, that we should descend into a discourse of the lord Cobham & lord wardens of the cinque ports, commenced before page 1435, a 10: but herein the reader is patientlie to put up the disappointment of his expectation, upon supposall of some reasonable impediment while the same was not satisfied. And now to the course of our historie orderlie to be continued.

The note of
significat. Seco-
ndary comm-
ending Dou-
er haven.

In this yeare 1586, certaine of the lords of hir maiesties most honorable privie counsell made an appointment to have met at Dover, to surmount a notable piece of worke there lately performed about the haven, to the benefit of the whole land. Howbeit the said lords, by means of other accidents of importance, staid at the court, and went not that journey. Nevertheless the lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, one of hir maiesties privie counsell, repairing thither (accompanied with divers brights and gentlemen of great worship) did take the view both of the worke finished, and also conferred about the businesse then in hand. Now for so much as that which is already done, is a perfect and an absolute worke, to the perpetuall maintenance of a haven in that place, being such a monument as is hardlie to be found written in any record, it might seeme absurd that no mention thereof should be made in this chronicle: and that the cost and businesse thereabouts imployed hath not bene unnecessary, may appeare by the reasons ensuing.

Considerations
why the
building of
Dover haven
is here recom-
mended.
Dover the
nearest place of
England to
France.
Dover the
most commo-
dious place of
England for a
haven.

First, Dover hath bene ever reputed the key and locke (as Marcellus Parisienus reporteth, or as rather he should have said) the vertue doze and entrance into the realme of England, either for friend or foe, and also the ready passage unto all nations, but especiallie into France, from whence it is not distant about thirtie English miles, and is commonlie passed in five or six hours at the most, and in a prosperous wind within halfe the time. Secondlie, it standeth in the most convenient place of all this land to offend the enemy, and to defend either domesticall or foreign friend. Thirdlie, a meane harbor would be there (in the opinion of all skillfull mariners) more beneficiall & commodious for the navigation of England, than an excellent haven placed any where else about the coast thereof. Fourthlie, all our passengers through the narrow seas being distressed by violence of weather, or by inconvenience of piracie, or else by force of the common enemy in the time of warre, might there have present succor and refuge, and both speedie and easie passage thercinto, or otherwise be best relieved. Fifthlie, of late yeares, the considerations aforesaid have moved some noble princes of this land, to bestow infinit treasure to gaine a harbor or haven in that place, to their great honor, fame, and commendation, to the wonderful contentment of all their subjects, and for the good and benefit of all the neighbors adjoining, and strangers passing these narrow seas. Finally, it hath pleased our most noble queene Elizabeth to undertake it, who in all good actions and necessarie works, for the benefit of the realme, & commonwealth of England, hath bene so liberall, careful, and provident, as thereby hir glorie and renowne is spread over all the face of the earth, and reacheth unto heaven, where the king of kings sitteth, and heareth the praises and prayers, not onelie of hir owne people, but of all christians living in hir behalfe, for whose good (if I seeme) she was brought forth and preserved in this world.

And now (I saie) for so much as hir highnesse hath

at this present time taken order for the building of a new haven in this place, and boundlesse employed great summes of monie upon the same (being begun with more probability, judgement, and circumspection, and accompanied with better successe than ever any of hir highnesse predecessors have heretofore had in this case; wherein the most difficult and dangerous worke is already accomplished, so as there is now and ever hereafter will be a vertue good haven, except extreme negligence be used in maintaining the same) I thought it a most necessarie matter to be here recorded, to hir maiesties perpetuall fame, and partly also to give light and encouragement to hir successors in the crowne of England, to attempt and undertake, and the better to execute and accomplish the like famous enterprise. For actions of far lesse importance are made memorable by historiographers, as in everie chronicle may appeare.

In this discourse I thought meet to passe over the antiquitie of the towne and port of Dover, with the liberties thereof; which together with the ruines and misfortunes of fire are to be found extant in the perambulation of Kent, written by William Lambard esquier. Of Dover castell somewhat might here be said, but for so much as maister Lambard hath so largely discoursed thereof in his booke, which is like to remaine of continuance, I will make bold with the reader to referre him therunto; and onelie give this note (to wit) that whereas he justlie complaineth of the miserable ruines thereof; it hath pleased hir maiestie (in respect of the necessarie maintenance of the same) to bestow more charge of late in repairing and rebuilding of it, than hath bene spent thereabouts (as it seemeth) since the first building thereof, whether the same were done by Julius Cesar the Romane emperor, or by Arminius then king of the Britains (king Edward the fourth onelie excepted) who (as John Rolfe reporteth) did thoughtlie repaire it, bestowing thereon 10000 pounds, inasmuch as it is now reduced to be a piece of great force and importance, and vertue beautifull to behold. Wherein the honorable disposition of the lord Burghley lord high treasurer of Englnd is to be commended, who was a principall furtherer thereof, and whose forwardnesse in all militarie affaires is had in admiration among all the best souldiours of England, although he himselfe an aged and a most grave counsellor. And in these commendations if I should omit the praises of the honorable lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, and constable of the castell of Dover, &c: I should do him great wrong. For by his providence and mediation, together with the diligent travail and industrie of Richard Barrie esquier, lieutenant of the said castell, that worke is accomplished, to the comfort and benefit of the whole realme. Within the walls whereof is now also raised such a mount at the north side thereof, as thereby the castell is double so strong as before. But omitting all other occasions and matters concerning Dover, I will now passe to my purpose.

But yet, before I enter into these last books, I must give you to understand, that the vertue situation of the place ministreth encouragement to the executors, and yeldeth great favor and occasion to the attempt. For Dover cliffes stand to the sea north and east, the towne being placed at the foot of the northerne cliffes, the castle on the top of the easterne cliffes, called the Castell Kite: so as there is a naturall baie, through the which from by north issueth a proper river entring into the same baie: & thence runneth through the haven into the sea. In times past, untill of late yeares, that onelie baie hath served them for a rode, and at many times in some sort hath stood the nante (but especiallie the slier botes) in good sted. For in a great northerlie and westerlie wind, the ships were

The port of
Dover well
maintained
between there
and court.

In peramb.
Cant. bk.
Dover.

Dover castell
rebuilded by
queene Elizabeth.

Edward the
fourth bestowed
et ten thousand
pounds
upon reparations
of Dover castell.

The situation
of Dover harbor.

A naturall
rode for ships
at Dover.

Reasons why
a harbor at
Dover should
be so benefi-
ciall.

A true com-
mendation of
queene Elizabeth.

The haven of
Die decayed,
whereby more
need of a har-
bour at Dover.
Ships lost
for lacke of
sufficient har-
bour at Dover.

The first be-
nefit bestowed
on Dover har-
bour.

A little para-
dise.

In the reigne
of Edward
the Confessor.

Sir John
Thomson
present his sup-
plication.

driven from the Downs and the foreland to repaire
thither, where they might lie safelie untill the wind
blew great from by east or south, & then were they dri-
ven to depart thence unto the Camber at Rie (which
then was a notable good rode, though now utterlie de-
caied) or into the Rie of Wight. For in a sudden flaw
or storme of wind at southeast, there have bene seuen
or eight ships broken all to peeces in one daie upon the
said cliftes. To releue and amend the same harbo-
rough, and somewhat to mitigate the foresaid incon-
venience, there was a round tower builded by one
John Clarke, prest, master of the maison de Dieu,
about the yeare one thousand five hundred, at the south
west part of the said baie, which served somewhat to
defend the ships from the rage of the south west wind,
but especiallie to moze the ships which were tied there-
unto. For manie great ringes were fastened to the
same tower for that purpose, as it maie yet be sene,
sith it standeth there at this houre. And hereby that
part of the baie was made so pleasant, as ever after
that corner hath bene named, and is at this daie cal-
led A little paradise. Neuerthelesse this was thought
verie insufficient in respect of the place, for the safe-
gards of such a multitude of ships as usuallie late for
harbour in that rode. For besides all strange botes,
which commonlie repaire thither, it appeareth in the
booke of Downes date, that Dover armed ycarelie at
his proper charges twentie vessels to the sea by the
space of fiftene daies, with one and twentie able men
in each ship.

Now about the yeare of Christ one thousand five
hundred fiftie and two, one Sir John Thomson clarkie,
parson of the parish of saint James in Dover, being
a man ingenious, and seeing the conueniencie and
possibilitie of a good haven to be made in that place,
consulted with the chiefe and best mariners of the
towne. Among whom it was agreed, that humble
suite should be made to the kings maiestie by the state
of the towne, for his gracious favour and aid toward
the making of a good haven there. And it was also
by them all thought meet, that the said Sir John Thom-
son should exhibit their petition to his highnesse: wher-
unto he agreed, and drew a plot, and prepared a sup-
plication in the name and behalfe of the towne, con-
taining the necessarie causes and reasons, desires and
instructions, for the erection and building thereof.
But he told them he was poore, and therefore unable
of his owne proper charges to follow the suite. In
which respect they collected among themselves, and
delivered unto him foure pounds ten shillings, which
he accepted, and forthwith repaired to the court; where
he so demeaned himselfe, as he had present access to
the king, who heard his suite with great fauor, and
debated with him about the contents of his plot, and
liked so well of his informations that he willed him
to repaire home, and without delay to returne to his
presence, accompanied with some of the best mari-
ners or seamen of the towne, and so with commen-
dations dismissed him for that time.

When the masters of the towne understood his gra-
ces pleasure, they immediatlie assembled themselves,
and made choise of Edward Paie, Robert Justice,
Richard Colochie, and John Steward, as the fittest
and skillfullest persons to use conference, and to be
employed in that cause, being all mariners of good ex-
perience. These foure and the said Sir John Thomson
without further staie resorted to the court, with whom
when the king had communed, he conceived of the ne-
cessitie of a haven to be there had, and of the probabi-
litie and likelihood of good successe in the enterprise to
be performed according to their suggestion. And be-
cause his maiestie understood the poore estate of the
towne, he granted his gracious aid for the supplie of
their want of monie, deliuering at that time out of

his owne cofers unto them the summe of five hundred
pounds, wherewith he willed them to make a begin-
ning of the worke. At which time he bestowed on the
said Sir John Thomson the mastership of the maison
de Dieu of Dover, which was a hospitall, valued at
one hundred and twentie pounds by the yeare: the
custome and dutie of the which house was (as the an-
cient townsmen informe me) to intertaine and re-
leue souldiours, and others which came from beyond
the seas, hurt or distressed, who were allowed some
reliefe there, by the space of certeine daies gratis;
which though I find not direclie set downe in record,
yet do I know assuredlie the same to have bene put
in execution, wherewith the verie name of the house
is agreeable, and as it were a credible witness. The
king at that time also appointed the said Sir John to be
principall surueilor of the worke, and under him the
other foure to be ouersers of the same.

Now am I to giue you to understand, that the drift
and deuise of the said Sir John Thomson was to erect
a huge wall (which he termed by the name of a pierre)
from Arcliffe chapell, being the south west part of the
baie direclie towards the east into the maine sea, a-
bout 131 rods in length: so as by that meanes the har-
bourough was to be garded from the rage of all wea-
ther, coming from the north, north east, north west,
and south west, and so the entrance onelie at east south
east, wherinto when the ships were once brought,
they might there lie safe in all weather, at the one
side or the other. But the pierre was not finished by
350 foot so far as the foundation thereof (which he cal-
led the spolehead) was laid, which foundation consi-
sted of great rocks, brought from a place nere hand,
called Hakeliffe, or the castell Raie and Folkestone.
This pierre was begun on S. Annes daie 1533, and
it was compiled of two rowes of maine posts, & great
piles of five or six & twentie foot long, set at each side
close together, which were let downe and put in cer-
teine holes helved in the great rocks, laid for that
purpose: but some of those piles were shod with iron,
and dzinen into the maine rocke of chalk, with a
great engine called a ram. These posts and piles were
combined and held together with iron boltes, and were
filled with mightie stones of chalks as also with beach,
and other earth: but the bottome consisted altogether
of great rocks of stone, which if they had not bene
brought thither by a speciall deuise, must needs have
bene extream chargeable: for manie of them were
of twentie tun a pece, and few under.

The practise of this charge is now common, but it
was before that time rare & unknowne in England,
and inuented there by a poore simple man named John
Poung, who first with a nutshell, after with an egghell,
& lastlie with a small vessell, made proue what weight
those things could raise & beare in the water; and ha-
ving by that experiment made triall, or at least a pro-
bable coniecture, that stones of great weight might
be raised and carried in the water by greater vessels,
he discovered his experience to such as were officers
in the worke; who presentlie put in practise & execution
the same deuise, & making provision of great & strong
barrels and pipes of wood, carried them to Folkestone,
and at low water fastened therto with chaines such
huge stones as late on the shore, nere the low water
marke (where the quarrie or mine of those rocks is) so
as when the flood or full sea came, the said vessels with
the stones thereto fastened rose up & swam. And if the
stone were of such quantitie as two or three emptie
casks could not lift it by, then did they ad a barrel or
two more, which would not faile to do it: then did they
drag with small botes the casks & stones thereunto ti-
ed, to the place where they were disposed to sinke them,
& so the worke wherewith consisted the greatest difficultie
in appearance, was with most ease and least charge ac-
complished.

Five hundred
pounds given
by Henrie the
eight towards
a beginning of
Dover worke
The maison
de Dieu of
Dover.

Surueilors &
ouersers.

Sir John
Thomson
deuise disco-
uered.

The spole-
head.

Dover pierre
when it was
taken in hand,
and wherof
it consisted.

A notable de-
uise to carrie
great rocks
by water.

An.
four pen
nail.

3 Saboth.

The charg
the pierre.

The kings
care for Do-
ver pierre.
The kings
repaire to
Dover.

The cause o
the decaye of
the pierre.

Officers &
about the
pierre.
The ruine of
Dover pierre

A stone called
beach or bow
dr choked by
Dover haue

Two caskes
at the decaye of
Dover pierre.

four pence a complished. And for this cause the said John Poyng had a pence stipend given unto him by the king during his life. With these stones, as also by this means was the greatest worke done, and with great cost and labor these piles were filled up. The chaulke and filling thereof being brought from the north pierre, was conveyed thither in a great bote called a Gaboth, which had nine keeles. There stands yet of the timber worke of the old pierre foure score fot in length, and lynes upon that part of the pierre, where stood a fort named the Blache bulworke.

Now that which was done on that side, with the helpe of nature at the other two sides made an excellent roade of harborough for the time it continued, and had maintenance. The king for his part spared no charge, for he spent hereabouts (as I am credible informed) fiftie thousand pounds, nor yet did he spare any trauell which might further the worke. For in person he purposed repaired thither diuerse and sundrie times, being distant from the court fiftie miles at the least: yea his highnes had such care that it should be well performed, that no expert man in water works, either on this side, or beyond the seas, but (if it might be) he was brought thither, or at the least conferred withall. And during the time of all the worke, the kings causers seemed to stand wide open. But alas, the kings care and charge, and the continuall trouble and trauell of officers was such about the worke present, that the provision for the future maintenance thereof was utterly neglected. For the kings absence at his being at Wallen, his sicknesse at his returne, and finally his death meeting with the nonage of his son king Edward the first, made an end of all this worke: which being once in the state of decaye, there was no reparations nor further proceeding therein, till the time of queene Marie; in the beginning of whose reigns (by the space of two yeares) there was some rumbling thereabout. But the workmen and officers were not well paid; and after bad payment, no payment, and so all was given ouer. Sir Anthoine Auder was treasurer in these works, and manie other inferior officers also there were, but especiallie of clerks.

But now I am to declare unto you the lamentable ruine and decaye of this worke, before the end and finishing thereof there was brought along the coast, from by southwell, a marvellous quantitie of beach and bowlder stone, whereof there had bene neuer anye sene before in those parts of that coast, and a great quantitie thereof rested upon the backe of the pierre, especiallie before the Blache bulworke, which (so long as it might lie there without further annoyance) was (in appearance) a singular helpe for the strength and preservation of the said worke, but it fell out otherwise. For besides that, that an easterlie great wind would remoue and driue it from that coast, and consequently from the pierre, which then would lie naked as before, untill the south and westerne wind turned it backe againe; the pierre through negligence decayed especiallie at the Blache bulworke (where the greatest abundance of beach usually rested) it passed through the decayed places thereof in such measure, as in short time thereby grew a shelve of beach from that point of the pierre to the east part of the baie, butting to the Castell Kate; so as no entrance therein for anye ship remained. And the more that the furthest point of the pierre decayed and inward shroter, the nearer was the shelve brought unto the shore: insomuch as if the residue of the pierre had not bene preserved, that shelve would soon have bene brought to the verie towne, and so have choked up the baie, and bereft all possibilitie of ever hauing a harbor in that place.

The decaye of the pierre grew now more and more, partlie (as is said) through want of prouidence and cost to be imploied thereupon, and sufficient provision

to mainteine the same: but especiallie through the disorder of the power sort of the towne, who daile purloined timber, iron, and all that was anye thing worth which they could pull or catch from the decayed places of the pierre. And now (by means of this shelve) the haven was more than euer it was, insomuch as oftentimes a bote that dyed but foure fot of water could not enter into the mouth thereof, and sometime none at all: for the baie was altogether shut up, so as the harborough was become a pent, out of the which nothing could passe out or in, saving the water that shod through the beach. But the river, which issueth out of the towne at a water gate standing at the north east end of the said pent, in continuance of time would make an issue through some part of the same beach into the sea, sometime at one end, sometime at another, sometime verie shallow, and neuer verie deepe; which issue was alwaies their hauens mouth, untill a contrarie wind did stop it up againe, and then they had no entrance at all, untill the river had made a new fret, or that they had digged a chanel through the beach, which manie times they were bounden to do.

The losse of this haven, and the losse of Calis, which happened about one time, made such an alteration, or rather desolation in and of the towne, as was lamentable and wonderfull to behold. For of a baye, rich, and populous towne, it presentlie became a poore and desolate village, retaining onelie the name and liberties of the famous port of Dover. Neuertheless, the necessitie and expedience of a good haven in that place did still remaine, a convenient incane also was left for the accomplishment thereof, as it seemed to diuerse which were wise and of good experience: insomuch as that verie matter, which was supposed to be the destruction of the late harborough, should now become a principall helpe and furtherance to a new haven of greater importance, and better securitie than euer it was before. For (as you have heard) Dover cliffes naturalie defend this baie from all tempests coming from the north east and north west; the pierre yet remaining gardeth it from the west and south west winds; & the shelve of beach crossing from the end thereof to the Castell Kate, had made such a close pent, as if anye ships could be conveyed therein, they might there rest in great safetie.

The towne within this close baie containeth almost fiftie acres, and the river (as I have said) runneth quite through the same immediatlie into the maine sea at south: so as the said pent being surrounded at euery high water, and lying almost bare at euery ebbe, the ouze or sarch grew to be sonnetene or fiftene fot deepe, the bottome thereof being a maine rocke of chaulke: insomuch as a great multitude of ships might be placed there in good securitie, if the entrance could be made good. These things considered by men of good capacitie and experience, sundrie deuises and conceits were exhibited therabouts, whereof some seemed verie probable; and were the rather heard and commended, for that the worke was so necessarie and beneficiall to the commonwealth. And in that respect, it pleased the queenes maiestie to grant to the towne of Dover, towards the repairing of their haven, the free transportation of thirtie thousand quarters of wheat, ten thousand quarters of barley and malt, and foure thousand tun of beere, without paying either custome or impost: which was a gift of no small importance.

For (besides great sommes of monie already leuied and imploied upon the beginning of these works) the licence or patent was sold to a couple of merchants of London named John Bird, and Thomas Wats, after the rate of three shillings and foure pence for euery quarter of wheat, and two shillings and eight pence

Sometime no harborough at all at Dover.

How Dover was made desolat.

That beach which destroyed the pierre helpeth now the haven.

A boundfull gift of queene Elisabeth towards the repairing of Dover haven.

The patent of the queenes gift sold unto two merchants.

The charge of the pierre.

The kings care for the pierre.
The kings regard to Dover.

The cause of the decaye of the pierre.

Officers about the pierre.
The ruine of Dover pierre.

Stone called beach or bowlder choied by Dover haven.

Two castles of the decaye of Dover pierre.

The act of
parlement for
Douer haven
23. Elisabeth.

Three pence
the tun of
euerie vessel
allowed to
wards Douer
hauen.
The tunnage
amounted to
1000 pounds
pearelie.
The tenure of
the queens
commission for
Douer hauen.

John True
suruey general
of Douer
hauen.

The deuise of
John True.

pence for euerie quarter of barlie and malt; and the licence of bare being sold to diuerse others amounted to foure thousand marks at the least. Besides all this, it was enacted in the parlement holden the thye and thientith yeare of the reigne of hir maiestie, for and in the considerations aforesaid, and for that there was a probable plot contriued by skillfull men, to be performed for a conuenient sum of monie, that for euerie ship, vessel, or crafter, whereof anie of hir maiesties subiects were owners, or part-ownes, being of the burthen of twentie tuns or upwards, lading or discharging within this realme, or passing to or from anie forren countrie, during the space of seven yerres then next ensuing, from forthie daies after the end of the same session of parlement, there should be paid for euerie such bolage by the master or owner of all such vessels, &c: the summe of thre pence for euerie tun of the burthen of such ship, &c.

Whereby there grew great summes of monie to be pearelie leuied toward these woorks, amounting to one thousand pounds pearelie at the least, and yet the time not expired by two yeares. After this, hir maiestie being carefull that the hauen should with expedition be taken in hand, directed hir letters patents, dated the nine and thientith daie of March, in the foure and thientith yeare of hir reigne, to the lord Cobham lord warden of hir cinque ports, &c: sir Thomas Scot, sir James Hales knights, Thomas Wotton, Edward Bois, the maior of the towne of Douer present and to come, Richard Barrie lieutenant of the castell of Douer, Henrie Palmer, Thomas Digs, Thomas Willford, and William Partridge esquires, all which were of the shire, and men of great wisdom and iudgement, and no small travellers in matters concerning the common wealth: some of them marvellous expert in affaires and matters of the seas, some in fortifications, some hauing travelled beyond the seas for experience and conference that waie, and to see the order of forren seatwoorks and hauens, and none without singular vertues. In which respect they were commissioned and authorized by those presents, to do, and cause to be done from time to time, all things needfull and requisite to be imploied about the repairing and mending of the said hauen, and as might tend to the furtherance of the said seruice: and to chose officers, and assigne their stipends, and the severall fees of all ministers, attendants and clerks needfull for the substantiall, necessarie, spacie, and cheape doing thereof, and therein to set downe particular orders and directions, as might be for the furtherance and accomplishing of the said woorks most expedient.

Now for the perfozmance hereof, manie plots by sundrie persons were deuised, and first of all one John True was commended, or at the least commended him selfe to the lords of hir maiesties priuite counsell, to whome he made great shew to be an expert enginor, and by their lordships he was sent to Douer, and presented to be generall suruey of the woorks, as one in whome they reposed great hope of furthering and finishing the said hauen; whereof he made no doubt, but resolute promised the spacie execution and accomplishing thereof. His deuise and determination was, to make within the said baie nere to the selfe of beach, a long wall from the water gate (out of which the riuer issueth into the harborough) to the blacke bulwooke, in length two hundred rods. This wall was to be made of excellent stone at Folkestone, the which he framed after a strange and contrarie kind of workmanship. And there was for this purpose already perfectlie heved of the same stone seven thousand foot, and six thousand foot more was scapled: he bestowed and spent thereabouts one thousand two hundred fourescore

and eight pounds, as appeareth in the accounts of the treasurers for that time being; and yet there was not one stone of his said long wall laid, nor that he therto hath come to anie profitable use. But this wall if it had bene, or rather could haue bene finished, it would haue cost a hundred thousand pounds, and yet would neuer haue serued the turne. For a stone wall is so contrarie to the nature of that sandie foundation, as it can make no good coniunction nor perfect pent.

For the furtherance of his deuise he would haue plucked downe a great part of the old pierre, whereof there was then too little remaining: he detracted the time, for he had ten shillings a daie allotted unto him for his fee, which perhaps he was loth to forgo. He either could or would not render anie reason to the commissioners of his doings and small purpose, but alwaies said he would make them a good hauen, neither would he set downe anie time certaine for the accomplishing thereof. All these matters, with his negligence, delaies, & untowardlinesse of his woorks, being aduertised to the lords of hir maiesties counsell, he was dismissed.

After whom, one Ferdinando Poins, who had bene conuerfant and acquainted with water woorks in the low countries, and had dealt much about Wolwich and Crith breaches, offered his seruice for the accomplishing of these woorks; affirming; that it was an easie matter to bring the same to passe, in such sort as there should some be a good harborough; refusing not to haue taken the woorks to do by great, either by a plot of his owne deuising, or else by the plot agreed on by the commissioners, and allowed by the lords of the counsell. But this Ferdinando Poins, although he seemed a verie good executioner either of his owne, or another mans deuise concerning such affaires: yet was he verie loth to discouer his order and maner of working, or anie other deuise of his owne, least (as he said) he might be prevented by some other that would undertake to do it by his deuises, better cheape than him selfe could afford it, and so he to lose, and other to gaine the benefit of his inuention. Howbeit, in the end he was content to be imploied anie waie, so as therewithall he might haue monie before hand: for Wolwich woorks did so sticke in his fingers, as moneie was verie palpable and plausible unto him.

In fine, he undertooke to make certaine groins or knocks, which at the hauens mouth should cause such a depth, as thereby the whole harborough should lie drie at a low water, whereby the woorks about the walls might the better and more conuenientlie be performed, and the present entrie amended. For it was concluded, that there should be made a perfect pent within the baie, containing in quantitie about sixtene acres, which should be inclosed with a long wall, reaching from about the water gate nere to the Castell Raie, extending in length about a hundred and twentie rods alongst within the selfe of beach, directlie towards the end of the pierre, where the blacke bulwooke was placed; and at the end of the said long wall, a crosse wall of length about forty rods, reaching from that wall directlie crosse to the thoze at the northerne cliffe, not far from the townes end. And this should make a perfect pent to containe and reteine the water of the riuer, which (when the sluie standing in the crosse wall should be opened) might be of force to make and mainteine a depth for an entrance or hauens mouth for shipping to come into the rode, which lieth betwixt the maine sea and the pent.

In this woorks there appeared great difficultie, and so much the more, in that (for the most part) the place where the wall should stand, was continually surounded

Stone heved
at Folkestone,
amounting to
1288 pounds.
Infinite
charge to accomplish the
stone wall.

John True
had ten shillings a day
for his fee.

John True
is dismissed.

Ferdinando
Poins.

Poins his
groins.

The pent is
acres.

The length of
the long wall.

The crosse
wall.

The rode for
ships.

One thousand
pounds to
Ferdinando
Poins.

Customer
Smith.

Excellence of
deuises.

rounded, and also the sea did euerie tide ouerflow the same, and besides that annoyance, the crosse wall also must crosse the river, the course whereof could not be diuerted anie other waie but with extreme charge. The speciall cause whie this harborough was continually surrounded, euen at the low water, was for want of a depth at the hauens mouth, which might at an ebbe conueie thence into the sea (more speedilie and abundantlie) all those waters which remained vpon the face of the haven. So the execution hereof (I saie) the said Ferdinando Poins was appointed, and towards his charge therabouts there was first deliuered vnto him one thousand pounds, by force of a warrant sent by the commissioners for Dover haven, to Thomas Smith of Stanhanger esquire, farmer of hir maiesties customs inwards in the ports of London, Sandwich, Chichester, Southhampton, and Ipswich, with their cranes and members, and the creeke of Wadbridge, being a member of the port of Portsmouth, who is neuertheless called by the name of Customier Smith, because in times past his office was by letters patents to collect the said custome, and to yeld account thereof, as other customers vsualie do, hauing for his fee one hundred and thre score pounds yearelie. Now for that he was so trustie and sufficient a person euerie waie, there was committed vnto his charge the receipt of all such summes of monie as were due, either for the aforesaid tunnage, or for the licence of free transportation of corne and beere, the which summes as need required, were by him to be deliuered to the tresorer for Dover harborough vpon the counsels direction, and a warrant of sir of the said commissioners hands.

There might be much written in the renoume and commendation of this man, for his great affaires and aduentures, as also for other singular vertues: but for that he yet liueth, and is generallie knowne, it maie with modestie be deferred: yet thus much I haue said of him, for that he was a speciall fauorier and furtherer of these works, neuer making delaie of anie payment appointed or required, but rather disbursing great summes of monie out of his owne cofers to set forwarde the same. After the receipt of this thousand pounds, the said F. Poins had 200 more, as it appeareth in those accounts. Trulie, this Ferdinando Poins applied the works industriously, and perfoymed some thing profitable for the draining of the harborough, by making two groins, whereby there was a depth made at the hauens mouth. But as it is thought, his worke either was or might haue bene perfoymed with lesse than halfe that monie: which if he had done, I would moze willinglie haue published his praises. By the premises it maie appeare, that the life of the haven consisteth in the pent, and consequentlie in the long wall and crosse wall, without the which no pent could be made, so as walls must be erected. But now the question grew to be how and whereof they should be framed which were to be brought in the sea, vpon the sand or beach, through a river, &c: and the same wall to withstand the violence and rage of the sea at the one side, and to hold and reteine a mightie weight of fresh at the other, so as no water might loke through or vnder the same.

Maister True (as you haue heard) would haue made stone walls verie costlie, and without limitation of time. Maister Ferdinando Poins would haue raised them with ooze and beach shoueled and cast together without anie moze adoe. An other would haue made a coffin dam, whereof the cost would haue bene infinite. Pet and Baker, being skilfull shipwrights, with certeine other coparteners, thought a wooden wall most conuenient; and presented to the

commissioners a module thereof, denised and framed (for the most part) by one Andrew a carpenter, then seruant to the said Pet: which deuise maister William Barroughs, a verie expert seaman, exceedingly liked and commended. Maister True his deuise was reiected as impossible and intolerable. Maister Poins his workmanship was easie for a plaine man of the countrie to conceiue and perfoyme: but verie few could be perswaded that his wall would be tight inough to make a pent, consisting onlie of slab and beach shoueled together, and lieng so honer: for that was his deuise.ouertheless, sir William Winter (a man verie skilfull and of great experience in sea matters, being sent to Dover by the lords of hir maiesties priuie counsell, with maister William Barroughs and others, to surueie and confer about that haven with the said commissioners) vnderstanding Ferdinando Poins had delt in the building of Wollwich: Crith marshes, being also willing to do him good, gaue fauourable eare vnto him, as to one that propounded an easie and a cheape platfoyme, and not much vnprobable in his opinion, whose desire was to haue it well perfoymed, and with as small charge as might be, for that he was the greatest preferer of that bill in the parlement house, and yelbed the best reasons for a haven to be there placed.

At this assemblie were proposed other sundrie mens deuises; namely, of one Thomas Brooker gentleman, John Stoneham carpenter, Bedwell, &c: and among the rest sir Thomas Scot, being a man carefull for the affaires of his countrie, and therewithall verie perspicuous, being wearied with manie fruitlesse conferences, delaies, strange and vntoward deuises, chargeable and baine attempts, and contrarie proceedings; and among other things, hauing had great experience in Romneie marsh matters (the greatest businesse whereof consisteth in making and repairing of walls to defend the same marsh from the inuasion and inundation of the sea) and daily seeing the nature and effects thereof, weighing also in his mind, that Romneie marsh walls are of greater bulke and force than these need to be, for that they lie moze open to the maine sea, and without comparison moze subiect to the weight and violent rage thereof; and further knowing that the marsh walls are placed not farre from thence vpon that coast, vpon a foundation in all respects like vnto the same, if not tooke (for sometimes they build vpon a verie quicke sand, where one maie thrust downe a pole of a dozen or twentie fot, and not find or feele the bottome) and after he had compared these works together, perceiving no impediment whie one rule should not direct two workes of one kind, he conferred with his neighbours of Romneie marsh therein, who allowed and confirmed his deuise, and afterwarde redilie attended on him to Dover, there to approue his opinion with their reasons and experience; and not so onelie, but also to undertake and perfoyme what soeuer he had set downe or promised in that behalfe. The rest due of the commissioners (hearing and conceiuing sir Thomas Scots reasons, joined and confirmed with experience not far fetched, but ratified by nere neighbours, being persons of god account, which were expert from their childhood in the practise of those kind of workes) inclined greatlie vnto his motion; and the rather, for that they knew him to be such a one as would not seeke for priuat gaines. Howbeit, they which exhibited the wooden worke, could not well conceiue hereof, nor easilie consent herevnto. And no waie was thought by them moze fit to preferre their owne worke, than to make some offer to do it by great, which the lords of the coun-

Sir W. Winter sent to Dover to surueie the harbor, &c.

Sir Thomas Scot.

The walls of Romneie marsh subiect to the raging seas.

In the commissioners sone with sir Thomas Scot, and allow his deuise.

One thousand pounds to Ferdinando Poins.

Customier Smith.

Excessive of deuises.

Seven innumerable reasons
against the
woodden wall.

cell greatlie desired, as whereby they might understand the uttermost charge and time required for the accomplishing thereof. But the price of the woodden wall grew to be so large (for five thousand and five hundred pounds was the lowest rate of their demand for the long wall onelie) that it was much disliked. For first there was no likelihood or possibility that the same should be set fast and immovable wher the sub of steele is fittene for depe at the least, and the maine rocke immediatlie underneath it. Secondlie, if the same could be erected, yet it must in short time be so shaken by reason of the weight of the pent water on the one side at low water, and by the violence of the sea on the other side at the flood, that though the unstedfastnes thereof, it could not continue tight. Thirdlie, the nature of the sand and sub was thought to be so different from the condition of woodden boards and planks, wherof this wall was to consist, that though there were no weight or weight that could impech the steele standing thereof, yet there could be no such firme conjunction betwixt them, but that the berie weight of the wall it selfe must needs cause the same to decline to one side or other, whereby water would dyaine betwixt, by reason of the thinnesse of the sub of steele, which could minister no certeine state thereunto, nor likelihood that the same should so unite with the wood, as to stand steele, and to make a perfect pent in that place: but to helpe that matter, they meant to haue shored and braced the said timber wall, in such sort as the same should haue staid the whole worke: yet no bracing could (as the best opinion was) haue preuailed to bring that wall to be good or steele. Fourthlie, it was thought that such a wall so placed, would be subiect to more than ordinarie decaye, by reason that anie woodworke lieng in water, especiallie when it is sometimes wet and sometimes drie, will in short time rot and disioint: so as if the same could be repaired (whereof there was great doubt made) yet the reparations would be in respect of charge verie intolerable. Fifthlie, the delate of time herein was also disliked, for two yeares being demanded for the accomplishing of that one wall, no time could be promised. Sixthlie, they being demanded whether they had ener seene either on this side or beyond the seas) anie such wall or worke; they answered, no: but affirmed it to be in their opinions so probable, as they would adventure to undertake it for thirtie pounds the rod, but in what space to finish it they could not saie. Seventhlie, there was required for the building of this wall 7000 tun of timber, which all Bent and Shuller (without unrecoverable hurt in deprivation of their timber) was not able to yeld: and the necessarie carriages for such a provision could haue bene by no meanes procured, without the vndowing of the inhabitants, and spoile of the countrie. These causes were of force enough to ouerthrow a woodden wall. The deuise neuertheless deserued commendation.

The lord treasurer's resolution.

These matters thus mentioned were afterwards debated before the lords of the counsell, and these reasons with manie others were deliuered vnto their lordships by maister Thomas Digs, the first elected surmeior of the works, as from the commissioners. The credit of the parties, who were to undertake this woodden wall, and their reasons preuailed so much, as diuerse noble and wise men grew to conueine god liking thereof. But the lord treasurer, whose voice and iudgement in all causes of importance hath in all his time worthilie caried the swaie, allowed rather of the marly works; saing that if he erred therein, as not seeing but hearing the matter in question, he would erre with discretion, as led by the reasons of the commissioners; who had

same and tried the experience of that kind of worke.

Diuerse liked of Poins his worke, or at the least of his communication: partlie (as it is said) for the cheapnesse supposed, though in deed the contrarie fell out in demand: partlie for the expedition promised, which could neuer haue bene performed: partlie for that he was knowne to be a speciall executi-
10 oner in Wolwich breaches, being workes defensible against inuasion of waters, as yet vnaccomplished, though no small charges haue bene therein imploied, for the recouerie of two thousand acres of excellent marly land, lieng seven miles from London, in the parishes of Plumsted, Crith, &c: lost by a breach made in the wals there with a tempest, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and thirtie, to the vndowing of manie, but speciallie of sir Edward Bonilton knight: partlie also he was hearkened vnto, for that he was reputed to be a good enginior; partlie for his experience in forren works, partlie for his resolutenesse: but especiallie for that he made a shew of more cunning than he would utter; so as although his deuise for the erection of the wals was finally reiecte; yet was the matter brought to further conference. For he was com-
20 mended to the lords of his maiesties priuie counsell, and namelie to sir Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretarie to hir highnesse; to whome was happily referred the consideration and chiefe direction of all matters concerning these works; wherein he dealt from time to time, with as great care, tra-
30 uell, and circumspection, as though his owne estate had depended vpon the well proceeding thereof. Whatsoeuer was thought necessarie to be done thereabouts, was alwaies aduertised by the commissioners vnto him, and his opinion and direction required, and he without god conference and probability would enter into no action concerning this matter.

Now therefore he wrote to sir Thomas Scot, re-
40 quiring him to send by some sufficient person, acquainted & exercised in Romaine marly works, to satisfie the lords of the counsell in all such doubts as should be objected, speciallie by maister Burroughs, who had more liking of the thiptwrights maner of worke, than either of the Romaine marly works exhibited by sir Thomas Scot, or of Plumsted works propounded by Ferdinando Poins. Wherein sir Francis Walsingham shewed maister Digs his defense, & his owne god liking of the earthen wals; onelie requiring, that sir Thomas Scot would
50 thoroughlie informe himselfe by conference with the marlymen, to answer certeine objections which he there inclosed, sent downe vnto him in writing, concerning the passage of the long wall, and the distance thereof from the shore, the high and tightnes of the same, the conueniencie of the foundation, the maner of stufie, the time of finishing, the breadth below and at the top, the undertakers thereof, and of their assurance, &c: and lastlie, that some sufficient person should be sent vp, to confer in these matters. All which points were so answered by sir Thomas Scot, as sir Francis Walsingham was greatlie satisfied thereby. Concerning the doing thereof by great, sir Thomas Scot's aduise was, that (seeing it was a princes charge) it might rather be performed by daieworkers and god ouersers, than by great; wherein no man would adventure, in respect of the quantitie of the charge and difficultie of the works, without certainte of great gaines. Neuertheless, if it were so set downe by the
60 lords of the priuie counsell, that it should be done no other waie but by great; he himselfe would undertake it better cheape than anie other had proposed to doe it by five hundred marks, and to that effect would

Of Wolwich
and Crith
breaches.

Secretarie
Walsingham
the chiefe di-
rector and fun-
damentall
therof of Do-
ner house.

Maister
Digs
referred
to
the
lordes
of
the
counsell.

Sir Thomas
Scots
not

Doier pen
finished in
this moneth

Reinold S
and Rafe
Smith exa-
mined by
the secreta-
ry about the
wals of the
pent.

Questions
propounded
to Poins
the Plum-
sted.

No dealing
by great, in
matters of ex-
cessiue charge
and danger.

would put in verie good and sufficient assurance. Presentlie after the receipt of those letters, Sir Thomas Scot sent to the court a kinsman of his, named Reinold Scot, who had bene deputed a surueior of Komneie marsh by the space of foure peares together; and Reinold Smith, who had bene cleark of Komneie marsh, and a continuall dealer about those wals by the space of thirtie years. These two repairing first to Douer, to consider of the earth, which should serue to make the wals of the pent of Douer haue, and to search where such earth as would serue that turne might most conuenientlie and nearest hand be had, with pasture for horses which should be imploied for carriage thereof, proceeded to the court at Richmond, where they attended on maister secretarie Walsingham on the morndate and tuesdate before Easter daie. 1583: and after conference had with him, they deliuered vnto him certeine notes in writing from Sir Thomas Scot, containing necessarie orders, and recounting the charges, businesse, and offices, &c: incident to the creation of these walles, imitating as nere as time, place, and matter would giue leaue, the maner of Komneie marsh works: wherein he remembred or rather required a percellie assemblee of commissioners at Douer in Easter weeke, as is by the lords of Komneie marsh at Whitfuntide, with the election of officers, and set downe the dutie and charge of each officer, the order of the works, what prouision of stoffe should be made, to wit, of timber, thorne, fagots, nêdels, heies, bêtels, piles, pasture, earth, with totall summs of all officers fees, of all stoffe and prouision, of all the labourers, and of all the carriages: which estimat was little or nothing differing from the charge as it fell out, saving that where he set it downe that both walles might be finished in two summers, he accomplished them in one quarter of a yere, beyond promise or expectation.

Douer pent finished in three moneths.

Reinold Scot and Rafe Smith examined by maister secretarie about the wals of the pent.

Questions propounded to Poins and the Plumsted men.

Maister secretarie Walsingham (having perused these notes, & sene the maner of the works & rates set downe therein) liked verie well thereof: howbeit, he stricte examined the parties aforesaid, how those works could be performed at so low prices, and especiallie, how so manie courts could be prouided without commission, or griefe to the countrie, euerie court hauing a horse and a dyer, and all for twelue pence a day, in a place where pastures are for the most part barren, and hard to be gotten: and both that and all other things, but especiallie bitels extreamely here. But being satisfied herein by the said Reinold Scot & Reinold Smith, he thought good neuerthelesse to send them two, accompanied with Thomas Digs esquier, and William Burroughs gentleman, to confer with Sir William Winter, the said Ferdinando Poins, & the Plumsted men, which were workemen in Whitfuntide and Crith breaches, who propounded to the said workemen certeine questions at the house of Sir William Winter at Tower hill. Wherein they were demanded amongst other things, whether they euer had heretofore made any wals; whereby water hath bene pent to any high, and upon what foundation or soile they were set, and of what substance their wals were made, and whether they could remedie such wals if they leaked, or could worke in water: and finally, what they would aske for a rod doing, and what suerties they could put in for the tightnesse of their worke.

Ferdinando Poins and his Plumsted men answered verie comfortable to euerie question, they seemed ignorant in nothing, and promised to performe whatsoever was required, saving assurance. But they knew not the order of Komneie marsh works, neither could they possible haue ac-

complished this: for they were onelie god diskers and hodmen, which arts were little pertinent hereunto. Maister secretarie being aduertised how Ferdinando Poins and his plomers of Plumsted shewed themselves in this conference, wherein neither their owne disabilitie, nor the difficultie of the worke by themselves was any thing at all doubted of, thought it not amis to aduertise the residue of the lords of the counsell thereof: so as if those works might in such wise be by any thought possible to be performed, then might the marsh works with much more assurance be trusted vnto; and that did maister Burroughs now verie well conceiue and note: neuerthelesse, it was thought expedient by their lordships, that Poins and his workemen should repaire to Douer to a small conference in those matters; who perchance might be somewhat at the least imploied in those busineses. And therefore maister secretarie sent down to Sir Thomas Scot, that their lordships had receiued the resolution he grew vnto, upon conference with the marshmen of Komneie, touching the proceeding in the plot of Douer haue, and had both well considered & allowed of the same; and that their lordships also had appointed, that on the tuesdate after Easter weeke, maister Burroughs and maister Poins, with certeine marshmen of Plumsted, should be sent downe to meet and confer further with him about the going forwards with the same plot at Douer: at which time such order might be taken and agreed on among the commissioners, for the making of all necessarie prouisions for the same, as should be thought most expedient.

On the ninth daie of Aprill next ensuing, the parties aboue specified came to Douer accordingly, where all the commissioners for that harborough met them, who hauing receiued letters from the lords of the counsell to set downe a small resolution; after long debating of matters, agreed that Komneie marshmen should undertake the worke; and for the better and more speedie proceeding therein, the commissioners made election of all necessarie officers, and rated their wages in this sort. The treasurer, which was Sir James Hales knight, to haue for euerie sîre pounds receiued and disbursed, six shillings eight pence, and for his cleark five pounds yearelie. John Smith the expenditor twentie pounds yearelie, his cleark five pounds yearelie. The common cleark twentie marks, and each twoome man during his attendance eight pence a daie. The generall surueior (that is to saie) maister Digs esquier twentie marks yearelie, which he gaue to Alexander Spindge his deputie.

It was there also ordered, that the deputies surueior, the expenditor, and cleark, should take present order for the enlarging of the wates for carriages to passe; for thorne, fagot, bêtels, nêdels, heies, piles, bavin, and carriages for them, before Whitfuntide following. These things were committed to their charge; but they were afterwards eased by surueiors appointed for those and other purposes; they hauing more to do otherwise than they could well overcome. Hauing now discovered the first & second estate of Douer harborough, euerie mans deuile for the amending, or rather erecting of a new haue in that place, with declaration of his maiesties bountie, and the care of the whole state iointlie and seuerallie in that behalfe: I am to make description of the things performed, and of the maner of the execution thereof, in which thing consisted the difficultie, and (as some thought) the impossibilitie of this enterprise.

First therefore you are to vnderstand, that before a haue could be there erected, there must be made a pent, to containe abundance of water (sing

Sir Thomas Scot's deuiſe allowed by the lords of the counsell.

The resolution at a conference at Douer.

Officers elected at Douer.

kkkkkkk.

The commoditie of the pent.

ing from the land, which being let out at a lease, should open & mainteine the hauens mouth; the diligence wherof should scowze it so, as neither beach, sand, nor flub might there remaine. The working of these wals in the sea and thorough the channell, was the great thing to be brought to passe, as hath bene before said. The discoverie therefore of these workes will not be vnprofitable to posteritie, nor vnecessary for the time present. Herein I will omit all contentions & factions concerning these proceedings, as also all iniurious practises against those workes, whense sooner they sprang; but I would gladly giue to euerie one his due commendation, which cannot be done; because therein I should grow too long. I thought meet also to omit a controuersie rising about the placing of the hauens mouth, excellentlie disputed betwixt persons of good account.

The question was, whether were most convenient a more readie and spædie entrance in times of danger, when contrarie winds permitted no entrie or abode in ante harbourough, though this entrance were somewhat more shallow, whereby the greatest ships in those cases should be excluded: or a deeper hauens mouth in an other place more convenient for great ships, with a more calme ingresse, and a quieter rode, the hauens mouth somewhat more easilie, and therefore not so good to enter into at a south west wind, which distresseth men most in those seas: wherein (I saie) I forbear to repeat the arguments of eche side, and the circumstance of that matter (being now decided and ouerruled) in such sort as I do the workes of the pent, the description wherof maie be profitable to all that shall haue to doe either in hauens or great water breaches. For both Blumsted & Crith marshes, or ante like breaches by this means doubtlesse maie easilie and most assuredlie be recovered. In the declaration hereof also, the parties which haue deserued commendation or consideration maie perhaps in some sort haue a kind of recompense: for other reward was not looked after, or sought for by the best executioners hereof, with the better sort imployed their travell with great charges, the meaner sort their readie furtherance to their power, the poorer people their laboꝝ at a small rate to the preferring and performance of this worke; and all with such forwardnesse and willingness of mind, as the like hath not bene knowne or seene in this age: the beholding whereof would haue amazed ante man vnacquainted with some newe marth workes, from whence the patternes hereof was fetcht, and the officers and chiefe workemen thereof brought by sir Thomas Scot to Dover. These workes were digested and ordered by them, euen as a battell is marshalled by officers of the field. And trulie it was expedient that good direction should be vsed in this behalfe, for there were to be imployed five or six hundred courts about a wall of small bredth at one instant, none to be idle or hindered by an other, for the staie of one court a verie little space might be to the workes an incredible hindrance.

The nature and names of the offices and officers hereunto pertaining you haue already heard. For as they were at the first set downe by sir Thomas Scot, so in all respects was it ordered and concluded in that behalfe; sauing that because these workes were so great, and required such expedition, as the expeditor was overcharged with busines, though an expert man trained by in Kommeite marth in those affaires, trustie, diligent, and euerie waie sufficient: unto whose office naturallie belonged the purueiance of all necessities, and waie appertaining to the maintenance of the wals. There was appointed by the commissioners (as chiefe pur-

uisor) a gentleman of good sufficientie named John Beies, by whose countenance and discreet dealing men were brought to yeld willingly ante of their commodities towards the helpe and furtherance of these proceedings for their iust values, which was duly answered unto them, so as no man was saene to complaine of anye iniurie or hard dealing. But when the workes, or rather the workes grew to be greater and more in number than was expected, (which came to passe by reason of the multitude of courts and workemen, who proffered their seruice so fast, as from the rate of two hundred, which was at the first set downe, they increased to six hundred) all pastures nere the towne being imployed that waie, manie men were content to make their owne provision, conditionallie to be admitted into the workes, inso much as some hired pasture for their working horses seuen or eight miles from Dover, and neuer the lesse came to worke with the first, and continued the whole daie with them that wrought longest. For they came at six of the clocke in the morning, and departed at six of the clocke at night, except extraordinary causes in preventing inconueniences of great and foule tides caused them to worke longer. Diuerse brought thither courts from besides Spaldstone and Seuenoche, being thirtie or forty miles from Dover; and in the end the officers were binen to put backe and refuse such as made sute to bring courts into the workes: and yet had they for their horses, their court, and their dyner but onelie twelue pence a daie, which because it seemeth incredible, I thought good to discover and unfold to the reader in such sort, as he might be resolved and satisfied in the certaintie thereof, and throughlie conceiue not onelie the possibilitie but also the reason of it.

First therefore the time of yeare when that worke was to be done must be considered, which was intended; and by proclamations in certeine market towne notified to haue had beginning the thirtieth of Aprill (when in those parts barleie season is ended) and from that time till haruest or haing time little is to be done in husbandrie; and as soon as haruest should begin, the purpose was to leaue this worke vntill the yere following. So as in this meane time, that is to saie, from Aprill till haruest, the seruants, & speciallie the cattell of farmers are rather chargeable than anye waie gainefull unto them, and therefore at such a time to raise profit by them is double advantage. Fewer the lesse, he that should make his best commoditie herein, was to loke circumspectlie into the matter, and then might he see that it was requisite to haue two courts: for one boie might dyne them both, because whilst the one was dyner, the other was filled; & the same being vnloaden or discharged, he went for the other, leauing that to be filled. This filler was a labourer allowed to euerie man which had two courts, for whome the owner of the two courts had ten pence the daie: so as he had for his filler, his dyner, his two horses, and his two courts two shillings and ten pence the daie, which amounteth to tenentene shillings the weeke. He paid out of the same for the bozd of his filler and dyner six shillings weeklie, and so had the owner of clere weeklie gaine for his two seruants and two horses nine shillings, which must all this while haue lien at his charge.

There were among this number certeine double courts, which had double wages; because they were furnished with two horses in a court, being double in quantitie to the rest, and were speciallie imployed about the cartage of steele, a more weightie mould than either the chalke or the earth. A single court contained in length five foot, in bredth two foot, and in depth sixteen inches: whereunto the expeditor

John Beies gentleman chiefe puruisor.

A horse, a court, and a dyner for twelue pence the daie.

An

The first bre into 1 workes.

Kommeite marshment chiefe directors in the workes.

I benefit 2 man & beall

The stalle: substance of the workes.

The dispos of the workes

Henrie Gunt lord equier, captaine of Breiffe castle.

The quantitie of one court or furnished.

work which breach recoverable.

Euerie best great willing to set forward this workes.

Six hundred courts imployed at once in these workes.

John Smith the expeditor.

labors verie necessarie, as also to the insufficiency and indurgeny of euery workman and bovie, so as upon euery beaue their wages was totted and detailed, as the officers concluded from the books, or sometimes punished with stocks and other imprisonment.

The first of
the workes
was the
long wall.

An entrance into this worke was made in the beginning of Aprill, one thousand five hundred foure score and thre, in the five and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, with six courts onlie at the crosse wall: & such was the towardlines thereof, as paided so great a heate & promise of good successe, that from that daie forward there were continuallie carriages brought (at the rate before set downe) beyond all expectation: in so much as by the 17 of June, there were assembled in those worke 542 courts, and almost 1000 workemen. And truely, there consisted so great difficultie in marshalling this multitude (for all were to worke at once, none might staie for other, as by impediment to others worke) as without the patterne of former experience the worke could hardly have bene performed.

Some
of the
workes
was the
long wall.

Herein Richard Coast and William Morris masons, and the aforesaid Reginald Smith clerk of Honnre marly were cheefe directors, and as it were marshalls, as having daile experience in the like worke. For in Honnre marly there are euery yeare commonlie employed at one time about making or mending of some one wall 200 courts at the least, in each court for the most part being two open, for thome the owners hire feeding in the marly, as they can agree with the landholders, and yet have had hitherto for their court and deliuer but ten pence the daie. And this together with their manner of working could be wonderfull, famous, and much spoken of throughout Englad, if the continuance of so manie hundred yeares exercise thereof had not qualified the strangeness and admiration of it. For here, though at Dover it could not be so, because they brought altogether with horseheads the night feeding parallelly so much over the daies working, that bullocks brought to those worke leane and out of flesh, are returned from the worke most commonlie in verie good plight.

It benefit to
man & beast.

The first of
the workes
was the
long wall.

The stuffe carried by these courts for the erection of the wall at Dover, was earth, being of a halfe lie mould, chalk and flesh, whereunto the carriages were generallie imployed, the most number for earth, whereof the greatest part of the wall consisted; the second for chalk, which mingled and beaten together with the earth, did make the same more firme, and was placed in the midst of the wall; the smallest number for flesh, which served for the out sides onlie. For the same being beaten with beetles to the sides of the wall, touch by and by cleave so fast and close therunto, as thereby the walls were strenghtened; and thereupon also the arming might be set much more firme than upon any other mould. This also preserved the wall from annoiance by rage of waters, almost as well as if they were otherwise armed with thorne and faggot.

Some
of the
workes
was the
long wall.

There was promised nere to the castell called Arcliffe (whereof Henrie Conkord esquier, being one that took especiall care and paines in setting forward that businesse, was then capiteine) two acres and a halfe of ground for the provision of earth for the wall: which ground was distant from the crosse wall about twentie score fathoms yards, and for the same the owner had ten pounds, and the soile remaining to himselfe, which in short time will recover to be as good as ever it was. At an other place also called Horsepole sole, lying behind St. James his church, was more earth provided, which was altogether imployed upon the long wall, as being nearer therunto. Hereof euery court brought commonlie

to the wallies in one daie about ffortie loads. The chalk was had from euery place of the cliffe, somewhat nearer to the wall than the earth, and thre brought about ffortie carts or righte load a daie. The flesh was for the most part had at the west part of the haven in a place called Paradise. And to these severall sorts of stuffe were severall carriages appointed and disposed, as might most conveniently serve the forme, and as occasion served, for ffortie more and sometimes lesse of each sort of mould was necessarilie imployed. Sometime also the flesh was had close at the side of the walls, and therefore fewer carriages imployed that waie.

Now to make a perfect triall of the worke before the daie limited that all the courts should come in, there was an experiment of great importance performed, which was the making of a baie head, & thereby a pent to keepe the water in or out of a pence of the haven called Little Paradise, which place containeth about thre acres and a halfe of ground in great depth, wherein there riseth manie springs. And in the place where this wall or baie head should be made, the one & flesh was threentie feet deepe at the least. Herein also was laid first a pinelocke, and afterwards a sluice of great charge, the sluice whereof meeting with the course of the great sluice increaseth the force thereof to the benefit of the havens mouth.

On the thirtieth daie of Aprill, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand five hundred rightie and thre, when the courts, which by proclamations made one month before in diuerse market towne) were to come to begin the worke, there were more of them prepared and ready furnished for the purpose than were expected. Holbrot, the same was brought to passe by the meanes of sir Thomas Scot and other of the commissioners, who brought both the stone and their neighbors carriages, persuading all whom they thought able and meet, to set forward, and give encouragement to the erection of these worke. But Honnre marlymen, and such as knew those worke, were they indeed which onlie gave light to others of the true right manner of working, and of the commoditie insuing hereby; & they in effect supplied those worke, untill the countie did see what waie to save themselves, and make profit thereof. But such was the multitude already assembled, that (to avoid the difficultie and confusion of so manie courts working together at the beginning, and to doe the better and greater service afterwards) the whole court was altered by sir Thomas Scot, by whom it was thought most meet to enter into the erection of both wallies (to wit, the long wall and crosse wall) together, & to divide the courts into two parts: with thome the said Richard Warrie esquier lieutenant of Dover castell willinglie joined, undertaking the charge or oversight of the long wall, as sir Thomas Scot did of the crosse wall; and by that meanes all the workmen & courts did with much more convenience and speed accomplish their worke.

The beginning
of the
great workes
at Dover.

Reasons for
the difficultie
of the crosse
wall.

The crosse wall was of more importance, and the difficultie to make it was greater than of the long wall, for manie respects. First, for that the crosse wall standeth nearer to the maine sea than the long wall, and by that meanes this worke more violently impugned, and sooner interrupted than that of the long wall. Secondlie, they carried the crosse wall through the chanel (a thing verie strange and difficult) and so did they not the long wall. Thirdlie, the one and flesh is deeper under the crosse wall than under the long wall. Fourthlie, the crosse wall was to be made deeper or higher, and broader or wider than the long wall. Fifthlie, the tide was to hinder this worke, by approaching sooner, by rising higher,

et,

er, and by more violent raging than it did at the other. Wherby the weight of the pent water was to lie altogether upon this wall, and consequentlie the water would searck therein to more dangerouslie. Seuenthlie, in this wall there was a dule to be laid, which without great circumspection would haue endangered the whole worke. Adde vnto these, that the crosse wall was more suddenlie undertaken, & of more importance. For vnder fiftene thousand pounds none euer made offer to do it before this time: for the first purpose was to begin with the long wall onlie, or rather a pece thereof, as a worke sufficient to be performed in one summer.

Now if the long wall was thought a worke so difficult, dangerous, costlie, and tedious, what may be thought of the crosse wall: Trulie, had not the other commissioners bene comforted herein by sir Thomas Scot, the impossibilitie presupposed would haue discouraged and ouerthrowne the whole enterprise. But he with god comfort and confidence entered vpon the crosse wall, and maister lieutenant on the long wall: inasmuch as the one was called sir Thomas Scots wall, the other maister lieutenants wall. And certeinlie, they might well so be termed, in respect of the paines, care, and costs imploied vpon them by those two gentlemen. Sir Thomas Scot dwelt twelue long kentish miles from Dover, yet did he seldome faile to come from his house to the beginning of the worke euerie mondaie morning while the walles were in hand; and from that date untill saturdaye in the evening, when he returned home. He lightlie came first to the walles, and departed with the last: and it behoued him so to do, in as much as by his meanes onelie this manner of worke was undertaken, and all other deuises reiect-
ed. He late in one John Spytswels house, who kept an inn in Dover, called the Cheibound, and there did he and his followers and servants, together with maister lieutenant and his companie receiue their diet at a deere hand. For although the castell stand within a quarter of a mile of the worke, and as nere to the towne; yet was the lieutenants industrie and charge such, as he or his seruants did neuer lightlie returne home from five of the clocke in the morning till after supper; but remained alwaies there with sir Thomas Scot, in continuall businesse & extreme charge, not onelie in respect of their owne table, but also in regard of strangers, who came to see them and the workes, whose charges they commonlie defraied. Besides that, they did (not seldome times) bestow rewards bountifullie vpon the poore workmen, who vpon sundrie occasions were bound to worke longer than the rest, and with more difficultie; for some at some times wrought in danger of life, & oftentimes in the waters vnto the waile or shoulders. And among the rest (to whom I could rather with a liberall recompense than a due praise) there was in these workes a poore man named John Botole, borne and brought vp in Kommetie marsh, whose dexterity of hand, fine and excellent inuentions in executing difficult workes, and whose willing mind and painefullnesse for his owne part, with furthering and incouraging of others, ought in some calling to haue bene honored, and in his poore estate should not be forgotten. As touching the tedious of the commissioners, they for their parts (if they were in health) did almost daile visit the workes, with as great care for the good proceedings thereof as was possible.

Sir James Hales was this yeare chosen by the generall voice and consent of the commissioners, and with the good allowance of the lords of the council, treasurer for the workes (as sir Thomas Scot was the two yeares precedent) and did not onelie

discharge the office and dutie thereof with commendation and lust account, which amounted almost to five thousand pounds: but beside his often repaire at other times during the workes, he did continue there by the space of one whole month, while sir Thomas Scot (by meanes of a sicknesse taken vpon the wals) was absent, and all that time kept a bountifull table, and used great diligence, in continuall oversight and furtherance of the workes, whereof Thomas Digs equier was generall suruey; commended therunto by the lords of the council, who although he made his chiefe abode then at London, yet did he often repaire to the workes, and seriouslie bent himselfe to set forward the same there, being also a careful solicitor in that behalfe. Certein of the iurats & chiefe magistrats of the towne, were by two at once daile assigned to be directors and letters forth of the carriages, and to see the courts well filled: these also did refuse their allowance, being eight pence the date, and did neuertheless verte diligentlie attend vpon their charge: their names were John Watson, John Garret, William Wailis, Thomas Wydgat, &c.

There were eight men called guiders standing at eight seuerall stations, or places of most danger, to guide and helpe the dyuers distressed or troubled with their cattell or courts, and to hasten them forward: for the default of one did make state of the whole companie, and these had eight pence the date. There attended also at the wals eight men called bntingers, to lose and vndo the tackle of euerie court immediatlie before the vnloading or shelling thereof, and were allowed eight pence the date. There were there eight shellers, which pulled downe the courts as soone as they came to the place where it was needfull to vnlobe, and these were chosen of the strongest and nimblest men, hauing ten pence the date. There were also eight tingers, whose speciall office was to lift vp the courts immediatlie after they were vnlobed, and to make fast their tackle; for the dyuers hasted forth without making anie staie, otherwise all the companie must haue tarried for them; these had eight pence the date. The number of the laborers which were to shouell abode and laie vnto the earth, chulke, and slesh, as soone as it was vnlobed was uncerteine, they had six pence and eight pence the date. A great manie marchmen were assigned to laie the slesh vpon the sides of the wals, and were called scauelmen, and had twelue pence the date. The number of beele-men also were uncerteine, who serued to beat or dyue the slesh to the sides of the wals, and to breake the great stones of chulke laid on the wals; as also to lenell the earth, and to worke it close together, hauing for their wages eight pence the date. Spanie marchmen also were appointed to arme the sides of the wals, after they were sleshed, & had twelue pence, and some sirtene pence the date.

The order of arming was in this maner. If it beginning at the foot of the wall, they laid downe a row of fagot, through euerie one of the which they dyue a needle or stake about foure foot long, hauing an eye or hole at the great end. Then do they edder it with thorne and other prouision for that purpose, and lastlie dyue a keie or wooden wedge (being one foot and a halfe long) through the eye of the neede to kepe downe the edder, which staith downe the fagot. Also there was an inferiour puruey for fagot, thorne, needles, keies, &c: who for his worke & himselfe was allowed for euerie date he travelled two shillings. The clerke of the workes, who kept all the reckonings of the expensitor (through whose hands all the monie passed) he at five a clocke in the morning, together with the expensitor, called euerie one that wrought that

This worke undertaken and other re-
acted by sir
Thomas
Scots means.

Howe a no-
table good
workman.

Commis-
sioners.

Treasurer.

Two iurats
called direc-
tors.

Eight guiders
called bntingers.

Eight shellers.

Eight tingers.

Eight laborers.

Scauelmen.
Beele-men.

Spanies.

The order of
arming.

Inferiour pur-
uey.

Clerke.
Expensitor.

The ge-
neral.

The m-
aster of
the workes.

How
was
the
work
done.

The groune
keeper.

The manner
of the wall
works.

How the wall
was saved
from being
washed.

that daie, and saw euerye court furnished, and recoz-
ded all this in his booke, and such as were absent, had
no allowance that daie: if they came late, their wa-
ges was totted at the expeditors good discretion. There
was one Iuliane appointed to attend vpon
Doins hisgroins, he was a Dutchman, and moze
expert in those kind of water woakes than Doins
himselfe, his wages was first (I meane in Doins
his time) two shillings a daie, afterwards (to wit)
whilest these woakes were in hand, and better hus-
bandrie was used, he had but foure grotes a daie.
And thus much touching the offices and officers du-
ties.

Euerye court was most commonlie filled ouer
night, and in the morning at six of the clocke they
all approached orderlie to the place where the wall
should be made. The first dyuer for god consi-
deration was chosen to be a sufficient and a dili-
gent person, and that court to haue a good gelbing:
for as he lead the danle, so must they all follow.
When the first court came nigh to the place where
he should unlode, one vntinged it, and the dyuer pro-
ceeded with his court, either into the ouze or water,
or as nere thereto as they could; and bringing
his horse about in his returne, when the taile of the
court was turned to the water side, the sheluer
plucked downe the lode, as far into the chanel as
he could. The dyuer neuer staied, but went forth for
a new lode: the finger runneth after and pulleth by
the court, and fasteneth the tackle, and goeth present-
lie with speed to do likewise to another; and so dooth
the vntinger. When the whole course of courts (being
about two hundred) were unloden, the labozers
with their shouels and betels plied to make euen
the wall against another course came.

Sometimes they wrought a whole daie or two,
and laid downe manie thousand lodes of earth and
chalker, and no increase same at night of the woake,
either in high or length; in so much as manie suppo-
sed that the earth was rather washed awate than
sunke. And in truth, some part thereof was car-
ried awate with the flood in a rough tide; for all the
water in the haven was manie times discoloured
therewith; especiallie, untill sir Thomas Scot took
order, that before euerye flood, not onelie each side
of the wall, but the end also should be armed with
sagot; & in the morning or after none (when returne
was made to the woaks) the end there they were
to proceed, should be unarmed againe: which needed
not be done to the sides, for they carried the whole
breadth of the wall with them. But in truth, the
weight of the wall, with the continuall passage ther-
vpon, made the whole woake to sinke to the verie
rocke; being from the top of the chanel sixtene
foot, and from the face of the water at the flood, al-
most as much moze. But in the end, it was a won-
der to see how the multitude of carriages (being
well plied) prevailed, euen ouer the flood: which
though it rose exceeding fast, and was come to the
verie bynke or uppermost lane of the wall, a new
course of courts came from time to time and sup-
plied the want; which if it should haue staied a mi-
nut longer, would haue turned to great holle: for
they could haue wrought no longer that tide.

In this manner they proceeded, untill there was
made of the crosse wall about fve and twentie rods,
which they wrought allwaies (as they went) aboue
the high water marke (otherwise it could neuer
haue bene performed) and so they passed through
the chanel or ruer, and caried the wall beyond the
same thre or foure rods, so as the backe water or
chanel had no flue to passe downe into the sea; but
as it rose aboue the flats, and ran awate before the
end of the wall; wherby they continuallie dyone it

further and further by lengthening the same. How-
be it, by this meanes they wrought allwaies in the
water, which was verie discommodious. Wherfor
therefore manie men would haue had turned some
other waie; otherwise it was thought, that this wall
could not haue bene made, the turning wherof
would haue bene diuerse waies inconuenient.
First, for the extreme charge; secondlie, the hauens
mouth would (for want hereof) haue some bene
swarued by; thirdlie, Doins his woake, which cost
one thousand & two hundred pounds, should haue bin
hereby frustrated; fourthlie, the haven (all that
time) and all passage vnto Dover had bene utterlie
taken awate, to the great hinderance and vndoing
of the townsmen there. But sir Thomas Scot, who
employed his head and mind to seeke all aduantages
for the setting forward of this woake, and had con-
ceiued a perfect plot for the finishing of the same,
caused a cut to be made in the wall, and a small flue
to be laid in the verie place where the chanel did first
run, which serued (for the time) not onelie to giue
naturall passage to the ruer, and to mainteine the
hauens mouth: but as a byldge also for the courts to
passe ouer the water, to the further end of the wall;
which now by this meanes remained drye and free
from water untill the flood, to the great aduantage
and commoditie of the woake.

This flue was composed with two arches, in
length fiftie foot (besides the plates) at each end, in
breadth eight foot, and in depth also eight foot, and the
charge thereof amounted not to aboue one hundred
marks. In truth, the laying of this flue was a
verie dangerous and difficult peece of woake, and the
executioners thereof worthy of commendation,
for with great courage to do their dutie service
they aduentured their liues in moze perill than I
can well expresse. Manie were assented to behold the
dangerous case of the woaken, and diuerse depar-
ted from the place as being loth to see the page mens
destruction. Wherein the said Reginald Smith, and
the Honnible marchmen dealt with great dexter-
sie and courage; when all other almost had giuen it
ouer, persisting in continuall and extreme travell
therabouts, by the space of two daies and one night
without intermission.

After the cut was digged thorough the wall, the
flue was laid by peccemeale, at the direction of him
and the foresaid Richard Coast, William Morris,
and John Botole, whose hands were as buile also as
anie others in the doing thereof. And as they were
travelling hereabouts, the weight of the wall it
selfe, with the earth cast out of the trench therinto,
and the multitude of the beholders standing thereon,
made a clift or crafte therein, consisting of manie
hundred lodes of earth, which declined towards the
cut where they wrought to lay the flue, and was re-
die to fall vpon them all, so as they were faine to su-
staine the side therof with hozes which they supported
cheefelie with their owne force. Which if they had not
done with great art & labour, by the space of diuers
hours together, the wall had fallen into the place
where the flue should haue bene laid, to the destruc-
tion of sundrie people, and to the discomfort of ma-
nie belonging to the woaks. But these marchmen
neuer gave ouer, till euerye sticke thereof was laid,
at what time ech man reioiced that meant well to
the woaks, and diuerse bestowed rewards vpon the
woaken, and praise was giuen to God for his fa-
uour shewed in that behalf.

This woake being thus performed, the courts
(which during that time were altogether set to woaks
at master lieutenants wall) did now disburden them-
selves againe, and returne to woake as before at sir
Thomas Scots wall, and at euerye side wrought with

The incom-
mence which
would haue
followed the
diuerting of
the ruer an-
other waie.

A flue made
for diuerse
good purposes.

A difficult and
dangerous
woake.

Gods blessing
and fauour
shewed to the
workes of Do-
ner.

Dangers
happie el-
caped.

Boies plie.

The flag of li-
bertie.

with singular diligence & great facilitie. And God
so fauoured those workes, as there were not lost in all
that summer by means of foule weather above three
daies and a halfe, wherein either courts or laborers
were put from their worke, and in all those busines
not one person slaine, and yet almost in euerie acti-
on belonging thereto there was imminent dan-
ger, as first you heard in the lateng of the Anle.
And manie times in digging of chalke, they stood in
the cliffe and undermined it, so as sometimes an
hundred lode fell downe at once from vnder their
feet, and sometimes from aboue their heads; and yet
through Gods goodnes, & their diligent care, all esca-
ped without hurt: sauing two persons, vpon whom
great chalke rocks & much abundance of earth did
fall, and yet were recovered without losse of life or
lim. In the passage also of the courts, if (by
chance) either man or boie had fallen downe among
gest them (as sometimes some did) the hill was
so steepe at some places, and the court was so swift,
that there could be no staie made, but the courts
must run ouer them, and yet no great harme hath
happened that waie. And if my selfe haue seene a
court loden with earth passe ouer the bellie or sto-
mach of the diguer, and yet he not hurt at all thereby.
Manie courts also being vnloaden (for expedition)
were driuen at low waters through the channell,
with in the pent, from maister lieutenants wall,
whereby they gained more than halfe the waie: and
so long as by anie possibilitie they might passe that
waie, they were loth to go about. And when the flood
came, the channell did so suddenlie swell, as manie
horses with their courts and diguers which rode in
them were ouertaken, or rather ouerwhelmed with
water, and were forced to swim, with great hazard
of life, though therat some toke pleasure. For some-
times the boies would strip themselves naked, and
ride in that case in their courts through the channell,
being so high, as they were ducked ouer head and
eares: but they knew their horses would swim
and carrie them through the streame, which mini-
stred to some occasion of laughter and mirth. Fi-
nallie, this summer, being in the yeare of our Lord
one thousand five hundred eighty and three, was ve-
rie hot and contagious, & the infection of the plague
that yeare more vniuersallie dispersed through En-
gland than in manie yeares before, and that to some
verie much subiect thereto, by means of through-
fare and common passage, and had bene extremelie
visited therewith not long before, so as the towne
was abandoned of most men; yea of some of the in-
habitants themselves for that cause: and yet God
blessed so the workes, as in this extraordinary and
populous assemble, there was in no part of the
towne anie death or infection either of towinmen
or workmen, which reioyced thither from all the parts
of England.

And one thing more in mine opinion is to be
noted and commended herein, that is to saie, that in
all this time, and among all these people, there was
never anie tumult, strife, nor falling out, to the dis-
quieting or disturbance of the workes, which by that
means were the better applied, and with lesse inter-
ruption. For they neuer ceased working the whole
daie, sauing that at eleuen of the clocke before none,
as also at six of the clocke in the euening, there was
a flag vntillie held up by the sargent of the towne,
in the top of a tower, except the tide of extraordina-
rie busines forced the officers to preuent the houre,
or to make some small delaie & staie therof. And pre-
sentlie vpon the signe giuen, there was a generall
shout made by all the workers: and wherefoere an-
ie court was at that instant either empty or lo-
den, there was it left, till one of the clocke after none.

or six of the clocke in the morning, when they retur-
ned to their businesse. But by the space of halfe an
houre before the flag of libertie was hanged out, all
the court diguers entered into a song, whereof al-
though the dittie was barbarous, and the note ru-
sticall, the matter of no moment, & all but a iell: yet
is it not vnworthie of some brieue note of remem-
brance; because the tune or rather the noise thereof
was extraordinary, and (being deliuered with the
continuall voice of such a multitude) was verie
strange. In this and some other respect, I will set
downe their dittie, the words whereof were these:

O Harrie hold vp thy hat, 'tis eleuen a clocke,
and a little, little, little, little past:

My bow is broke, I would vnyoke,
my foot is fore, I can worke no more.

This song was made and set in Rominie marsh,
where their best making is making of wals and
dikes, and their best setting is to set a needle or a
stake in a hedge: howbeit this is a more ciuill call
than the brutish call at the theatre for the comming
abwaie of the plaiers to the stage. I thinke there was
neuer worke attempted with more desire, nor pro-
ceeded in with more contentment, nor executed with
greater tranell of workemen, or diligence of offi-
cers, nor provided for with more carefulnesse of
commissioners, nor with truer accounts or drier
paie, nor continued with more circumspection of the
deuilers and undertakers of the worke, nor ended
with more commendation or comfort: sauing that
vpon the seuen & twentieth of Iulie, being St. James
his daie, the verte daie when the crosse wall and the
long wall met, and were ioined together, and in ef-
fect finished (for both wals were brought about the
high water marke, and nothing remained to be done
of the same but highthenting, which might be done at
anie time after) Sir Thomas Scot the principall pi-
ler of that worke fell sicke vpon the wals, and was
conueyed thence in a wagon to his house, where he
remained six weeks, more likelie to die than to liue,
whose labie and wife (being a most vertuous and no-
ble matrone, & a liuelie paterne of womanhood and
sobrietie, the daughter of Sir John Baker knight,
and the mother of seuentene children) vied such dili-
gent attendance and continuall care for his busi-
bands recouerie of helth, as thereby she brought hir
selfe into so weake state of bodie, as being great
with two children, she fell sicke; and after hir tri-
timelie tranell, being deliuered of a sonne and a
daughter, she ended hir most tall life.

This sickness of Sir Thomas Scot, and that which
fell out therevpon, was no small discomfite to him
and all his. And the workmen at Dover made such
mone for his sickness, and also for his absence, that
euerie street was replenished with sorow and greefe,
and the people would be comforted with nothing
more, nor anie waie be better incouraged to worke
lustilie, than to be told that Sir Thomas Scot was
well recovered, and would shortly be amongst them
again. And in trank, they translated their barba-
rous musike into a sorrowfull song, and in stead of
calling to Harrie for their dinner, they called to
God for the good health and returne of their best
friend Sir Thomas Scot, and that with a generall
and continuall outcrie, even in their old accus-
tomed tune & time. But the courts proceeded in high-
thenting the wals, untill they were raised about two
foot higher than they were on St. James his daie,
when the wals met together; so as the crosse wall is
ninety foet broad in the bottome, and about fiftie foet
in the top. The long wall is seuentie foet in the bot-
tome, and almost fortie foet in the top, in so much as
vpon either wall two courts may meet and passe, or
turne without troubling ech other. The length of the
crosse

I neede
remedie of
water vnder the

Expedith
neede
profitable.

The state
the wals.

Mr Thomas
Scot fell sicke
in Dover
workes.

The death of
the labie
Scot.

I sure tri-
latic mal-
the god of
the pent

I ga'e of
hale vboke

Edward
quotton of
quire amb-
sabor into
France.

The effect
the pent.

Of the hat

The breadth,
depth, length,
and charge of
the long and
crosse wall,
with the con-
ting, &c.

croſſe wall is foſſie rods, the length of the long wall a hundred and twentieth rods. The charge of theſe two walls, with the appurtenances, amounted to two thouſand and ſeaſen hundred pounds, as appeareth in the expeditors books. If there were any iſſue or draining of water under the walls, it was ſome ſtopped by the peiſe of the wall it ſelfe, which neuer leſt ſinking till it came to the foundation of the rocke, except (by ſome oversight of the workemen) ſome part thereof were ſet upon the beach, which ſhould by order haue bene firſt removed, & in it it caſe they benched it, digging a trench at the ſot of that part of the wall, and filling the ſame with earth, they made it verie tight, and ſo might any ſuch place be perfected and amended if need ſhould require. But at this houre there leaketh not a drop of water under or through any part of the wall that any man might perceive or ſee: ſo as a full pent ſhinketh not any whit at all betwixt tide and tide, whereas the allowance of one foot leakage or fall at the leaſt was required of them, which exhibited the plot of the wooden wall, which being meaſured from the top or face of the high pent diminiſheth almoſt one quarter thereof. And thus betwixt the firſt of Aprill and midſt of Auguſt, this pent, which was thought impoſſible to be done in three yeares, was perfectly finiſhed in leſſe than three months, and remaineth in ſo good and ſure ſtate, as the longer it ſtandeth, the better and tighter it will be.

If neuer any thing ſhould be added hereto, this pent (by reaſon of the abundance of water retained therein, and iſſuing out of the ſiſe) would mainteine a good haven in that place: for the violent courſe thereof will alwaies open the havens mouth, and make a ſet there, even downe to the rocke, although it be diſtant from the ſame threeſcore rods; in ſomuch as at this inſtant there make come in at quarter ſlowd a barke of forty or fifty tun, and at full ſea a ſhip of three hundred tun and upwards. But when the two luttie heads are once finiſhed (which are now in hand) ſo as the havens mouth be perfected, any ſhip what ſoever may enter in thereat, and remaine within that rode in good ſafetie. But as at many other times heretofore there hath bene ſure trial had of the good effects of this pent, ſo now in this laſt moneth of October one thouſand ſixe hundred foureſcore and fix, one gate of the ſiſe being by miſchance broken, ſo as by the ſpace of foure daies there could be no water retained within the pent, to ſtoppe the mouth of the haven, the ſiſe was ſo choked and ſwarmed up with ſand and beach in that ſpace, as no boate could enter in, or paſſe out of the ſiſe: inſomuch as Edward Wotton eſquire, being then at Dover to paſſe thence in an ambalaſſe from his maieſtie to the French king, was forced to ſend to Sandwich for a ſcheller, to transport him to Calis, becauſe no boate of Dover lieng within the rode could paſſe out at the havens mouth. But alſo as the ſaid gate of the ſiſe was repaired, even the next tide following, a beſſell of three hundred tun might have diſcaſie paſſe in and out thereat, one pent of water had ſo ſcowed and deepened the ſiſe. Whereby it may appeare, that neither the coſt beſtowed, nor the worke performed, hath bene unprofitable imployed, or unneceſſarie undertaken.

Now you ſhall underſtand, that the ſmall ſiſe which was firſt made and laied in the croſſe wall in ſuch ſort, and for ſuch purpoſe as hath bene declared, was taken up after the ſaid walls were finiſhed, and a ſiſe of far greater charge was made by the aforeſaid Peter Per, who undertooke to do it by great, and had for the ſame foure hundred pounds, the laſting whereof did coſt two hundred pounds more at the leaſt. This ſiſe containeth in length

foureſcore foot, in breadth ſixty foot, in depth thirty foot, and hath in it two drain gates. It was one whole moneth in laing, all which time the ſaid lord Cobham made his abode there, and kept a moſt honorable and coſtly table, furthering thoſe works not onely with his continuall preſence and countenance, but alſo with his good direction, and that not at ſtarts, but from morning till night, and from daie to daie, untill the full accompliſhing thereof.

And in the meane time ſir Francis Walsingham, his maieſties principall ſecretarie was not uncarefull of this action, as being the man without whom nothing was done, directing the courſe, and alwaies looking into the ſtate thereof, and gave continuall liſe therunto, by prouiding monie for it, whereof when any want approached, he neuer failed to ſee or rather to ſend a ſure ſupplie. Since the finiſhing of theſe walls and ſiſes, there hath bene much worke and charge imployed about one of the luttie heads, and beautifying of the harborough, wherein one George Carie of Devonſhire eſquire, and one John Will an auditor, haue bene the principall directors. But becauſe that worke remaineth as yet unperformed, the report thereof ſhall alſo remaine to be made by others that ſhall hereafter haue occaſion to write of ſuch affairs.

At the aſſiſes kept at the citie of Exceſter, the fourteenth daie of March, in the eight and twentieth yeare of his maieſties reigne, before ſir Edmund Anderſon knight lord chiefe iuſtice of the common ples, and ſargeant Floreſdate one of the barons of the exchequer, iuſtices of the aſſiſes in the countie of Devon and Exon, there happened a verie ſudden and a ſtrange ſickeneſſe; firſt amongſt the priſoners of the gaole of the caſtell of Exon, & then diſperſed (upon their trial) amongſt ſundry other perſons: which was not much unlike to the ſickeneſſe that of late yeares happened at an aſſiſe holden at Oxford, before ſir Robert Fell knight, lord chiefe baron of the exchequer, and iuſtice then of that aſſiſe; and of which ſickeneſſe he amongſt others died. This ſickeneſſe was verie ſharpe for the time, & ſew eſcaped, which at the firſt were infected therewith. It was contagious and infectious, but not ſo violent, as commonlie the preſſence is; neither doth there appeare any outward bleer or loze.

The origin and cauſe thereof diuerſe men are of diuerſe iudgements. Some did impute it, and were of the mind, that it proceeded from the contagion of the gaole, which by reaſon of the cloſe aire, and filthy ſtinke, the priſoners newlie come out of a freſh aire into the ſame, are in ſhort time for the moſt part infected therewith; and this is commonlie called the gaole ſickeneſſe, and many die thereof. Some did impute it to certaine poxe Wortingals, then priſoners in the ſaid gaole. For not long before, one Barnard Dyake eſquier (afterwards dubbed knight) had bene at the ſeaſ, and meeting with certaine Wortingals, came from ſew ſound land, and laden with fiſh, he took them as a good piſſe, and brought them into Dartmouth haven in England; and from thence they were ſent, being in number about eight and thirtie perſons, unto the gaole of the caſtell of Exon, and there were caſt into the deepe pit and ſinking dungeon.

Theſe men had bene before a long time at the ſeaſ, and had no change of apparell, nor laie in bed, and now lieng upon the ground without ſuccor or reliefe, were ſore infected; and all for the moſt part were ſicke, and ſome of them died, and ſome one of them was diſtracted: and this ſickeneſſe verie ſone after diſperſed it ſelfe among all the reſidue of the priſoners in the gaole; of which diſeaſe many of the men

The lord Cobham remained at Dover one whole moneth.

Sir Francis Walsingham principall ſecretarie to theſe works.

Of the late works.

The note of John Hooker alias Vowell concerning the ſudden and ſtrange ſickeneſſe of late happening in Exceſter.

The originall cauſe of this infection ſubſcribeto the quene.

Barnard Dyake eſquier.

The miſchance of naſtie apparell.

A neceſſarie remedie if water draine under the walls.

Expedition neceſſarie and profitable.

The ſtate of the walls.

A ſure trial had of the good effects of the pent.

A gate of the ſiſe broken.

Edward Wotton eſquire ambalaſſe into France.

The effects of the pent.

Of the ſiſe.

them died, but all brought to great extremities, and verie hardlie escaped. These men, when they were to be brought before the foresaid iustices for their trial, manie of them were so weake and sicke, that they were not able to go nor stand; but were caried from the gaole to the place of iudgement, some vpon handbarrowes, and some betwene men leading them, and so brought to the place of iustice.

The sight of these mens miserable and pitifull cases, being thought (and more like) to be hunger starued than with sicknesse diseased, moued manie a mans hart to behold and loke vpon them; but none pittied them more than the lords iustices themselves, and especiallie the lord chiefe iustice himselfe; who vpon this occasion toke a better order for keeping all prisoners therewith in the gaole, and for the more often trials: which was now appointed to be quarterlie kept at euerie quarter sessions, and not to be possed anie more ouer, as in times past vntill the assises. These prisoners thus brought from out of the gaole to the iudgement place, after that they had bene staied, and paused a while in the open aire, and somewhat refreshed therewith, they were brought in to the house, in the one end of the hall nere to the iudges seat, and which is the ordinarie and accommodable place where they doe stand to their trials and arraignments.

And howsoever the matter fell out, and by what occasion it happened, an infection followed vpon manie and a great number of such as were there in the court, and especiallie vpon such as were nere to them were soonest infected. And albeit the infection was not then perceived, because euerie man departed (as he thought) in as good health as he came thither: yet the same by little and little so crept into such, as vpon whom the infection was seisoned, that after a few daies, and at their home comming to their owne houses, they felt the violence of this pestilent sicknesse: wherein more died than were infected, than escaped. And besides the prisoners, manie there were of good account, and of all other degrees, which died thereof: as by name fargeant Flozedeate who then was the iudge of those trials vpon the prisoners, sir John Chichester, sir Arthur Walfet, and sir Barnard Drake knights; Thomas Carew of Haccombe, Robert Carie of Clouelleigh, John Foxtescue of Wood, John Walbizon of Wadfeld, and Thomas Kildons esquires, and iustices of the peace.

The losse of euerie of them was verie great to the commonwealth of that prouince and countrie; but none more lamented than these two knights, sir John Chichester, and sir Arthur Walfet, who albeit they were but young in yeares, yet ancient in wisdom, vpright in iudgement, and zealous in the ministration of iustice. Likewise Robert Carie, a gentleman striken in yeares, and a man of great experience, knowledge, and learning: he had bene a student of the common lawes of the realme at the temple, and verie well learned both therein, and vniuersallie sene in all good letters: an eloquent man of his speech, effectual in deliuerie, deepe in iudgement, vpright in iustice, and considerat in all his doings. The more worthie were these personages, the greater losse was their death to the whole commonwealth of that countrie. Of the plebeian and common people died verie manie, and especiallie constables, reueurs, and tithing men, and such as were iurors, and namelie one iurie of twelue, of which there died eleuen.

This sicknesse was disperfed through out all the whole shire, and at the writing herof in the fine of October, one thousand five hundred fourescore and six, it is not altogether extinguished. It resteth for the

most part about fouretene daies and vpwads by a secret infection, before it brake out into his force and violence. At the first comming, it made the people afraid and dismayd, manie men then pretending rather than performing the amendment of life. So long as the plague was hot and seruent, so long euerie man was holie and repentant: but with the slaking of the one, followed the forgetfulness of the other; euen as it is with a companie of sheewd chyl- dren, who so long as the rod is ouer the head, so long feare of correction frameth them to aptnesse, confor- mitie, and obedience.

In the chronicles of Ireland, vpon occasion of service in the highest office there, mention was made here and there of sir Henrie Sidneie his sayings and doings, where promise did passe (by means of discourting his death) that the reader was to loke for a full declaration of his life and death in the chronicles of England, as course of time should giue direction. Now therefore hauing entred into the eight and twentieth yeares of hir maiesties gracious gouernment, and the yeare of Christ 1586, the time most fitlie openeth a readie waie into the historie concerning that nobleman, penned by one that could not be ignorant of his affaires, considering the nearnesse and necessarinesse of his seruice, and therefore as a truth to be receiued.

This right famous, renowned, worthy, vertuous and heroicall knight, by father and mother verie noble descended, was from his infancie bred and brought vp in the princes court, and in nearnesse to his person used familiarlie euen as a companion, and manie times a bedfellow. After that by course of nature and lawfull descent, this young prince was iudged in the kingdome and imperiall crowne, he advanced this gallant noble gentleman (partlie as it seemed for the singular loue and entire affection he formerlie bare him) to be a principall gentleman of his priuie chamber. For he was then reputed for comeliness of person, gallantnesse & liueliness of spirit, vertue, qualitie, beautie, & good composition of bodie, the onlie or man & paragon of the court. And from time to time this good and most goodlie king held such delight in his pleasant, modest, and sweet conuersation and companie, as he would seldome or neuer giue him leaue to be absent from him, till his last breath that he departed this life in his armes at Greenwich. Such exceeding expectation & hope was conceived of this honorable gentleman in his younger yeares, as he was speciallie chosen and sent ambassador to Henrie the first then French king, concerning matter verie important, being at that time not fullie one and twentie yeares old, and performed his charge with that singular commendation, wisdom, spirit and dexteritie, as at sundrie times not long after, he was employed in ambassage both in France & Scotland, yea sometime twise in one yere.

He was foure severall times lord iustice of Ireland, and thre times by speciall appointment and commission sent deputie out of England: at each which severall time, he by his wisdom and good gouernement appeased and suppressed a great and an actual rebellion, the seeds whereof were for the most part sown and the fire kindled (though smoothly and cunninglie hid and couered) before his coming, or in the time of his absence. In his first deputiation he suppressed the rebellion of Shane O'Neill, and floured the top of the castell of Dublin with the archbishops head. In his second he suppressed the most dangerous insurrection begun and long continued by some of the Butlers. In the third the commotion of the erle of Clanricard, & his two gracelesse hope- lesse sonnes Shane and Alike Bourke,

Assistants
by which men
to God, &c.

In introduction
to the historie
call remem-
brance of the
Sidneie, the
father and the
sonne, &c.

The note of
Edmund
Molineux touch-
ing sir Hen-
rie Sidneies
life and death.
His education
in his youth.

His comeli-
ment in
ambassage.

Four times
lord iustice,
thre lord
deputie of
Ireland.

He suppressed
by force and
policye thre
actual rebelli-
ons.

Imme.

The assise at
Excester ap-
pointed to be
quarterlie
kept.

This sicknes
was contagi-
ous & mortal.

Principall
men that died
of that infec-
tion.

Sir John
Chichester,
and sir Arthur
Walfet bene-
net and com-
mended.

Eleuen of the
iurie with o-
ther officers
die of this
sicknesse.

An.
He remained
and put in
execution the
lawes for
abolishing
come and
more.

He denied
planting o
presidents
the remote
prouinces.

He denied
lawes for
distribution
the Irish
into
ground.

He increas
the reuenue
ten thousand
pounds ye

His buildin
ification
and other ne-
cessarie wo
for the bene-
fit of god of
countrie.

He retained
and put in ex-
ecution the
lawes for the
abolishing of
coine and li-
berie.

He devised the
planting of
presidents in
the remoter
provinces.

He devised the
lawes for the
distribution of
the Irish con-
fines into thire
ground.

He increased
the revenues
ten thousand
pounds perie.

His buildings
fortifications,
and other ne-
cessarie works
for the benefit
and good of the
countie.

Immediately after his first arrivall deputie, he caused the old statutes and ordinances for the abolishing of coine and liberie (the ancient festering soze and creeping canker of that countie and commonwealth) to be revised and put in due execution, against sundrie persons of calling and note, who were therewithall sharplie touched, whereupon followed a long time after great good to the countie, and a speedie release to the poze oppressed people of that realme. He devised that the remoter provinces should be governed by presidents, after the imitation of the marches of Wales, from whence he took his patterne, being himselfe at that time president, holding opinion that there could be neither better nor a moze expedit and easie means to reforme and reduce that barbarous countie to perfect obedience and civilitie, than planting of presidents in the remoter provinces, to the end universall iustice might be currant amongst them, whereby the poze might be delivred from the wonted exactions and tyrannies of the lordes and great ones (by whom they were baslie spoiled and oppressed) and tast the sweet benefits and pleasant fruits of peace and quietnesse, the onelie singular commoditie, and the most happie blessing of wise, politike, and discret gouvernement.

He both first devised, and consequentlie prudentlie executed, the plot for the division and distribution of the Irish counties into thire ground, whereby insured the currence of his maiesties wox, which before that time was either not knowne, or at least neuer used amongst them. He in his government advanced and increased the revenues of the crowne by waie of custome, imposit upon wines, compositions with the Irish for rent and service, and other direct and commendable means, as out of casualties creating rents certeine, ten thousand pounds pearelie. And by good devise and policie he had both intended, and would have brought to passe and performed a farre greater increase, if envie, spite, and malice of that unhappie countie had not crossed him, and opposed themselves all that they could, by puerle or credit against his honorable, worthie, and commendable services & desseins: an example of rare note to be duellie followed, and carefullie executed by his successors, that Ireland may in thort time be reduced to beare Irelands charges, and made both honorable and profitable to the crowne (as were to be wished.) He repaired the castell of Dublin, being used a long time before as a ruinous, uncleane, and filthie place, of no reckoning and accompt, stozed onlie with mechanicall persons, and some of worse sort (the constable and his familie excepted) and left the same a convenient and fit house for the gouvernour to lie in, to which use it now serveth and is imployed.

He builded the bridge of Athelon over the river of Shenin, arched it with masonrie and free stone, strong wall and battlement, and made it of that strength, together with that spaciousnesse and bredth, as two carts may (in maner) meet afront. By building of which bridge over so swift & great a streame, the passage was set open and made free out of the pale into Conaught, which before (by reason of the strentableness of the water) was not passable, which dautoned and appalled the rebels and traitours moze, and kept them in greater awe and due obedience, than anie devise or policie before had done, or other plot lightlie could then do. He likewise began the walling and fortifying of the towne of Carickfergus in Ulster, reedifying of the towne of Athurie in Conaught, the strengthening of Athelon with gates and other fortifications, the foundation and plot of the bridge of Caterlagh, and made a strong goale at Spolingar, and walled the same as

bout with stone, to imprison rebels, theenes, and other malefactors. And likewise he begun manie other needfull and necessarie works in sundrie other places which tended to the great furtherance and advancement of service, but he left them *Quasi opera inchoata*: for he being called awaie so soone, time would not permit and allow him to finish and fullie to end them, or (it may be) by fatall appointment the time is not yet come the countie deserveth so great a god and benefit of Gods eternall blessing.

He found his maiesties records laid as it were in an open place, whether anie man (that bought his paines) might come that would, not defended, but subiect to wind, raine, and all kind of weather, and so in a sort neglected, that they served now and then (as I have by good men and good means crediblie heard reported) in stead of better litter to rub horse heeles, which he with great care and diligence caused to be perused and sorted, and prepared an apt place within the castell of Dublin, well trimmed and boarded with a chimnie in the roome, where neither by the moisture of the wals, nor unseasonableness of the weather, nor other means they could be subiect to harme. He prepared fit & convenient places and severall divisions to laie them apart, according to their severall natures, and appointed one of discretion and skill to looke to them, who also for his better incoragement was assigned a convenient fee for his labor. He also caused the statutes, policies, and ordinances of that realme, which late hid and not known to manie (though not destroyed but kept in safetie) to be searched, surueied, and over viewed, by men of the best learning, skill, and discretion he could find or come by in that realme, giving them in expresse charge to peruse and read all, and to collect such and so manie of them as they should in their discretions iudge and discern to be expedient and necessarie to be published and knownen, to the end the same might be imprinted, as afterward they were, that no man thenforth might pretend ignorance in the lawes, statutes, & ordinances of his owne countie where he was borne, which everie man by our lawes is bound to know. And because he both saw and by experience found what defect grew in the administration of iustice, by reason of kinred, partialitie, corruption, parcialitie, as other wise, he devised, and earnestlie sought to have Englishmen sent over to supplie the chiefe places of iustice. And for the better increase of his maiesties revenue and profit, he praised the like to serve in the rooms of his highnesse attorneie generall and solicitor.

No man had a greater desire to advance the publicke everie waie than he had, and in opinion greatlie magnified & esteemed all them that were of that mind: for he would manie times saie, that those were things memorablie, of perpetuall fame, and last, where all privat things died and perished with their privat persons. Wherefore he was bestoiled to serve, he had such a rare gift, gallant courtlie behavior, and comelinesse of person, as he gained the hearts of manie, and such universall liking and loving of all sorts of people toward him, as they were ever desirous and neuer wearie of him; but speciall sute commonlie made of the grauest, best, and wisest sort amongst them, when he was requied to have him returne and continue againe amongst them. He was (as best became him) verie aduised, circumspect, and carefull in the service of the state, not onelie setting apart, but in a sort neglecting all busines of his owne, in respect of his charge. He was a perfect orator by nature, having such readinesse and facility of speech, flowing eloquence, sweet delivrie, and passing memorie (for he seldome or neuer forgot anie thing he either read or heard) as he was spectallie

He built convenient rooms for the keeping and preservation of the records which before were neglected.

He caused the statutes of Ireland to be imprinted which never before were published.

He procured some Englishmen to be sent over, for the better administration of iustice.

A great number of all publicke works.

His carelesnesse in the service of the state.

allie noted a most rare man of all that did heare him. Such ample instructions he would giue for the framing and writing of his letters, or anie other thing he committed to be conceiued and put downe in writing, and dispose the same in so good order and fine method, as a verie simple man, if he retained and remembered but a part of that he said and deliuered, might supplie himselfe with matter enough to the purpose to write of.

Verie expert
and able he
was of a bad
clerke in time
to frame a good
secretarie.

And when by occasion he happened vpon some dull concepted spirited fellow (as Ireland and Wales now and then bred some such) to whome he had giuen instructions to write, who afterwards brought him the same to signe, not couched in soyt as he liked or would haue it; his temperance, courtesie, and discrete modestie was such, as he would neuer shew choler and impatience, rent the paper in peces, or publike disgrace the writer, but bid him not be discouraged for that fault: he could giue him the like instructions againe he gaue him before, but willed him then to marke and remember them better. At each seuerall time he was sent deputie into Ireland, he was by occasion, and as time fell out, furnished with a new secretarie. The first was master Edward Waterhouse, now knighted, and one of his maiesties counsell in Ireland. The second master Edmund Tremaine, who after was preferred to be a cleark to his maiesties counsell on his highnesse person attendant. The third (who although it was thought of manie, who were in that case well able to iudge) neither in paine, desert, birth, nor breeding was much inferior to the other two that were before him: yet in fortune, reward, or other recompense so far behind them, as this noble gentleman (whose true honored vertue) master to them all three, would manie times in soyt lament, and depelie be-moore to his good friends, commending highlie this mans paine and diligence, attributing his hard hap to his owne mishap, the time so serued he could not do him good, which manie times & by sundrie means he had earnestlie attempted to do; affirming often in solemne and earnest protestation as well to him as others, that it grieved him not a little, his fortune was so bad, to come to him now in the declination and wane of the mone: for he was the sole onelie man he had imployed about him in that necessitie and credit of seruice, wherein he had used him, that euer had quailed vnder his hands (for that was the terme he used) howbeit, he well hoped time or some good man (in respect his seruice was publike and so priuat) would repaire that then he could not do. For he deemed the man right worthy regard and consideration, that had serued him so long (and that in his great and soiall seruices, in so painefull and toilsome a place) without anie great wages, fee, or other intertainment growing to him in perpetuitie or other waies, which was either burthenous to his purse, or proceeding by or from him by anie other degree, to the gentlemans benefit, increase of credit, or further advancement, in recompense of his long seruice.

Of great fac-
tillie in dis-
patch of com-
mon causes.

He had both a speciall care & likewise a singular gift in dispatch of common causes, and the people in like manner had a passing maruellous desire to be heard & dispatched by him. Wherefore as well in part to satisfie their humors and affections, as more com-pletlie to performe the due and full measure of his charge (which was to heare and helpe all as nere as he could) he applied himselfe greatlie therunto, and would spare no paines, but indure marvellous toils and trauell to rid and dispatch awoie suitors: which he could do with such dexterity and wonderfull facility, as the same might seeme no wearinesse and tediousnesse at all to him (that was halfe a hell to some others) but rather to be reckoned a kind of re-

creation and passion. He made manie beholding vnto him, for he (as much as late in him) did benefit manie, and had more than an ordinarie desire to do for all his friends and faithfull followers; and so care-fulle, earnestlie, and painefull he would trauell to aduance their particular futes, were it sometimes to speake to his maiestie his selfe, or to the bodie of his graue and honorable counsell, or to anie priuat counsellor apart, as though he had purposelie fol-
lowed his owne most weightie causes.

And as he was a most deere, kind, tender, and lo-ving father to his children (so none could loue and esteeme his children more than he did, and noting in them great minds and haucie courages, which drew them by degrees to excellen in expence, and more than an ordinarie liberalitie, he would sometime fatherlie aduise them thus; that if they meant to line in or-der, they should euer behold those sommes, & seldome thinke whose nephews they were: so he was an affable, gentle, courteous, constant, and honorable master to his seruants. For he would often saie, it was an easie matter for them to keepe him, but hard to recouer his loue and fauour, if they had once lost him. And when anie of his noble and most louing friends would commend him greatlie (as manie times they would) that he made much of his old ser-uants (so) few that came to him euer went from him, but such as were first aduanced by him to bet-ter preferment) he would answer pleasantlie after his wonted mirth; Lord I giue thee thanks, that of those thou gauest me I haue not lost one. He was mar-uellous affable and courteous of nature, of easie ac-cesse, and pleasantlie familiar with anie that had oc-casion to repaire vnto him, & strict and precise in the obseruation of good order. For he would seldome breake it in anie respect, but vpon euident, knowne, and most iust cause; or when he was overruled (as sometimes he was) by such as had souereigne power to direct and comthand him. Extraordinarie courses he alwaies vtterlie misliked, especially when order was peruerterd, or iustice hindered, whereby the com-mon societie of mans life is onelie preserued and maintained; which two things speciallie purchased him such vniuersall goodwill euerie where (and namelie amongst the officers of his maiesties most honorable household, with whome he would manie times be familiarlie conuersant) as they haue often wished he might haue bene honored with a white staffe, to haue bozne office with authoritie amongst them.

His nature was so tempered with modestie, pietie and patience, as he seldome shewed heat or choler, how grauous so euer the offense was which was giuen him. He was a fast friend where he pro-fessed friendship, and no reuengefull so when he was offended; & hardlie would he be remoued in friend-ship from his friend or follower, but vpon most iust, certeine, and knowne cause, which he could not smul-ther, and would not hide from the partie. I haue ma-nie times heard him saie, and by occasion haue seene the same written in his owne letters, that he was dubbed knight (by that noble and vertuous prince king Edward) the selfe same date sir William Ce-cill (then principall secretarie, now lord tresuroz of England) was, by meanes therof and that sir Wil-liam Cecil was (yea euen in those daies) esteemed a most rare man, both for sundrie and singular gifts of nature, learning, wisdom, and integritie: and partlie by the friendlie good offices of that true pa-terne of humanitie and courtesie, sir John Cheke, then scholemaster to the king (a choise deare friend to them both) that there began such an entrie of ac-quaintance, knowledge, loue, mutual goodwill, and intire friendship betwixt them, as continued alwaies
thru

A great desire
to do for all
men.

A tender fa-
ther to his
children and a
louing master
to his ser-
uants.

He died at the
bishops palace
at Worcester.

Solitario homini
asque in agro vi-
sam agentis opinia
institit necessestia
est.

He was in-
tire be-
of the officers
of his mai-
ties household.

His death
greatlie be-
mored.
His corpes
was buried at
Windsor.

He was dub-
bed knight the
same date sir
William Ce-
cil was.

The time of
his death.

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Resistance
made by
Pondragon.

Gravelin.

His hurt at
the encounter
nere Zut-
phen.

The date of
the death of
Sir Philip
Sidneye.

Omnis virtus
nos ad se allicit,
facitque ut dili-
gamus eos, in
quibus inesse
videatur, tam
iusticiae quam
rastraeid maxi-
me efficit.

Thomas
Lovelace con-
dignit puni-
tionem by iudice-
ment of the ho-
norable court
in the Star-
chamber for
counterfeiting
of letters, &c.
I.S.

offer of offense, invasion, or resistance by Pondragon, who was of purpose imploied with sufficient force to defend the countrie, and to haue impeached all these attempts and actions.

Whereupon, his aduise for the service intended at Drauelin (dissenting in opinion from others, who were thought the most expert captiues and best renowned and sorted souldiours) gaue such a sufficient proofe of his excellent wit, policie, and ripe iudgement; as his onelie act and counsell, with the losse of a verie few of his companie, wrought all their safeties, which otherwile by treacherie had bene most likelie to haue bene intrapped. And so consequentlie going forward in other seruices, at an encounter with the enimie not far from Zutphen, where he that daie most valiantlie ferued (for he bare the instinctible mind of an ancient worthy Romane, who euer where he came made account of victorie) he receiued hurt by a musket shot a little aboue the left knee, which so brake and risted the bone, and so entred the thigh vprward towards the bodie, as the bullet could not be found before his bodie was opened. Of which hurt notwithstanding he liued (though in great paine and extreame torment) six and twentie daies following, and died the seauenteenth daie of October betwene two and thre of the clocke in the afternone at Arnam in Gelderland.

He greatlie abounded in sundrie good vertues, which euer, where he came, procured him loue, but chesefelie in iustice and liberalitie (a worthy & most speciall note in a gouernour) which gained him hartie loue coupled with fame and hono. For the which especiallie, those vnder his late charge and gouernment so greatlie loued, esteemed, honoied, & in a sort adored him when he was alieue; as they made earnest meanes and intreatie to haue his bodie remaine there still with them for memorie when he was dead; and promised that (if they might obtaine it) to erect for him as faire a monument as any prince had in christendome, yea though the same should cost halfe a tun of gold the building. His bodie was most honourable conueied from Arnam to London, where it remained at the Spinoies certeine daies, & from thence brought and remoued on the sixteenth of February along the streets through Cheapside, with funerall pompe and solemnitie becoming so martiall a gentleman; the ensignes of warre, and pikes trailed vpon the ground, the drums and flutes conuered with blacke and making a softis sound, with other statelie shewes of mournfull representations; the earle of Leicester with other honourable and worshipfull personages following the dead bodie, which finally was interred in Paules church of London.]

About this time one Thomas Lovelace, late of Staple inne gentleman, for counterfeiting of false and trecherous letters against his own kintred, containing most traitorous matter against hir maiesties owne person, was indged in the Star-chamber to be carried on horse-backe about Westminster hall with his face to the horse taile, and a paper on his backe declaring his offense; then to be set on the pillorie in the palace at Westminster, and there to haue one of his eares cut off: then to ride in like sort into London, and in Cheapside to be set on the pillorie vpon a market daie: after that to be conueied into Kent, where standing openlie on the pillorie in the place of aillie as before, he should lose his other eare; and lastlie be set vpon the pillorie one market daie in Canturburie, and another at Rochester; his offense and punishment in euerie of the said places openlie read and published: which iudiciall sentence was accordingly executed.

On sundae the eight daie of Maie an ambassa-

dor named Henric Kanelius, intituled *Cancellarius Germanicus*, arrived at the towne of London. A gentleman he was of goodlie personage, somewhat corpulent, and of sanguine complexion, verie eloquent likewise and learned, not onelie in the knowledge of diuerse tongues, as Latine, French, Italian, and German; but also in sundrie sciences. He came in ambassage from Frederike the second of that name, king of Denmarke, vnto the queens maiestie of England, and arriuing (as you haue heard) at the Tower, was honorable receiued of the lord Cobham and other great estates; who conueied him from thence through Towler street into Withspogate street; and so to a faire and large house called Crofbies place, where he was well lodged and remained.

The said Kanelius, during the time of his tariance had attendance done him conuenient for his person, both by water and by land: the queens maiesties barges and seruants imploied about him to & from London, the court then being at Greenwich; whether alwaies when he came, the nobilitie of England failed in no point of courtesie that might be desired: which he seemed (as he could no lesse) verie acceptable to take. Now being in England, and in the English court, he might (and no doubt did) marke the magnificence of hir maiestie, in all respects admirable. Whereof a notable president was given in Whitsonweke; at what time the said ambassado, being at the court, was accompanied with certeine English lords to hir highnesse chapel, and placed not far from hir excellencie, did heare diuine service so melodiouslie said and song, both by voice and instruments of consort, as a man halfe dead might thereby haue bene quickened. The gentlemen of the chapel with the rest of the quier bending themselves both with skill and zeale, that daie to honour their prince according to their place. The bishop of Salisburie and others distinctlie reading part of diuine service, and in presence of all the auditoie doing such obedience with kinde and countenance, as the presence of so gracious a soueraigne as they had in their eyes did require.

Now when this solemnitie was ended, hir maiestie departed; and so did the ambassado, attended vpon and accompanied vnto the place appointed for dinner, where standing nere vnto a faire window fronting into the open court, he might (being in communication, now with one and then with another English lord, as the L. Charles Howard L. admirall, the lord Cobham lord warden of the cinque ports, &c.) behold the roiall seruice of hir maiestie, verie personable gentlemen thereto sorted, carlieng couered dishes all of silver and gilt verie beautiful; themselves in velvet and silke suitable in eue respect, and as decentlie made, so decentlie worn; the trumpets sounding, and the drums plaieng therevnto: a marvellous delishtome thing to heare, & a passing gallant sight to behold. When dinner was done, the ambassado was made partaker of such courtlie recreations as for that time were fit, wherewith he could not but be pleasantlie conceited; considering that as euerie thing was done with purpose to delight: so he with others must needs be accordingly affected. And as the better sort had their conuenient disports, so were not the ordinarie people excluded from competent pleasure. For vpon a greene verie spacious and large, where thousands might stand and behold with good contentment, there bearebaiting & bulbaiting (tempered with other merrie disports) were exhibited: whereat it cannot be spoken what pleasure the people toke.

Now the daie being far spent, and the sun in his declination, the pastimes ended, and the actors there

Henric Kanelius
ambassado
sent out of
Denmarke.

The Danish
ambassado
honorable in-
terueiued.

The maiestie
of the English
court.

Henric Kanelius
like in the
queens cha-
pel.

The ambassa-
dor of Den-
marke seeth
the roiall ser-
uice of the
queene of
England.

Recreations
and disports
for prince and
people.

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there in weatle; the ambassadoz, with new unto his lodging by barge to Crosbies place, where (no doubt) this daies solemnitie was thought vpon, and talked of; if not by him, yet by his traine, and perhaps (as like enough) of both. Now after this, and manie other English courtesses else where, verie bountifullie giue and taken: the ambassadoz, after the finishing of such affaires as he was put in trust with all, taking his leaue both of the court, citie, and countrie, returned towards Denmarke on the thirteenth daie of Maie next following, whome we will leaue vpon his boiage, and touch other matters happening at home.

In this yeare one thousand five hundred fourescore and six, and on the fourth daie of June, a commission was directed from the queens maiestie then at Greenwich, tending to the ratification of a firme league of amitie betwene the two mightie princes, Elisabeth queene of England, and James the first of that name king of Scots, vpon certaine causes necessarie and important: the reigne and gouernement of the said princes, happening in so doubtfull and dangerous times, wherein the princes were aduising, who will be called catholike, agnising the popes authoritie, by mutuall leagues do knit friendship, for the rooting vp and throwing out of the true, pure, and sincere religion of the gospell, not onelie out of their owne territories and dominions, but also out of other foreign kingdoms; and thereto haue obliged their faith.

Least they therefore that loue the religion of the gospell, should forme lesse carefull for the defense and supportation thereof, than they which earnestlie endeavour to mainteine and uphold that of Rome, least it should be ouerthrowne; the said princes for the greater securitie of their persons, vpon whose safetie the safetie of the whole people both depend, and for the preferuation of the true, ancient, and christian religion, which they now professe; haue thought good that a stricter bond of a mutuall and social league, than at any time hitherto hath bene agreed vpon betwene their maiesties progenitors, should now be substantiallie concluded. This league was articulated, and commissioners thereto appointed; the right honorable Edward earle of Rutland, (a complet noble man, answerable to the etymon of his name, and verie well deserving the poets report:

*nomen virtutibus aequat,
Nec sinit ingenium nobilitate premi)*


the lord William Cues, and also Thomas Randolph esquier: who with their traine of attendants came to Berwike the nineteenth of June, where (the ambassadoz of Scotland being in like sort present) they accomplished the matter, whereto they were commissioned: the articles of the said league in all and euerie part sufficientlie confirmed, on the first of Iulie. All which being dispatched, the said earle of Rutland with his traine returned. This ambassage is reported in the historie of Scotland, whereto (for the avoiding of tautologie) we refer the reader.

In the moneth of Iulie a verie dangerous conspiracie was discovered, tending to the subuersion of the state and lamentable confusion of all things: wherein as the turbulent spirited did what they could to proceed, so it pleased God the author of peace to intercept them in the plot of their mischeuous deuise, and to overthrow them in their owne imagined nets. Ringleaders in this pretended treason were certaine gentlemen and others (of whome hereafter by particular name we will speake) who had waded and ventured so far therein, that vpon the notice thereof (as God will suffer no such attempts to lie long undetected) order was taken for a verie

strict inquirie and search vniuersallie to be made for their apprehension, which was accordingly executed, in so much that the conspirators distressed and successles were put to verie hard shifts by this inquisition and pursue, and in fine apprehended, to the great reioicing of the citizens of London, diuerse testified; as with bonders, making merrie in the streets at square and round tables, singing of psalmes, marching about their fiers with tabber and pipe, and giuing manie a shot, that the aire rang withall. In so much that the consideration thereof did so worke in hir highnesse, as herevpon (a thing rare in a prince) she directed letters of thanks to the citie, for the manifold testifications of their loue and loialtie: which because they are materiall (as no word nor title proceeding from so singular a soveraigne, is to fall to the ground vrecorded) we are in dutie bound trulle to armer them, as we had them vnder publication. And first a briefe oration of maister James Walton, one of the counsellors of the citie of London, in the absence of the recorder, as followeth.

The oration of maister James

Dalton, &c.

 Right worshipfull, my good countrie men and citizens of this most noble citie of London: since the late byte and report of a most wicked & traitorous conspiracie, not onelie to take awate the life of our most gracious soueraigne (whom God grant long to liue and reigne ouer vs) but also to stir vp a generall rebellion throughout the whole realme: the great and vniuersall iote of you all of this citie, vpon the apprehension of diuerse of that most wicked conspiracie of late declared and testified, by manie outward acts and shewes, hath wrought in the queens most excellent maiestie such a gracious contentment; that it hath moued hir highnesse, by hir letters signed with hir owne hand, to signifie vnto my lord maior of this citie & his brethren, hir most noble and princelie acceptation thereof, and that in such sort, as there by may appeare, that hir highnesse hath not more, no not so much reioiced at the most happie escape of the wicked mischiefe intended against hir owne person, as at the iote which hir louing subjects, & namelie you of this citie of London take at the apprehension of the practicers of that intended treason.

By occasion wherof, hir highnesse brought to a thankfull remembrance, and acknowledging of Gods infinit blessings bestowed on hir, comparable both anie prince or creature in the world, no worldly thing more or like accompteth of, than of the heartie loue of hir louing and faithfull subjects manie waies, and manie times before now; but especiallie by this our great iote in this sort, at this time, and vpon this occasion shewed. And that hir exceeding great loue and acceptation of our reioicing maie the more appeare vnto you: it hath pleased hir highnesse in the same letters to declare, that she desireth not longer to liue among vs, than she shall mainteine, continue, nourish, and increase the loue and goodwill of hir subjects towards hir. And this hir highnesse hath willed to be made knowne vnto you all, with this; that she will not faile with all care, and by all good means that appertaine to a christian prince, to seeke the conseruation of you all, so louing and dutifull affected subjects.

This hir maiesties pleasure in part now declared, and more to be made knowne vnto you by hir owne letters, which you shall heare read, my lord maior and his brethren haue required me to declare

Al lillig. vnto

Sir wolstan
Dixie lord ma-
ior of London,
Anthony
Ratcliffe, and
Henrie Brian-
nell shuriffes.

Queene Elisabeth.

An. Dom. 1588

An. Reg. 21

Unto you all, that they do heartlie reioice & thanke
God for the happie daie of the god acceptation of
this your great ioie; & my lord himselfe hath wil-
led me to giue you all heartie thanks in his name;
for that in the time of his seruice, your dutifull be-
hauours haue gotten to the citie so noble and wop-
thie a testimonie of dutie and loialtie, of so noble
and wopthie a queene. Now, for so much as Gods
blessings wonderfullie abound, & one ioie cometh
vpon another, let vs not be vnthankfull to God,
but acknowledge his godnesse, and attribute the
saue (as in ded we ought) to the sincere religion
of almightie God, most godlie established by the
queens most excellent maiestie, which hath taught
vs to knowe God aright, our dutie to our soveraigne,
and to loue our countrie, and hath made vs dutifull
and obediēt subiects, reioicing at all god things
happening to hir maiestie, hir realme, or to anie in
hir noble seruice; the true effects of a true and god
religion: whereas the contemners thereof, and
immoderat affectors of the Romish religion and so-
perstitions, being bold of the true knowledge of
God, haue declined from God, their allegiance to
their pynce, their loue to their countrie, and haue
become inuēters of mischeues, bzuters and spea-
ders abzoide of false and seditious rumoys, such as
ioie at no god thing; but contrariwise reioice at e-
uerie euill successe, the badges and marks of their
pzoofession, who haue befoze this, in this realme and in
other hir highnesse dominions, stirred vp rebellion,
forren inuasion, and manie times pzactised the verie
death & destruction of the queene hir selfe, the ruine
& subuerfion of the whole realme; the proper effects
of their Romish religion.

We haue beheld all these things, and sene in
our daies the ruine and mischeues inuēted against
others, fall vpon the inuēters them selues; and
haue knowne the wicked and violent hands of di-
uerse of them, disuerfite to kill and murder the m-
selues, when most traitzouslie they would, and most
happilie they could not, flea the lords annointed.
As we haue knowne all these things, so God be
thankd, that by a better religion, hauing bene bet-
ter taught, we haue bene no partakers of their wic-
ked deuises, but haue put to our helping hands, as
occasion hath serued; and euer readie to ouerthrow
the authors and denisers thereof. And I haue no
doubt, but we of this noble citie, who hitherto haue
bene alwaies readie, dutifullie and faithfullie to
serue hir maiestie vpon all occasions (hir highnesse
now so gratioislie accepting onelie of our reioicing
at the apprehension of hir enimies, euen the least
part of the dutie of a god subiect to so good a queene)
will be readie euerie one with all that we can make,
and with the vttermost aduenture of all our liues,
speedilie to be reuenged vpon all such as shall villa-
noufite and traitzouslie attempt or put in bze anie
mischeue to hir noble person; and in the meane time
will haue a better eie and eare to all suspicious and
miscontented persons, to their falengs and doings,
to their false bzutes and reports, to the places and
corners of their haunt and resort, to their harborers,
companions, aiders and maintainers. God vphold
and continue his religion among vs, and increase
our zeale therein, which hath made vs so louing and
loiall, and so beloued and acceptable subiects to so
wopthie a pynce; and root out that wicked and Ro-
mish religion, that hath made so manie dissolall and
traitzous subiects; to whome is both odious & irke-
some the long life and prosperous reigne of our most
noble queene Elisabeth. God confound all such trai-
tors; and preferue hir highnesse long to liue and
reigne oure vs. ¶ Having thus spoken, the multi-
tude all the while no lesse silent than attendant, the

speaker verie reuerentlie opened hir maiesties let-
ters, & read the same with a verie distinct and audible
voice, as folloiweth.

To our right trustie and welbeloued,
the lord maior of our citie of London, and
his brethren the aldermen of
the same.

Right trustie and welbeloued, we grēte
you well. Being giuen to vnderstand,
how greatlie our god and most louing
subiects of that citie, did reioice at the
apprehension of certeine diuelish and wicked min-
ded subiects of ours, that through the great and
singular godnesse of God haue bene detected, to
haue most wickedlie and vnnaturalie conspired,
not onelie the taking awaie of our owne life, but
also to haue stirred vp (as much as in them laie) a
generall rebellion throughout our whole realme:
we could not but by our owne letters witnesse vn-
to you the great and singular contentment we re-
ceiued vpon the knowledge thereof; assuring you,
that we did not so much reioice at the escape of the in-
tended attempt against our owne person, as to see
the great ioie our most louing subiects toke at the
apprehension of the contriners thereof: which to
make their loue moze aparant, they haue (as we are
to our great comfort informed) omitted no outward
shew, that by anie eternall act might witnesse to
the world the inward loue and dutifull affection they
beare towards vs. And as we haue as great cause
with all thankfulness to acknowledge Gods great
godnesse toward vs, through the infinit blessings
he laieth vpon vs, as manie as euer pynce had;
pea rather as euer creature had: yet do we not
for anie worldlie blessing receiued from his diuine
maiestie, so greatlie acknowledge the same, as in
that it hath pleased him to incline the hearts of our
subiects, euen from the first beginning of our
reigne; to carie as great loue toward vs, as euer
subiects caried toward pynce, which ought to moue
vs (as it doth in verie deed) to seeke with all care, & by
all god means that appertene to a christian pynce,
the conseruation of so louing and dutifull affected
subiects: assuring you, that we desire no longer to
liue, than while we maie in the whole course of our
gouernment carie our selues in such sort, as may not
onelie nourish and continue their loue and god will
toward vs, but also increase the same. We thinke
meet, that these our letters should be communicated
in some generall assemble to our most louing sub-
iects the commoners of that citie. Giuen vnder our
signet at our castell of Windsoz, the eighteenth daie
of August one thousand five hundred foure score and
fir, in the eight and twentieth yere of our reigne.

But leauing this pzinclie president of thanke-
fulness to perpetuall recozd, we will touch the next
occurrence, as course of time ministreth occasion.
About this time of the yere returned into England
sir Francis Drake knight, a man of rare knowlege
in nauigation, and verie fortunat in the euent of his
enterpises, after manie seats of god seruice accom-
plished in foren countries, as at Balon, Hispaniola,
S. Dominico, Carthagea, &c: to the admiration
of all people amongst whom he came, and contrarie
to the expectation of the Spaniards, who vpon sup-
posall of places impregnable grew so confident, that
they seemed lightlie to esteeme anie purposed force
of the enimie, and therefore doubted no kind of an-
noyance. Wholbeit, they were as safe as he that
hangeeth by the leanes of a tree in the end of au-
tunne, when as the leanes begin to fall. For they
were

Hispaniola in
old time called
Ophir.

The returne
of sir Francis
Drake into
England with
great riches,
&c.

Manie boia-
ges of great
difficultie haue
bene underta-
ken, but failed
in the issue.

Sir Fran-
Drake his
turne into
England
his last bo-
uaint.

Traitors in-
diced, arrig-
ned, and con-
demned at
Westminster.

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Hispaniola in
old time called
Cypric.

were so terrified at the sight of sacke and spoile, as
also doubting a totall wast by fire and sword, that
they were glad to yeld to composition. And here,
because mention is made of Hispaniola, note ye
that it is supposed that Salomon king of Ierusa-
lem had his great riches of gold from hence, and that
his ships sailed to Cypric (the old name as some as-
sume of Hispaniola) by the golfe of Persia, called *Si-
nus Persicus*. As for Santo Domingo, it is the chiefe
citie in Hispaniola, reported in historie, as touching
the building, that there is no citie in Spaine, *Tanto
prestante*, no not Barcelona, that is to be preferred be-
foze it generallie. For the houses are for the most
part of stone, as are they of Barcelona, or of so
strong and well wrought earth, that it maketh a sin-
gular and strong binding.

Not leaving description of places, it shall not be
amiss having now touched (though not with conue-
nient dignitie) the last voyage of this singular gentle-
man, to anner in this place a memorie of a former
voyage by him attempted, namelie on the thirtieth
daie of December, in the yere of Christ one thousand
five hundred seventie & seven: at what time accom-
panied with five tall ships well manned & appointed,
he sailed into the west Indies: & by the same adven-
ture (most luckily accomplished) eternised his name.
At what time the king of Spaine admiring his
order, & astonished at the hearing of the peales of Eng-
lish ordinance, roving like thunder (which he there
at his arrivall ballastie & liberallie discharged) re-
ceived him right honorable, causing four gallies
to conduct and bring his ship into the surest har-
bour, and him selfe with his companie to his pro-
fence. In this voyage he discovered a countrie erst
unknowne, which he named *Isola Albion*, where
by his courteous dealing he so allured and wonne the
hearts of the inhabitants, that twice they crowned
him king. Beyond the large countrie of Chile,
where it hath bene heretofore thought that nothing
had bene but continent and firme land, he found
londie Ilands, the furthest wherof lieng most south,
he called by his maiesties name *Elisabetha*. Now
after manie a singular note of his incomparable va-
lour, and the exhibition in places where he came, and
purposing to make his adventure profitable, he neg-
lected no means that might fit and with his honestie
and honor: returning home into England with
great riches the first twentieth of September, in
the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred and
eightie, with one ship onelie. For of the five, where-
with (at his first setting forth) he was furnished, he
was forced to set two on fire, the third perished, the
fourth came backe and went not forwards at the
first. A voyage of great adventure and prosperous
successe, contrarie to the awkward and frowning hap
of londie worthie gentlemen, whose attempts albe-
it honorable and commendable, yet matched with
misfortune, or at least defectue in deserved and
hoped issue: a sore discouragement to gentlemen of
travell, and not a little impeaching the art of navi-
gation.

And now to resume our former remembrance of
the conspirators, you shall understand, that after
due examination had, & no rigor used either by tor-
ture or torment, the wicked wretches guiltie con-
fessions drawing them to voluntarie confession, on the
seventh daie of September, certeine of them were
led from the Tower of London to Westminster by
water, where they were indicted; first, for intending
treason against the queens owne person; secondlie,
for stirring civil wars within the realme; and third-
lie, for praactising to bring in forein power to invade
the land. Seven of them appeared at Westmin-
ster on the thirtieth daie of September, who all

pleaded guiltie, and therefore had no surte, but were
condemned; and had iudgement on the next mor-
row.

On the fifteenth daie of September, other
seven of them were likewise arraigned at West-
minster, who pleading not guiltie, were tried by a
urie, found guiltie, and had iudgement according-
lie. The effect of whose treasons hostile to touch
them were these. John Savage, remaining long in
France at Rheims, was persuaded by doctor Sil-
bert Gifford, that great honor should rebound to
him, if he would take in hand to change religion, to
invade the realme by forein power, to dispossesse the
queene of England, and to proclame the Scottish
queene, and set her in her place. All which Savage
promised to do, or else to lose his life, and thereupon
returned into England; where he imparted his pur-
pose to Anthonie Babington, requiring his aid
therein. Then John Ballard priest, also persuaded
the said Babington to the purpose before expressed,
promising him aid of thre score thousand men that
secretlie should be landed, and told him both how
& when (as he thought.) Whereupon Babington pro-
mised and concluded to make a slaughter upon the
councell of his maiestie in the Star chamber, then
to have sacked London, to have burned the navie
and chiefe ships, to kill or displace the lords, knights
and magistrats, that remained true subjects to our
right & lawfull queene and realme, and also to have
cloied and poisoned the greatest ordinance, &c. These
were their purposes.

Now touching the names of the traitors, their
behaviours and speeches, with the maner of the
executions, you shall understand, that upon the
twentieth daie of September, being tuesday, John
Ballard a priest, and first persuader of Babington
to these odious treasons, was laid alone upon an
hurdell, and six others two and two in like sort, all
drawne from Tower hill through the citie of Lon-
don, unto a field at the hyer end of Holborne, hard
by the high wate side to saint Giles in the field, where
was erected a scaffold for their execution, & a paire of
gallows of extraordinary hight, as was that where-
upon haughrie Haman was hanged for his ambiti-
on, &c: the place likewise so railed to keepe off horre-
ment, as the people might plainelie see the execu-
tion. On the first daie the traitors were placed upon
the scaffold, that the one might behold the reward of
his fellows treason. Ballard the priest, who was
the first brother of this treason, was the first that
was hanged, who being cut downe (according to
iudgement) was dismembred, his bellie ript up, his
bowels and traitorous heart taken out & throwne
into the fire, his head also (secured from his shoul-
ders) was set on a short stake upon the top of the
gallows, and the trunk of his bodie quartered
and imbed in his owne blood, wherewith the ex-
ecutioners hands were bathed, and some of the stan-
ders by (but to their great loathing, as not able for
their lives to avoid it, such was the throng besprink-
led. This Ballard, at the vertie time of his death not
denying his treason, died an obstinate papist, and in
his protestation doubtfullie said, that if he had of-
fended the queens maiestie, or anie man else, he
was sorie, and so conditionallie desired forgiveness.
The malicious affection of his heart towards his
highnesse appeared in the trembling passage of
death, that whereas his treasons were impious,
odious, and damnable, as the most wicked to wit
his confederats for the most part) confessed (as the
common fame goeth) that they exceeded the great-
nesse of his maiesties mercie, which maie not be
measured, where there is anie measure in offend-
ing.

The first
seven condem-
ned without
anie surte.

The effect of
the last seven
their treasons
notable.

The place of
their execu-
tion was
somewhat the
inner place
of their con-
sultation.

The order of
the traitors
executed. John Bal-
lard priest
persuader of
Babington to
these odious
treasons exe-
cuted.

How Ballard
was affected
at his death.

Ballards con-
fession of the
queens mer-
cie forgave
not.

¶ m m m m m

And

The returne
of Sir Francis
Drake into
England with
great riches,
&c.

Spanie boy-
ges of great
disturbance
have bene under-
taken, but failed
in the issue.

Traitors in-
dicted, arraign-
ed, and con-
demned at
Westminster.

15.

Anthony
Babington
esquier execu-
ted.

A note of Ba-
bingtons pride
at the verie in-
stant of his
execution.

John Sa-
uage gentle-
man executed.

The fruites
that issue from
listening to
the counsell of
Iesuits, Ro-
manists, and
Rhemists.

Robert
Barnwell
gentleman
executed.

Chidiocke
Tichborne
esquire execu-
ted.
Charles Wil-
more a pension-
er executed.

Edward Ab-
ington es-
quier execu-
ted, his thac-
ting speech.

Throgmor-
tons prophesie
and Abing-
tons of like
truth in euent.

Thomas
Salisbury
esquier execu-
ted.

The last seven
traitors exe-
cuted with
great fauour.

And yet in his desire of remission at his highnesse hands, he added this condition (If) as one that doubt-
ed if he had offended his person.

Pert vnto this preest, Anthony Babington was made readie to the gallowes, who in euerie point was handled like vnto Ballard; in whome a signe of his former pride was to be obserued. For whereas the rest (through the cogitation of death) were exercised in prayer vpon their knees and bare-headed; he (whose turne was next) stood on his feet with his hat on his head, as if he had bene but a be- holder of the execution. Concerning his religion, he died a papist. His treasons were so odious, as the King of conscience compelled him to acknowledge himselfe a most greuous trespasser against the di- uine maiestie, and the queens highnesse. Pert vnto Babington, Sauage was likewise prepared for the execution. This notable traitor (as the same goeth) was the man that conferred with doctor Cile- ford at Paris; and by the confirmations of the English fugitiues at Rheims was resolu'd, and resolute determined to kill the queene. It is like- wise said, that vpon the apprehension of Ballard the preest, Babington accelerated and hastened this Sauage to dispatch his resolution, and that he one- lie deferred the matter for the making of a court- like late of apparell.

When Sauage was executed, Barnwell was made readie to die, an obstinat papist, who for his treason made conscience his best excuse; howbeit a rotten conscience, which was infected with the mur- der of a vertuous queene; which sith it was so bad, few there were that heard him, but forbade their con- science to pittie him, otherwise than charitable to be so sorrowfull for his offense, deserting to shamefull a fall, and damnable before God and man. After this Barnwell, Tichborne turne was serued, a pro- per young gentleman, whose humilltie and mone- moued much compassion. Cilneie one of the queens maiesties pensioners, next vnto Tichborne, made worke for the hangman, a wretch well worthe of death, who went about to take awate his highnesse life.

The last of these seven that suffered was Edward Abington, whose father was an officer of good credit in his highnesse house, and for manie advancements was bound to saie; God saue god M. Elisabeth. But his sonne was a notable papist, & an archtra- tor, who at his death did all that in him laie, to stir a feare in the hearts of the ignorant multitude, with this speech, that there could not chuse but be great effusion of blood in England verie shortly. But Gods pponidence maketh it apparant, that the pro- phesies of traitors proue not euermore scripture. For Throgmorton the traitor said, that before one yeare was expired, the prosperitie & peace of Eng- land should be turned into generall calamitie. How- beit, the date of that dinination is out, & they both (as maie be the rest of that rebellious rout in their appointed time) by Gods grace partakers of semblable destinie. This Abington was the last of the first seven that were executed: and thus ended that daies worke, to the comfort of Israell, for that the execrable thing which troubled the whole land (and highlie offended the diuine maiestie) was taken a- wate.

On the daie following (according to generall expectation) being the one and twentieth daie of Sep- tember, Salisbury was laid alone vpon an hur- dle, and other six, two and two in like manner, all drawne from Tower hill through the citie of Lon- don, vnto the former place of execution. Salisbu- rie was the first man that suffered, who in all points was handled as the other seven the daie before;

sauing that he and the latter six were executed with this fauour, that they were permitted to hang vntill they were fullie dead, before the rest of their execution was performed. And albeit this man was blinded with the superstition of papistris, even at the point of death, yet he mildlie acknowledged his greuous offense against the queene, and in his last commendation charged all catholikes (so for he onelie accounted the papists) that they should leaue attempting to set vp their religion by violent hand, and by double and treble repetition exhorted them to patience, and earnestlie forbade them all manner of violence.

After Salisbury was with all possible fauour executed, Dun was stripped into his shirt, and se- med penitent for his greuous offense: who after that with verie earnest perswasions he had like- wise disuaded the Romanists from attempting anie matter of violence, he was executed with exceeding fauour. This Dun (as the report goeth) lived rea- sonable wealthie, but it seemeth the man was of a discontented humour, and in dislike with a com- petent location; as appeared by this his baine ima- gination. For in Trinitie terme last, comming in- to the Kings bench office, among other pleasant speeches to one of his familiars; You will maruell (quoth he) to see me within one quarter of a yeare to walke vp and downe the streets with twentie men after me. Wherevpon one of his acquaint- tance pleasantlie answered, that he feared he should first see him followed to the gallowes with a thou- sand people. Dun shewed his desire, and the other read his destinie. But let the end of this traitor be a warning to all ambitious men, that destruction followeth presumption, and pride will haue a fall.

When the execution of Dun was finished, the next in that tragedie was Jones. This traitor (by that which was easie to be gathered of his behaviour at the gallowes) was a verie close papist, of a shrewd reach, and a most dangerous member in this com- mon wealth. For notwithstanding his protestati- on that he disuaded Salisbury from his odious en- terprize; yet his owne talke shewed that his coun- sell proceeded of a feare which he had, that the proud humoz of Babington threatened an ouerthrow of their purpose; rather than of anie dutifull zeale that he bare towards the safetie of the queens ma- iestie. For he neither would him selfe discover this treason of the highest degre, neither did he coun- sell his friend Salisbury to prevent his owne dan- ger in detecting the conspiracie of his compani- ons: yea when the obiousnesse thereof brake out in- to publike knowledge, he (contrarie to the generall dutie of a good subiect, and in contempt of a spe- ciall warrant directed vnto him) not onelie refused (as he himselfe confessed) to apprehend Salisbury being in his owne house, but (so far as he might) succoured him, after that he was published to be a firebrand of that most wicked treason. One speci- all thing neuer thelesse, which moued manie to pittie him above the rest, was, because with vehement words he protested, that although he was a catho- like in religion, yet he so deeplie weied the libertie of his countrie, as that he would be (and euer was) readie to spend his life in withstanding anie foren- enemie, French, Italian, Spanish, or whatsoeuer: by whose opinion the tolleration of inuasion was so far from nature and christian dutie, as no excuse or punishment might satisfie the crime.

After Jones had paid the price of his treason, with all possible fauour, then Charnocke was execu- ted, and after him Trauers; both two men (as it se- med) bewitched with an ignorant deuotion; for that in their ends nothing was to be obserued but their paying

Salisbury
acknowled-
geth his gre-
uous offense:
a note of re-
pentance.
Violence for-
bidden by
Salisbury.

Henrie Dun
gentleman ex-
ecuted.

The ambi-
tious humour of
Henrie Dun.

Edward
Jones es-
quier execu-
ted.

Foren inua-
sion reproued
by Jones.

John Tra-
uers & John
Charnocke
gentlemen ex-
ecuted.

Robert Gay
executed.

His maiestie
graciously
commended this
traitor.

Hippocrisie of
Robert Gay

Jerom Bel-
lamie gentle-
man executed

One of the
Bellamies
hanged him-
selfe in the
Tower.

Ex libello J.
Nich. typis C.B.
anno 1581.

praising to our lable, calling upon saints, tolmed with a number of ceremonies, crossings, and blessings, &c. So that it appeared that in their prayers, they were bound to foine more than to faith.

Robert Gage executed.

When the hangman had given these two his beate blessing, Gage prepared himselfe to die, who began his protestation, that there was neuer subject more bound to a prince than his father was to his maistie: and from that reuerend recognisance and true acknowledgement of his maisties graciousnes, he fell to excuse him selfe of the odious treasons for which he was to die: but on to weake a ground, as the simplest iudgement then present, found (by the order of his owne confession) that he was a dangerous instrument for the pope. He confessed that he accompanied Ballard the seminarie priest (who hatched the great eg of this pestilent practise) into Poyelshire, & that he wrote a letter for the said priest to a Frenchman or Spaniard of account beyond the seas. To be short, in all the course of his confession, in indifferent iudgements, he accused himselfe to be an hollow hearted subject, and a sound papist. This cunning traitor Gage could neuer haue made a confession of more infamie to himselfe, than in acknowledging the queens maisties most excellent fauour, shewed to his father (which a dutifull sonne ought to esteeme a benefit unto himselfe) and so to redouble the reproch of his treasons, he condemned himselfe of ingratitude, an unnatural vice, which the vertie soules of the aire abhorre: as (to use one example of sufficiencie for a thousand) is reported of the Rooke; which so often as the hath yong, casteth one out of the nest for the hire of the house, and reward of him that lodged hir.

Jerom Bellamie gentle- man executed.

The last that suffered was one of the Bellamies, whose countenance discovered him to be a settled papist, and who as he could saie little to save his life; so at the gallows he spake nothing to defend his death. Although this traitor had but a dull spirit, yet (as it seemed) he had a malicious heart, answerable to that of his friends, who succored Wabington and some of his associates, when feare of the law, and shame of their odious treasons, made them to shrowd themselves like foxes in holes and coverts. And it seemed that they were as resolute to follow the treasons of Wabington, as they were ready to release him from the danger of the law. Otherwise if this Bellamies brother had not had an accusing conscience, he would neuer with violent hands haue hanged himselfe.

One of the Bellamies hanged him- selfe in the Tower.

Thus ended the second daies execution, to the full satisfaction of the peoples expectation; who nevertheless (as the daie before) were inwardly touched with passions ingendred by the daepe impressions of the present obiects: but touched they were, as nothing pitieng their deserved deaths, in regard they were most heinous malefactors: but as they were men, in whome humanitie should so haue prevailed, as that they should rather haue chosen losse of life & liuelod, than to haue intended the desolation of their native countrie, the depriuation of prince, the deposition of pères, the destruction of people; and whatsoeuer might seeme as a direxioe to bloodshed and slaughter, from the highest governor sitting in roialtie adorned with crowne and scepter, to the sucking babe lieng in the cradle wrapped in swathing clouts. Which extremities of butcherie crueltie and unnaturall sauenesse, haue had an ancient purpose of practise, as maie appeare by a clause or two of John Nichols his recantation; where speaking of Pius Quintus, excommunicating our liege soueraigne, he saith that the same was with in a twelue moneth of the first publication renewed, and five hundred copies printed at Rome, which

Exubello I. Nich. typ. C. B. 1575.

were dispersed throughout Italie, Spaine, & Germanie. Whereof what were the contents, is at large set downe in the treatise of execution of iustice in England for treason, not for religion.

But thus saith the same convert, that a reader of diuinitie positue, in the hearing of two hundred scholars, bonneted these prophane words out of his uncircumcised mouth; that it was lawfull for anie of worship in England, to authorize the vilest wretch that is, to take the death of his highnesse: at one prosperous estate the Itallish priest and Spanish prince do so maligne; that they would worke wonders, were it not for certeine impedits: as father Dais a Spaniard, reader of diuinitie scholasticall in the Romane college, affirmed in an auditoire of three hundred, saieing: *Bona papa voluntas trita & manifest, & eius crumenaparata: sed R. P. aut metus subtrahit, aut potestatis defectus uetat, ut suum in Angliam exercitum ducere non audeat.* There (by the waie) would be noted an inuasion long since pretended. And that the queens maisties estate was then maliciously aimed at, maie appeare by these comminations and threats, that they would burne his bones, and the bones of all such as loued hir, either alieue or dead; of whome, some were lords temporall, some spirituall, &c. Memorandum, that this was to be done, when they held the sterne of gouernement: which shall be, when errant traitors are good subjects, and ranke knaues honest men.

And now to touch the punishment inflicted upon the foresaid wretches, there is none (if he be not a lioune aduerfariie to the state, and an enimie to iustice) but must needs confesse, that although some of the conspirators were no lesse charpelie executed, than by law was censured: yet considering the qualitie of their offense, it was a death tempered with lenitie, if no more but the speedines of their execution be considered, whereby their paine and smart was but momentanie. Oh with what seueritie did the ancients punish offenses of this nature! And not without cause. For besides that nothing is more vniuersall in all the whole scriptures, than prohibition to kill or to take the life or honoz, not onlie of the prince, but also of inferior magistrats, although they be wicked (and it is said in Exodus; Thou shalt not raise upon the iudges, neither speake euill of the ruler of the people) so is it provided by the lawes of nations, that not onlie he that hath killed his soueraigne, but he also that made the attempt, that gaue counsell, that yielded consent, that conceived the thought, is gilty of high treason. Yea, he that was neuer pccuented nor taken in the manner, in this point of the soueraigne, the law accounteth him as condemned already; and iudgeth him capable of death, that thought once in times past to haue seized upon the life of his prince, and repenitance that followed notwithstanding.

And trulie there was a gentleman of Poorman- die, who confessed to a Franciscane frier, that he once minded to haue killed king Francis the first: but repented him of that euill thought. The frier gaue him absolution, but yet afterwards informed the king of the same; who sent the gentleman to the parlement at Paris there to be tried, where he was by common consent condemned to die, and after executed. Amongst the Macedonians there was a law, that condemned to death siue of their next kinsfolks that were convicted of conspiracie against their prince. And most notable is the historie of Remulus, who seeing his towne or citie besieged by a barbarous king, but yet youthfull and wanton; he signified unto the enimie by messengers, that he would betraie the citizens into his hands, if he would honour hir with marriage. Which when the king

See before pag 1377, 8, 60, &c. 1358, b, 60, &c.

The causes that haue so long hindered king Philip to invade England.

The reuerend regard that subjects ought to haue of their soueraignes, &c.

A gentleman intred to die because he once thought to haue killed his prince.

A seuer law against treason.

king had promised to doe, the in the night season opened the gates, and (the people unwitting and ignorant) let in forren force. Now the king being entered & in possession, commanded that the towne should be sacked, and all the people slaughtered, *Amilba* excepted, the vse of whose bodie (for his oth sake, which he was loth to violat) he had the same night as in wedlocke; howbeit, the next daie he cast him off, and betooke him to twelue scallions by turns to be abused; & lastlie pitcht him vpon a stake. Here you haue examples in both sexes (man and woman) of treason and conspiracie most seuerelie executed: which if they be compared vnto the sufferings of our late offendours, Iesu what ods shall we see and confesse? And as the ancients had treason in mortall hatred; so could they not awake with ingratitude, as maie be obserued by the lawes of *Draco* (which were said to be written in blood, they were so sharpe and peremptorie) amongst which, there was a commandement, that if anie man had receiued a benefit of his neighbor, and it were proued against him long after that he had bene vnthankfull for it, and had ill acknowledged the good turne receiued; such a one should be put to death. So then we see how in old time they opposed their affections against particular vices, persecuting them with seueritie, as laboring to supplant them: this age of ours beholdeth ingratitude and treason combined, with a foule nest of other irkesome and noisome sins, in the hearts of helboundes (for we maie not vouchsafe them the name of men) breasting out the vapors of their venomous infection, to the dammishing of the whole commonwealth: what fauour then deserue such to find where they haue offended, or rather what rigour are they not worthy to suffer?

A woman traitorously well rewarded.

Against setting after nouelties, and to teach men to be well abused, &c.

Amongst the *Locrians* there was a strict decree, that euerie citizen, desirous to bring in a new law, should come and declare it publickly before the people with a halter about his necke; to the end that if his new law was not thought meet to be receiued, and verie profitable for the commonwealth, he might presentlie be strangled with the same rope. If they in old time went so short a waie to worke in a case of vniuersallnesse, to teach others that they vnderstand nothing without mature deliberation: what are we taught to be conuenient for such, as heake not their wits either to deuile or prefer new lawes; but inuideo what they can to dissolve all law and order, all peace and societie, all government and subiection; and by the impulsio of a furious mind to let in libertie, contempt, and all the enormities and abuses that accompanie a licentious life? To let passe the pluralitie of examples & authorities of this kind, the number being so great as that they would fill vp *Crotosthenes* lue; and to saie some what of seueritie, that by opposition of countrie to countrie in that respect, we maie see the great difference betwene ours and theirs.

Extreme kinds of torments in other countries for treason, &c.

It is seueritie to sea men quicke, to chaine them allie to a stake, in such sort as they maie run round thereabout, the fier inuironing them on all sides: it is seueritie to haue collops of fleshy pluckt from the bodie with hot burning tongs: it is seueritie to be cast downe from a steepe place stark naked vpon sharpe stakes: it is seueritie to be tozned in peces with wild horses, and to haue the bones broken vpon a wheele. All these be extremities of torments awarded by law, and at this daie practised in forren regions for treason, and sometime for crimes of nothing so dangerous a nature. Finallie, if we confer the seueritie of this execution, exercised vpon rebellious and traitorous subiects in a superlatiue degree of disloyaltie, with that of other nations commonlie

vse, namelie in principall affaires, which concerne peace and warre, and matters of gouernment, to accept the seruice of runnagate slaues, to place them in authoritie, to change or depose at pleasure anie whatsoeuer; yea to strangle them vpon the least suspicion or dislike: our seueritie is clemencie. For in this is ripe reason and iudiciall processe; in the other will without wit, & (as commonlie they saie) *Omnia pro imperio, nihil pro officio*.

And therefore we conclude, that ingratitude being counted vnnatural, and treason (a vice vomited out of hell mouth) linked together with manie knots of other shamefull sinnes, and all concurring in the hearts and liues of these outrageous conspirators as in a centre: whie should it be thought seueritie to haue iustice iustlie administered, that traitors should be drowne vpon hurdels, strangled in a halter, cut downe allie, dismembred, their bellies ripped, their bowels taken out and burned, their heads chopt from their shoulders, their bodies clouen in foure quarters, and set ouer the gates of London, for the foules of the aire to feed vpon at full: vnto which foule end maie all such come, as meane anie mischief against god queene Elisabeth, the lords of hir highnesse counsell, the bodie politike of the land, the slander or innouation of true religion, &c: wherein God make prince and people of one mind, and plant in all subiects a reuerend regard of obedience and contentment of present estate, supported with iustice and religion: least long after nouelties, it fare with them as with the frogs, who liuing at libertie in lakes and ponds, would needs (as mistaking their present intercommunitie of life) with one consent sue to *Jupiter* for a king, and so did. Whereat he wondering, granted their desires, and cast them an huge trunk of a tree, which besides that it made a great noise in the water as it fell, to their terrifing; so it was cumbersome by taking vp their accustomed passage: insomuch that discontented therewithall, they assaulted *Jupiter* with a fresh petition, complaining that (besides diuerse dislikes otherwise) the king whom he gaue them was but a senselesse stocke, and vntoworthie of obedience: wherefore it would please him to appoint them another indred with life. Wherevpon *Jupiter* sent the herne among them, who entring into the water, deuoured by the frogs one after another: insomuch that the residue, seeing their new king so rauenslike gobling vp their fellowes, lamentable weeping besought *Jupiter* to deliuer them from the throte of that dragon and tyrant. But he (of purpose vndchangeable) made them a flat answer, that (will they nill they) the herne should rule ouer them.

Traitors iustlie rewarded, and yet nothing so as they deserue.

A pretty apologie to the present state of malcontents.

Barnardino de Sependoza, aluaies mistaking the mind against the state of England: note his practices with Ballard.

Whereby we are taught to be content when we are well, and to make much of god queene Elisabeth, by whom we enioie life and libertie, with other blessings from aboue; beseeching God we maie see a confirmation of the world, before the scepter of the kingdom be translated to another. For (as the proverbe saith) seldom commeth the better. But to the purpose, this execution being dispatched, and the testimonies thereof dispersed and bisble in diuerse places about the citie, as at London bridge, where the traitors heads were ranged into their seuerall classes: manie rimes, ballads, and pamphlets were set forth by sundrie well affected people, wherein brieflie were comprised the plot of their conspiracie, the names of the traitors, and their successive suffering, which growing common and familiar both in citie and countrie, were chaunted with no lesse alacritie & courage of the singer, than willinglie and delightfullie listened vnto of the hearer. So that, what by one meane and what by another, all

Seldom commeth the better.

The Scottish queene is an actor in this purposed conspiracie.

English

England was made acquainted with this horrible conspiracie, not so much admiring the manner of the mischances intended, as comforted that his highnesse had the holie hand of God ouershadowing him, the surest protection that prince or people can haue against perill. So that England is replenished with faithfull and loving subiects, though here and there (like darnell among wheate) lurke a viper or aspe waiting opportunitie to bite or sting.

Now to make a complet discourse of all these heauie & tragicall accidents, hauing thus far continued much important matter concerning the same: the reader is with due regard to peruse the addition following, wherein is argument of aggravation touching these treasons: which being aduisedly read, considered, and conferred with the former narration, will yeld as sound, pitie, and effectuall information for the knowledge of the conspirators purposed plot, as any subiect would desire: and more than without griefe or teares any true English heart can abide to read or heare. Where, by the waie, is to be noted, that aparte the Scottish Q. was a principall.

It is apparant by the subiectall confessions of John Ballard prest, Anthonie Babington, and their confederats, that the said John Ballard (being a prest of the English seminarie at Rheims) in Lent past (after he and sundrie other Jesuits and prests, of his sect, had travelled throughout all parts almost of this realme, & labored to their vttermost to breed in his maiesties subiects an inclination to rebell against him) he went into France, and there treated and concluded with Barnardino de Mendoza (the Spanish ambassado; resident at Paris) with Charles Paget & Thomas Morgan two English fugitives, and inexcusable traitors for an inuasion to be made by foreyn forces into this kingdome. And because no assurance could then be made vnto Mendoza for the interteining, assisting, and good landing of those whome the king his maiesty, the pope, and the house of Guise should dispatch for that seruice, he sent the said Ballard into England at Whitsonday last, with expresse charge to informe the catholikes, that for sundrie important considerations, the king his maiesty had bowed vpon his soule to reforme England, or to lose Spaine: and for that purpose had in readinesse such forces & warlike preparations, as the like was neuer sene in these parts of christendome. And therefore willed him to stirre the people, and tooke the meanes to make some faction to giue them landing & interteinement at their coming: & speciallie to perswade the Scottish Q. in that confusion; letting the catholikes vnderstand, that in case they did not assist the inuaders, they would then enter as conquerors, put no difference betwixt man & man.

The Scottish queene is an adoe in this purposed conspiracie.

With this dispatch Ballard by the speciall direction of Morgan (a notorious traitor to this state, yea a professed & swoorne seruant vnto the Scottish queene) repaired to Anthonie Babington, a gentleman to whom the said Scottish Q. vpon the commendation of Morgan & the bishop of Glascolme, had long before written letters of gratulation, & with whom she had secret intelligence by sending of letters & other messages, the space almost of two yeares before. To this gentleman Ballard discovered at large the whole purpose of Mendoza, Paget, & Morgan, and said (as he had in charge) that if hapilie a strong partie could be made here to assist the inuasion, and aduance the Scottish queene, men, munition, monie, and victuals should be abundantly supplied from beyond the seas; and therefore perswaded Babington to found the whole realme, and to undertake the action. Babington at the first proposed manie difficulties, but principallie this, that the inuaders or their assistants could haue no hope (the state being so well settled) to

preuaile during his maiesties life. Where vpon Ballard presentlie replied, that his life could be no hinderance therein. For vpon like doubts moured beyond the seas by meanes alreadie laid, John Savage (a conspirator) conuicted hereof by his owne confession) through the persuation and procurement principallie of one William Oisford (an English fugitive, and reader of disuinitie in the English seminarie at Rheims) had vowed and swoorne to kill his maiesty, as a thing resolu'd vpon to be lawfull, honorable, and meritorious.

John Savage had vowed and swoorne to kill the queene.

This difficultie being thus remoued, and Ballard from daie to daie continuing his persuations, and highlie commending the murdering of his maiesty as a deed of great honor, singular merit, and easie to effectuall: Babington undertooke the managing of the whole action, and hauing first with his complices entred into manie seuerall propositions of sundrie treasonable natures, as to surpriue his maiesties person by force, to kill the lord treasurer, the earle of Leicester, and sir Francis Walsingham, to remoue his counsellors, and to place new, to murder the nobilitie whilst they were set in administering iustice, to sacke the citie of London, to fire the nauie of the realme, to surpriue some forces and haucens, to furnish the state of their forces by an vniuersall spoile and robbing of the richer sort; hauing (I saie) first entred into these and such like propositions in fine, he with Ballard and others resolu'd vpon these three principall points: first, that the inuaders should be assisted by a prepared readinesse in the people to rebell in diuerse places, and to ioine with them vpon their first landing; that his maiesty should be murdered by sir gentlesmen of resolution; and lastlie, that the Scottish queene should be aduanced to the crowne of England. For the better performance of these resolutions, Ballard and Babington founded diuerse, and dealt with manie; and so farre Babington proceeded in short time, that a choise was made by him of the sir that should execute the attempt against his maiesties person, that some others were especiallie assigned by him to attend and assist the inuasion, with direction from Babington to be popular vnto their vttermost; and that himselfe resolu'd vpon the first assurance either of his maiesties death, or of the strangers arrivall, to proclaim the queene of Scots queene of England.

Things standing in these terms, and Babington deferring onelie the execution of this plot, vntill signification thereof were giuen to the Scottish queene, and his good pleasure knowne therein (God so ordering it) the Scottish queene in June last wrote vnto Babington a short letter in cipher, signifieng his discontent for the breach of their intelligence, and requiring him to send by that bearer a packet receiued for him in Aprill before, and vntill that time retained by Babington, as wanting good meanes of conuiesing, and therefore fearing the danger of that seruice. Where vpon Babington vsing that opportunitie, both deliuered his packet vnto that messenger, and by him wrote vnto his touching euerie particular of this plot aboue mentioned, and how farre he had proceeded therein; signifieng amongst manie other things, how desirous he was to do his some seruice, how well it might be performed, if assistance were giuen from beyond the seas for that which was undertaken thence, and how necessarie it were that rewards were promised vnto the chiefe actors for their better incouragement, and to be giuen to their posterities, in case they miscaried in the execution. And therefore he required, that the would grant authoritie to some such as it might like him to giue certelme offices and dignities necessarie

Babington undertaketh the managing of the whole action: note their treasons.

The Scottish queene writeth vnto Babington in cipher: with his aduise, direction, and request.

for this action. Unto this letter Babington about twentie daies after in the same cipher, by which he did write before, received answer from the Scottish quene, with which she also sent inclosed (as his secretarie now confesseth) a new alphabet in cipher, to be used betwene them from that time forward.

And in this his letter she not onelie declared his good opinion of Babington, gaue him due thanks for his readinesse to do his seruice, promised correspondence in all that she might, and willed that the resolution being taken, he should with all speed impart it to Barnardino de Mendoza, considering first what forces on foot or horsebacke he could make, what place for their assemblie, what leaders in euerie shire, what generall or chiefe leaders; but also amongst infinite other traitorous deuotions (apparent by the verie letters) she aduised that vpon returne of answer from Mendoza, with assurance that all things were in a readinesse, then and not before it should be convenient to found the countrie. And to colour the prouision and preparation, it should be giuen out, that what they did, was not vpon anie euill or disolal disposition towards his maiestie, but for the iust defense of catholikes, their bodies, liues, & lands, against the violence of the Puritans, the principall wherof being in the low countries with the chiefe forces of the realme, purposed at his returne to ruine not onelie the whole catholikes, but also meant to depriue his maiestie of the crowne. And that they should giue it out, that therefore the preparation was for the defense of his maiestie, and his lawfull successors, not naming the Scottish quene: vnder which pretense an association also might be made amongst the catholikes.

Which being done, and all things in readinesse both within and without the realme, it should be then time for the six gentlemen to worke, taking order that (because the time would be somewhat uncerteine of the exploit vpon his maiesties person) there should be continuallie some men in readinesse about the court well horsed, to bring word in post into the countrie (by foure severall waies for feare of intercepting) when that designment was performed, to the end she might be taken awaie before his keeper could either conueie her awaie or fortifie the place. She willed that some fire might be kindled in Ireland, to the end the counsellors attention might be distracted from that part whense the stroke should come, which was from Flanders, Spaine, and the house of Guise. She aduised Babington to deale carefulle and vigilantlie, to prouide all things necessarie for effecting the enterpryse, in such sort that it might take good effect by the grace of God (for so it pleaseth him to use the phrase). Lastlie, after great promises of large requital to all the conspirators, and manie other particular aduises tending wholie to the subuersion of this state, and depriuation of his maiesties life, she groweth towards a conclusion, with praise for his good successe in the aforesaid conspiracie. It were needlesse to expresse more particularlie the contents of his or her letters, the originals themselves being extant and surpris'd.

So these letters Babington wrote for answer by the same messenger, that so soon as the resolution was fullie taken with Mendoza, he would informe his more; and thereupon within thre daies after aduised Ballard towards Mendoza with signification, that all things were here in a readinesse, and attended onelie the arrivall of their forces. But God, who hath alwaies protected his maiestie in all mercie beyond the expectation of man, euen almost in the verie point of execution, discovered the conspiracie. And thereupon Ballard (being ready to imbarke himselfe) was taken, vpon whose agree-

ment Babington forced (as he said) with the extreme danger to be discovered, and the no hope of anie pardon for so hatefull an offense, entred a new resolution with Sauage aforesaid & Charnocke, to take his maiesties life awaie presentlie, otherwise intended to haue bene repited untill the iustification, which (as Ballard from the mouth of Mendoza swore) must at the bittermost haue bene performed by September. But Babington, finding himselfe restrained before he wold, and thereby assuring himselfe that all was knowne, found the meanes to escape, in hope to haue recovered the sea, and so to haue saued himselfe and his confederats. Yet after ten daies search through all countries adioining to London, though disguised in ciuill clothes attire, and discolored with walnut leaues, he was discovered, apprehended, and with some other of the conspirators brought vnto London, with greater manifestation of true ioie in the people for their surprisall, than tong can expresse or pen maie write.

The apprehension of Ballard and flight of Babington dismayed the rest, and dispersed the other conspirators; yet not so farre, but that iustice hath since laid hold vpon the most of them. And though in the beginning they seemed all resolved to stand onto the deniall of euerie part of this action; yet such is the force of truth, that without either hope of fauor or feare of torture, they haue all acknowledged the conspiracie, and confessed the seuerall offenses, agnising the Scottish quene to be the principall comforter, director, and imbracer of these treasons, and imputing this error to their deceivable expectation of his future greatnesse in this land, the hope whereof ioined with his allurements, hath heretofore as the world can witnesse (though these could not beware thereby) bred diuerse rebellions within this kingdome, ouerturned manie happie estates, and defiled sundrie families of vnspeotted fidelitie in former time.

All which notwithstanding our catholikes and others owe and attribute so great a priuilege to his person onelie, that being past expectation (as they terme it) of anie good from the king his sonne, and not regarding the interest of anie other to the succession of this state, if she by death or otherwise maie not be aduanced vnto this kingdome: they are then determined to set the crowne on the house of Spaine, either by pretense of some putatiue title, to which effect some pamphlets haue bene already composed; or rather (to auoid all controuersies) by some grant and inuerture from the se apostolike: for the dispatch wherof (as the conspirators confesse) doctor Allen an English fugitiue, and some others attend in Rome to sollicite the pope. Which being once performed, some of the grauer and more reuerend sort (as they call them) of our fugitiue diuines, must secretlie make their repaire hither, and in auricular confession persuaade the principall catholikes of this land, and such as are able to swaie the rest, to fauor, mainteine and aduance that title of Spaine against all others, vnder paine of damnation. By meanes whereof it is intended that Spaine shall mount to so huge a greatnesse, as to be able of himselfe to giue lawes to all the states of christendome. With this note, being the verie flower and grace of all the former discourse, we will conclude, hauing now no more to saie touching the conspiracie, but these few verses, which we will vie in lieu of a conclusion, and so proceed vnto other matters of consequence, conuenient for the booke:

*Quid non papa ruens spondet, modo iussa capebas?
En diadema tibi, sceptraque, pactus Hymen.
Dissimilem votis mercedem, nactus es ausis
Et scelere restitit turba nefanda parem.*

Successore

to be imbar-
ked and trans-
ported ouer sea.

The conspirators disguised them: seducit, thinking by that means to shift the matter.

Magna est re-
ritas & pre-
nauet.

what the fugitiue diuines must doe for their parts.

In nefarium Ba-
bingtoni cater-
rumque coniu-
rationem, hexa-
stichon.

The Scottish quenes ad-
uise in this mischievous plot sauozing altogether of inhumanitie.

Six gentle-
men of resolu-
tion, &c.

Ballard ap-
prehended
being ready

Sir Philip
Sidneie An-
st Stephen
Gelderland:
of whose la-
more pag.
1554.

Seminarie
priests execu-
ted at Tibor

A tempestu-
ous wind in Oc-
ber terrible
and hurtfull.

The accident
noteworthy
by meanes of
this blustering
wind,

A strange ac-
cident of a
walnut tree
blowne downe
with the wind,
&c.

The third
strange chance

*Succedere regi regno, corisique corona,
Pro sceptro laqueus, pro thalamo tumultus.]*

Sir Philip
Sidneie name
at Zutphen in
Gelderland :
of whome see
more pag.
1554.

Seminarie
priests execu-
ted at Tiboze.

A tempestuous
wind in Octo-
ber terrible
and hurtfull.

The accidents
noteworthy
by means of
this blustering
wind.

A strange ac-
cident of a
walnut tree
blowne downe
with the wind,
&c.

The third
strange chance

In this meane time, to wit, on thursdaie the 22 date of September, sir Philip Sidneie knight, a most valiant & towardlie gentleman, sonne & heire to sir Henrie Sidneie late deceased (as is before shewed, in service of his prince, and defense of his countrie, in the warres of the Netherlands) was shot into his thigh with a musket at Zutphen in Gelderland, whereof he died on the 17 of October, whose bodie was conveyed into England, to be honourable buried. On the eight of October, John Low, John Adams, and Robert Dibdale, being before condemned for treason, in being made priests by authoritie of the bishop of Rome, since the feast of John Baptist in the first yeare of his maiesties reigne, and remaining here after the terme of fourtie daies after session of the last parlement, were brought to Tiboze, and there hanged, botwelled, and quartered.

On the same daie at night being saturday, there arose the greatest storme that happened since the wind which some doe call Doner wind; and some others, the wind that blew awaie Calis, which was in the time of the reigne of queene Marie. For besides great harmes, which happened that night upon the seas, there were upon the land in emerie quarter overthrowne thereby, houses, cottages, barnes, haiesacks, tiles, chimnies, pales, and gates innumerable, and manie trees both great and small were not onelie tozned and rent asunder, but grndd by by the roots: in so much as upon the mondaie next in manie places men could not passe on horsebacke in the high waies, by reason of the trees that laie blowne and broken downe crosse overthwart the streets. And among other strange chances happening in that tempest, I thought good (for a task) to recite three accidents which befell not farre asunder within the countie of Kent. The one was at Sittingborne, where a woman passing in the street by her neighbors house, saw a great tree standing close by the same, to waue and wag at the vertie root, in such sort as she suspecting the ruine thereof, called unto her neighbors who were then in bed, and told them the danger thereof, who presentlie arising, descended from out of the loft where they lodged, and were no sooner departed thence, but downe fell the tree and brake through the roofe of that house, and rested on the bed where they laie.

There was also blowne downe with the violence of the same wind not far off a great walnut tree, the armes and branches wherof bare and bent a couple of imps, in such sort as the owner in the morning to save them, did cut off two branches from the walnut tree, and so departed to the church to heare morning prayer: but before he was returned home to dinner, his walnut tree stood as upright as ever it did, and so remaineth and groweth as before. The third strange chance happened that night at Dartford in the said shire, at the dwelling house of master Wære Esquire, where by the force of the said wind, all the coping of one side of a great gable hed of bryche (reaching from below the top of rofe of the same house almost to the eaves thereof) was blowne quite over the house under which it stood, and neuer touched ante part thereof at anye side. By these accidents happening within so small a circuit, it maye be conceived what great harmes were done that night throughout the whole realme. For it was thought universall, as was also that which raged in the end of September, wherewithall fell such sharpe showers of raine, that the drops thereof beating against the faces of travellers made them to smart, as with twigs of birch: and so vehement they were

that they perced through their clothing to their skin: so that manie lozinging wet and sore braten with wind and weather, being verie ill afraid, were glad to shorten their purposed iournies, by taking the next towne for their present succour, where they might see the roofes and rafters of houses naked of tiles, and heare the donging of belles as they bong in the steeples, &c. At what time it was reported by people of great age, that they had bene in manie tempests they thanked God, but none comparable to this: which might well be so, if a man were disposed to set downe a register of the particular casualties, losses, damages, hurts, hinderances, &c: thereby occasioned. In the table if you looke for tempests and winds, you shall read strange matter and worthy observation, though some account this and manie more but ridiculous stuffe: which kind of people I doubt are not of the number that wonder at Gods workes, but are too much addicted to naturall philosophie.

One of the west gates of the citie of London, commonlie called Ludgate, being sore decayed, and in perill to have fallen, was taken downe, the prisoners thereof in the meane time remaining under the charge of Thomas Lutwiche custos or keeper of Ludgate, in the southeast quadrant to the same gate adjoining: which quadrant, for the ease of the prisoners freemen of that citie, was sometime builded by sir Steuen Foster almoner, lord maior of that citie, in Anno 1453. And this yeare, the said gate was againe not onelie newlie, but also stronglie and beautifullie builded, at the charges of the citizens of the same citie, the foundation wherof, in the name and presence of sir Wolstan Dixie maior, certeine of his brethren the aldermen, Anthonic Kattiffe and Henrie Byanell shiriffes, was laid on the second daie of Maie, and so forthwith so diligentlie applied by William Kirwine free mason (and other workmen of diuerse crafts under his charge) who for a certeine sum had taken upon him for all manner of stuffe & workmanship to the same belonging, that the same gate was fullie finished in the space of six moneths or lesse. So that on the 29 date of October in the same yeare, the said gate was set open to sir William Cicill knight lord treasurer, who first entered the same on horsebacke, accompanied of diuerse other honorable persons, and noble men of his maiesties private counsell, who all rode to the Guildhall, where on the same daie kept his feast George Barnes lord maior of that citie, after he had taken his oath and charge in the exchequer at Westminster.

On the 29 date of October the archbishop of Canturburie, the lord treasurer, and the earle of Derby, representing the queens maiesties person, began the high court of parlement by prayer, which session of parlement was at this time assembled for trial of matters concerning Marie queene of Scots, as more plainlie shall appeare, by that which followeth the end of that session. In the moneth of November about the 23 daie, the right honorable lord Robert earle of Leicester, lieutenant generall of all his maiesties forces in the united prouinces of the low countries, returning from thence, arrived at London, and went late to the court, where as he was not so suddenlie come, as forwardlie welcome of the principall, and others, to the great reioicing of all estates throughout the whole realme, as maye appeare by verses of gratulation, in part as followeth:

*Solennem ingenio, magnum qui Nestora vincis
Consilio pietate Numam, gravitate Catonem:
Gratus ades, ter gratus ades, Comes inclite, ab oris
Tentonicis, falsi emensus vada carula ponti:
Ranca suis Wansteda diu, te absente, nec villas
Pnnnnnn. ij.*

Ludgate of
London newlie
builded.

Parlement at
Westminster.

Anno Reg. 29.
The earle of
Leicester re-
turned from
the low coun-
tries, and ar-
rived in Eng-
land.

Ineditum mag-
nanimi heroici,
Roberti Comitiss
Lecestrie,
ad vasa regis
gratulationum
T. R.

Letitia

*Letitia ediderat voces : Ilfordia celypsin
Passa fuit, modulis fleuit Laetona canoris :
Flammaque maffificis vltulauit percita curis.
At velturi auricomus diffellit mibula Titan,
Exhilatui tua sic noftros praefentia vultus
Magne Comes, terra decus, immortale Britanna,
Magnanimos inter merito numerande dynaftas.*

The parties
ment propo-
sed.

On the second date of December, the session of parlement (begun the nine & twentieth of October as is afore shewed) was dissolved & broken up, and was propozed untill the nine & twentieth of February next following. The substance and effect of matters handled in the same parlement, is set downe in a letter learnedly penned, and directed to the right honorable the earle of Leicester, as followeth.

THE COPIE OF A LETTER TO

the right honorable the earle of Leicester, lieutenant generall of all hir maiesties forces in the vnited prouinces of the low countries, written before, but deliuered at his returne from thence : with a report of certeine petitions and declarations made to the queenes maiestie at two severall times, from all the lords and commons lately assembled in parlement : and hir maiesties answers thereunto by hir selfe deliuered, though not expresse by the reporter with such grace and life, as the same were vttered by hir maiestie.

To the right honorable the earle
of Leicester, &c.



Best with earnest desire of my heart (right honorable my vertie good lord) I haue alwaies indowed to do your lordship some acceptable service, for the honour you first vouchsafed me from beyond my cradle, and after confirmed with the fauorable opinion wherewith you haue alwaies countenanced me ever since, even thus far onward on my daies, which also together with my yeares hath increased faster than mine ability to performe, being crossed in nothing more deeply, than when I was letted by the overmuch tendering of me by my parents, to attend your lordship in your late voyage and honorable expedition into the low countries : yet haue I bene ever since most studious to obserue and apprehend some good occasion, or fit opportunitie, to testify the dutifull reuerence I beare to your lordship : wherein if hitherto I haue bene slacke in performance during your absence, it hath proceeded of the care I had, not to intertaine your lordship with matter either frivolous or vulgar : though things of that nature might best become my condition, and well agree with my vnderstanding.

In which cogitation it came to my mind, that the report of the speeches deliuered by the queens most excellent maiestie in a late and weightie cause dealt in this parlement, in answer to the petitions presented to hir maiestie the twelfth and foure and twentieth daie of November at Richmond by the lord chancelor and speaker, respectfully, in the name and behalfe of both estates, accompanied with diuerse of either sort, would doubtlesse be a thing to your lordship most gratefull, as one ever pleased to admire the rare perfections of hir mind, and approued iudgement, wherewith according to your estate and place, deserueth, your lordship hath bene vsuallie acquainted : as also worthy of eternall monument and everlasting memorie, for as much as on the sudden they were deliuered by hir selfe, for answer of a matter propounded, debated,

resolved, and digested, with great labour and meditation of the greatest, grauest, wisest, and most choise persons of the whole realme, wherof although I haue but slenderly purtrated the lineaments, without expresse to life the external ornaments of hir roiall speech, accompanied with all princelie and gracefull accomplements : yet doubt I not but your lordship will easilie find hir inward vertues, wherof it is impossible for me to make the least adumbration.

And because in the daily expectation of your lordships returne, I rested uncerteine how these might come safelie to your lordships hands : I did therefore aduise to haue this my letter with the included copies to be readie to attend your first arrivall, in gratulation of the safetie thereof, which hath bene long desired. Wherewith, as I strive to performe a particular dutie to your lordship, so trust I you will haue that honorable consideration, that in the communication thereof with others, there grow not a nite prejudice to me for my presumption, in aduenturing to be a reporter of that, which in the deliuerie wrought so great astonishment to all the hearers, as it exceeded the fulnesse of euery mans expectation : and therefore, without some fauorable construction of mine attempt, I might incurre great blame by my slender manner of report, so to haue blessed the excellencie of hir maiesties speeches, wherof I humbly beseech your lordship to haue fauorable regard. Thus referring them to your lordships disposition, and my selfe to your fauorable protection, I humbly take my leave. 25. November. 1586.

Your lordships most humble in
all dutie to command, R. C.

The brieft of the lord chancellors first speech, at the time when he deliuered his most excellent maiestie a petition in writing, for and in the name of the lords and commons : which speeches were of more length than here are by me collected : but sure I am, the substance thereof is here truly expressed.



What the lords and commons, hauing of long time to their intolerable griefe, found, by how manye practises the Scottish queene had compassed the destruction of hir highnesse most roiall person (in whose safetie next under God they acknowledged their chiefe felicitie to consist) thereby not onelie to be reaued them of the sincere and true religion in this realme professed and established, but to bring backe againe this noble realme into the thraldome of Romish tyrannie, and to ouerthrow the happy estate thereof : wherein, although hir highnesse of hir abundant, gracions, naturall clemencie, and princelie magnanimitie, hath either lightly passed them over, or with no small indulgence tolerated, notwithstanding the often and earnest instances of hir nobilitie and commons in sundrie parlements heretofore : and further hath protected hir from the violent pursute of hir owne people : she yet, as a person obdurat in malice (as it appeareth) continued hir former practises, as had bene lately manifested by certeine wicked conspiracies plotted by one Anthony Babington, and diuerse desperat persons, that had combined and confederated themselves by bow and oth in a most horrible enterpryse, by murder to take away the life of hir maiestie : wherein the Scottish queene did not onelie aduise them, but also direct, comfort, and abet them, with persuasion, counsell, promise of reward, and earnest obtestation.

whereby

Whereupon hir maiestie at the earnest request of such as tendered the safetie of hir roiall person, and the quiet of the realme, did direct commission under the great seale to sundrie lords and others of hir maiesties priuite counsell, & a great number of lords of parliament, of the greatest and most ancient degree, assisted with some of the principall iudges of the realme, to heare, examine, and determine the same, according to a statute in that behalf, made in the seven and twentieth yeare of hir reigne. Who to the number of thirtie and six, having attended the creation of the said commission, and diuerse daies and times heard the allegations against the said Scottish queene in hir owne presence and hearing the being permitted to saie what she would in hir owne excuse, did with one assent, find hir culpable both in priuite & consent to the said crimes objected, and also in compassing the queens maiesties death.

Which sentence, by hir owne directions, upon the hearing of the proofes and proccesse in parliament, was iudged to haue bene most honorable and iust. And thereupon they all beseech hir maiestie, that forasmuch as the said queene of Scots, was the verie ground and onelie subiect, whereupon such dangerous practices and complots had bene founded, against hir maiesties most roiall person, and the estate of this realme for these manie yeares, to the overthrow of sundrie of the mobilitie of the land, and danger of christian religion, and that they could see no hope of hir desisting, and hir adherents; but that still hir maiesties safetie must be hazarded, and stand to the crient of the like miraculous discoveries.

Therefore, as most humble and instant suppliants, they did upon their knees at hir most gracious feet, beseech and request in most earnest manner, that as well for the continuance of Gods religion, the quiet of this kingdome, preservation of hir person, and defense of them and their posterities, it would please hir highnesse to take order, that the said sentence might be published, and such further direction given, as was requisite in this so weightie a cause, according to the purport and intent of the said statute. Wherein, if hir maiestie (pursuing hir wonted clemencie) should now be remisse, besides the imminent danger to hir person, she might by the state thereof, procure the heauie displeasure of almighty God, as by sundrie seuer examples of his iustice in the sacred scriptures doth appeare. And so he deliuered to hir maiesties owne hands the petition in writing, which he said had bene with great deliberation assented vnto by all the whole parliament.

A SHORT EXTRACT OF SVCH reasons, as were deliuered in speech by maister sargent Puckering, speaker of the lower house, before the queens most excellent maiestie in hir presence chamber at Richmond, the twelue of Nouember 1586, in the eight and twentieth yere of hir reigne, containing diuerse apparant and imminent dangers, that maie grow to hir maiesties most roiall person, and to hir realme from the Scottish queene and hir adherents, if remedie be not provided.

First touching the danger of hir maiesties person.

With this Scottish queene and hir fauourers, do thinke hir to haue right, not to succeed but to inioine your crowne in possession: and therefore as there is a most impatient competitor, so will they

not spare any means whatsoever, that maie be reache vs of your maiestie, the onelie impediment that she inioine not hir desire.

2 She is obdurat in malice against your roiall person, notwithstanding you haue shewed hir all fauour and merite, as well in preserving hir kingdome, as saving hir life, and saluing hir honor. And therefore there is no place for merite, since there is no hope that she will desist from most wicked attempts: the rather, for that hir malice appeareth such, that she maketh (as it were) hir testament of the same, to be executed after hir death, and appointeth hir executors to performe it.

3 She boldlie and openlie professed it lawfull for hir to make inuasion upon you. And therefore, as of inuasion victorie maie issue, and of victorie, the death of the vanquished: so did she thereby not obscurelie betraie, that she thought it lawfull for hir to destroye your sacred person.

4 She thinketh it not onelie lawfull, but honorable also and meritorious to take your life from you, as being already deprived of your crowne by the excommunication of the holie father. And therefore it is like she will (as hitherto she hath done) continually seek it by whatsoeuer means.

5 That she is grieued of your maiesties death, and preferreth it before hir owne life and safetie: for in hir direction to one of hir late complices, she aduised (vnder couert termes) that whatsoeuer should become of hir, that tragicall execution should be performed vpon you.

1 It is most perillous to spare hir, that continually hath sought the overthrow and suppression of true religion, infected with poperie from hir tender youth, and being after that a confederat in that holie league when she came to age, and ever since a professed enimie against the truth.

The danger of the overthrow of the true religion.

2 She resteth wholie vpon popish hopes to deliuer and aduance hir, and is thereby so deuoted to that profession, that aswell for satisfaction of others, as for feeding of hir owne humors, she will supplant the gospell, where and when so ever she maie: which euill is so much the greater, and the more to be auoided, as that it lieth the verie soule, and will spread it selfe not onelie ouer England and Scotland, but also into those parts beyond the seas, where the gospell of God is maintained, the which cannot but be exceedingly weakened, by the defection of this noble Island.

1 As the Egyptians said, *Non regem agnoscunt* Lydi, *duos autem tolerare non possunt*: So we saie, *Non reginam Elizabetham agnoscunt Angli, duos autem tolerare non possunt*.

The perill of the state of the realme.

2 As she hath already by hir allurements brought to destruction more noble men and their houses, together with a greater multitude of the commons of this realme, during hir being here, than she should haue bene able to do, if she had bene in possession of hir owne crowne, and armed in the field against vs: so will she still be continuall cause of the like spoile, to the greater losse and perill of this estate: and therefore this realme neither can, nor maie endure hir.

3 Againe, she is the onelie hope of all discontented subjects, she is the foundation whereon all the euill disposed do build, she is the root from whence all rebellions and trecheries do spring: and therefore whilst this hope lasteth, this foundation standeth, and this root liueth, they will reuaine heart, and set on foot whatsoeuer their deuises against the realme, which otherwise will fall awaie, die, and come to nothing.

4 Speeres

4 Mercie now in this case towards hir would in the end proue crueltie against vs all. *Nam est quædam crudelis misericordia*, and therefore to spare hir, is to spill vs.

5 Besides this, it will exceedingly graue and in a manner deadlie wound the hearts of all the good subiects of your land, if they shall see a conspiracie so horrible not condignlie punished.

6 Thousands of your maiesties most liege and louing subiects, of all sorts and degrees, that in a tender zeale of your maiesties safetie, haue most willingly both by open subscription and solemne voto, entered into a firme and soall association, and haue thereby protested to pursue vnto the death, by all forcible and possible meanes, such as the is by iust sentence now found to be: can neither discharge their loue, nor well saue their oths, if your maiestie shall keepe hir aliuie: of which burthen your maiesties subiects are most desirous to be released, as the same maie be, if iustice be done.

7 Lastlie, your maiesties most louing and dutifull commons doubt not, but that as your maiestie is duly exercised in reading the booke of God: so it will please you to call to your princelie remembrance, how fearefull the examples of Gods vengeance be, that are there to be found against king Saule for sparing king Agag, & against king Achab for saving the life of Wenadad; both which were by the iust iudgement of God depriued of their kingdoms, for sparing those wicked princes, whome God had deliuered into their hands, of purpose to be slaine by them, as by the ministers of his eternall and diuine iustice. Wherein full wiselie Salomon proceeded to punishment, when he took the life of his owne naturall and elder brother Adonias, for the onelie intention of a marriage, that gaue suspicion of treason against him. Herein we your maiesties most louing and obedient subiects earnestlie depend vpon your princelie resolution, which we assure our selues shall be to God most acceptable, and to vs no other than the state of your regall authoritie maie affoord vs, and the approued arguments of your tender care for our safetie vnder your charge doth promise to our expectation.

A REPORT OF HIR MAIESTIES

most gracious answer, deliuered by hir selfe verballie, to the first petitions of the lords and commons, being the estates of parlement, in hir chamber of preface at Richmond, the twelue daie of Nouember 1586, at the full almost of eight and twentie yeares of hir reigne. Whereof the reporter requireth of all that were hearers, a fauorable interpretation of his intent, because he findeth that he can not expresse the same answerable to the originall, which the learned call *Protypon*.

The bottomlesse graces and immeasurable benefits bestowed vpon me by the almighty, are, and haue bene such, as I must not onelie acknowledge them, but admittre them, accounting them as well miracles as benefits; not so much in respect of his diuine maiestie, with whome nothing is more common than to do things rare and singular: as in regard of our weakenesse, who can not sufficientlie set forth his wonderfull works and graces, which to me haue bene so many, so diuerselie folded and imbodered one vpon another, as in no sort I am able to expresse them. And although there liueth not ante, that maie more iustlie acknowledge themselves infinitely bound vnto God than I, whose life he hath miraculouly preserved at sundrie times (beyond my merit) from a multitude of perils & dangers: yet

is not that the cause, for which I count my selfe the deepest bound to giue him my humblest thanks, or to yeld him greatest recognition; but this which I shall tell you hereafter, which will deserue the name of wonder, if rare things and seldome seen be worthy of account. When this it is, that as I came to the crowne with the willing hearts of my subiects, so do I now after eight and twentie yeares reigne, perceiue in you no diminution of good wills, which if happily I should want, well might I breath, but neuer thinke I liued.

And now, albeit I find my life hath bene full dangerouslie sought, and death contriued by such as no desert procured: yet am I therein so cleare from malice (which hath the propertie to make men glad at the fals and faults of their foes, and make them same to do for other causes, when rancor is the ground) as I protest it is and hath bene my grauous thought, that one, not different in sex, 20 of like estate, and my neere kin, should fall into so great a crime: yea I had so little purpose to pursue hir with any colour of malice, that as it is not vnknewen to some of my lords here (for now I will plaie the blab) I secretlie wrote hir a letter vpon the discouerie of sundrie treasons, that if she would confesse them, and princelie acknowledge them by hir letters to my selfe, the neuer should need be called for them into so publike question. Neither did I it of mind to circumuent hir: for then I knew as much as she could confesse, and so did I write. And if even yet, now that the matter is made but too apparant, I thought the trulie would repent (as perhaps she would easilie appeare in outward shew to do) and that for hir, none other would take the matter vpon them; or that we were but as two milke maids with pailles vpon our armes, or that there were no more dependencie vpon vs but mine owne life were onelie in danger, and not the whole estate of your religion and well 40 dings, I protest (wherein you maie beleue me, for though I maie haue manie vices, I hope I haue not accustomed my tong to be an instrument of vntuth) I would most willingly pardon and remit this offense.

¶ If by my death other nations and kingdoms might trulie saie, that this realme had attained an euer prosperous and flourishing estate: I would (I assure you) not desire to liue; but gladly giue my life, to the end my death might procure you a better prince. And for your sakes it is, that I desire to liue, to keepe you from a worse. For as for me, I assure you, I find no great cause I should be fond to liue: I take no such pleasure in it, that I should much wish it; nor conceiue such terror in death, that I should greatlie feare it: and yet I saie not, but if the stroke were comming, perchance flesh and blood would be moued with it, and seeke to shun it. I haue had good experience and trial of this world: I know what it is to be a subiect; what to be a souereigne; what to haue good neighbors, and sometime meet euill willers. I haue found treason in trust, seen great benefits little regarded, and in stead of gratefulnesse, courses of purpose to crosse.

These former remembrances, present feeling, and future expectation of euils (I saie) haue made me thinke, An euill is much the better, the lesse while it indureth: & so, them happiest, that are soonest hence: and taught me to beare with a better mind these treasons, than is common to my sex: yea, with a better heart perhaps, than is in some men. Which I hope you will not merelie impute to my simplicitie or want of vnderstanding, but rather, that I thus conceiued, that had their purposes taken effect, I should

should not haue found the blow, before I had felt it: and though my perill should haue bene great, my paine should haue bene but small and short: wherein, as I would be loth to die so bloudie a death, so doubt I not, but God would haue giuen me grace to be prepared for such an euent; chance when it shall, which I refer vnto his good pleasure. And now, as touching their treasons and conspiracies, together with the contriuer of them; I will not so preiudicat my selfe and this my realme, as to saie or thinke, that I might not, without the last statute, by the ancient lawes of this land, haue proceeded against hir, which was not made particularlie to preiudice hir; though perhaps it might then be suspected, in respect of the disposition of such as depend that waie. It was so far from being intended to intrap hir, that it was rather an admonition to warne the danger thereof: but sith it is made, and in the force of a law, I thought good, in that which might concerne hir, to proceed according thereto, rather than by course of common law: wherein, if you the iudges haue not deceiued me, or that the books you brought me were not false (which God forbid) I might as iustlie haue tried hir by the ancient lawes of the land.

But you lawyers are so nice in asking, and scanning euery word and letter, that manie times you stand more vpon forme than matter, vpon syllables than sense of the law. For in the strictnesse; exact following of common forme, the must haue bene indicted in Staffordshire, haue holden vp hir hand at the barre, and bene tried by a iurie: a proper course for loth, to deale in that manner with one of hir estate. I thought it better therefore, for avoiding of these and more absurdities, to commit the cause to the inquisition of a good number of the greatest and most noble personages of this realme, of the iudges and others of good account, whose sentence I must approue: and all little enough. For we princes, I tell you, are set on stages, in the sight and view of all the world to be obserued; the eyes of manie behold our actions; a spot is soon spied in our garments; a blemish quickly noted in our doings. It behooueth vs therefore to be careful that our proceedings be iust and honorable.

But I must tell you one thing more, that in this last act of parlement you haue brought me vnto a narrow street, that I must giue direction for hir death, which cannot bee to me but a most greivous and irksome burthen. And least you might mislike mine absence from this parlement (which I had almost forgotten) although there bee no cause why I should willingly come amongst multitudes, for that amongst manie some maie bee euill: yet hath it not bene the doubt of anie such danger or occasion that kept me from thence; but onlie the great grieve to heare this cause spoken of; especiallie, that such a one of state and kin should need so open a declaration, and that this nation should be so spotted with blots of disloyaltie. Wherein the lesse is my greife, for that I hope the better part is mine, and those of the worse not so much to be accounted of, for that in seeking my destruction, they might haue spoiled their owne souls. And euen now could I tell you, that which would make you sorie. It is a secret, and yet I will tell it you; although it is knowne I haue the proprietie to keepe counsell, but so well oftentimes so mine owne perill. It is not long since mine eyes did see it written, that an oth was taken within few daies, either to kill me, or to be hanged themselves: and that to be performed yet one moneth were ended. Whereby I see your danger in me, and neither can

nor will be so vnthankfull or carelesse of your consciences, as not prouide for your safetie.

I am not vnmindfull of your oth made in the association, manifesting your great god wils and affections, taken and entered into, vpon god conscience, and true knowledge of the guilt, for safetie of my person, and conseruation of my life: done (I protest to God) before I heard it, or euer thought of such a matter, vntill a great number of hands with manie obligations were shewed me, at Hampton court, signed and subscribed with the names and seales of the greatest of this land. Which as I doe acknowledge as a perfect argument of your true hearts, and great zeale to my safetie: so shall my bond be stronger tied to greater care for all your good. But for as much as this matter is rare, weightie, and of great consequence, I thinke you doe not looke for anie present resolution: the rather, for that, as it is not my maner, in matters of far lesse moment, to giue speedie answer without due consideration; so in this of such importance, I thinke it verie requisite with earnest praier to beseech his diuine maiestie, so to illuminat my vnderstanding, and inspire me with his grace, as I maie doe and determine that, which shall serue to the establishment of his church, preservation of your estates, and prosperitie of this common wealth vnder my charge. Wherein (for that I knowe delaie is dangerous) you shall haue with all conueniencie our resolution deliuered by our message. And what euer anie prince maie merit of their subjects, for their approued testimonye of their vnfained sinceritie, either by governing iustlie, void of all parcialitie, or sufferance of anie iniuries done (euen to the poorest) that doe I assuredlie promise inuolable to performe, for requital of your so manie deserts.

¶ The occasions of the second acceffe.

This answer thus made by hir maiestie, the lords and commons were dismissed. And then hir highnesse some few daies after, vpon deliberation had of this petition, being (as it appeared) of hir mercifull disposition of nature, and hir princelie magnanimitie, in some conflict with hir selfe what to do in a cause so weightie and important to hir and the realme, sent by the lord chancelor (as I heard) by the mouth of an honorable person, and a right worthy member of the lower house, this message to both houses: monning and earnestlie charging them, to enter into a further consideration, whether there might not be some other waie of remedie, than that they had already required, so far disagreeing from hir owne naturall inclination. Wherevpon, the lords and commons in either houses assembled, had sundrie consultations, both in their seuerall houses generalitie, and by priuat committees deputed speciallie. And after conference had betwixt the said committees, it was resolved with vnanimitie of consent amongst them in the lower house, and by vniuersall concord in the vpper house (the question there propounded to euery one of the lords) that there could be found no other sound and assured meane, in the depth of their vnderstanding, for the continuance of the christian religion, quiet of the realme, and safetie of hir maiesties most roiall person, than that which was contained in their former petition. The reasons whereof were summarilie these that follow, which are more shortly reported than they were uttered.

A brieue report of the second accesse
the foure and twentieth of November 1586:
and of the answer made in the name of
the lords of the parlement, to a message
sent from hir maiestie by the
lord chancellor after
hir first answer.

The lord chancellor, accompanied with a
boue five or six and twentie lords of par-
lement, came before hir highnesse in hir
chamber of presence, to deliuer the reso-
lution of all the lords of parlement, concerning a
message which he had not long before deliuered from
hir maiestie, for further consultation, whether
other means could be thought of, or found out by
anie of them, how the Scottis quēns life might be
spared, and yet hir maiesties person saued out of pe-
rill, and the state of the realme preserved in quiet;
declared, that according to that he had received in
commandement from hir maiestie, he had impar-
ted the same vnto the lords assembled in the upper
house, whom he found by their generall silence much
amazed at the propounding thereof, considering the
same had bene before in deliberation amongst
them, and resolved vpon, and as appeared by their
former petition exhibited to hir highnesse, wherein
they had expressed the same resolution.

Notwithstanding, for hir maiesties further satisfac-
tion, they had entred into a new consultation, & for
that purpose selected a great number of the chiefest
persons of the higher house of parlement to confer
thereof, either priuatie or together with the lower
house: which also was done accordingly at severall
times. At all which conferences it was concluded
by them all, & so afterwards by the whole assemblie
of both houses, that there could be no other assured
means for the preservation of hir maiesties life, and
continuance of Gods religion & quiet of this state,
than by the full execution of the sentence according
to their former petition, instantlie pressing hir ma-
iestie with manie arguments and reasons tending
thereto. All which, though by distance from his lord-
ship I could not well conceiue, yet this I did re-
member precise and especiallie was one: that as
it were iustitie to denie execution of law at the
sute of anie one particular, and the meanness of hir
people: so much more not to yeld to the earnest in-
stance and humble prayers of all hir faithfull and
louing subiects. And so concluded, with earnest peti-
tion for hir maiesties resolute determination and
answer, for a present and speedie direction by pro-
clamation, and otherwise also, according vnto the
forme of the statute.

A summarie report of the second
speech, uttered by the speaker of the
lower house, by direction
of all the commons.

If hir maiestie should be safe with-
out taking awaie the life of the Scottis
quēne, the same were most likelie and
probable to grow, by one of these
means following.

1 First, that happlie she might be reclaimed and
become a repentant conuert, agnising hir ma-
iesties great mercie and fauours in remitting hir he-
inous offense, and by hir loialtie hereafter performing
the fruits of such conuersion.

2 Or else by a more strict gard be so kept, as
there should be no feare of the like attempts here-
after.

3 Or that god assurance might be giuen by oth,

bonds or hostages, as cautions for hir god and loy-
all demeanour from henceforth.

4 Or lastlie by banishment, the realme might be
voided of hir person, and thereby the perils further
remoued that grow to hir maiestie by hir presence.
The moments whereof being dulie pondered, did
yet appeare so light in all their iudgements, that
they durst not aduise anie securitie to rest in anie,
no not in all of them. For touching hir conuer-
sion, it was considered, that if pietie or dutie could
haue restrained hir from such heinous attempts,
there was cause abundantlie ministred vnto hir on
hir maiesties behalfe, when she not onelie protected
hir against the violence of hir owne subiects, who
pursued hir to death by iustice, but covered hir hono-
ur when the same by publike fame was touched, and by
verie heinous and capitall crimes (obscured and pro-
ued against hir before certeine commissarie dele-
gats assigned to examine the same) more than ble-
mished; and spared hir life, when for hir former con-
spiracies and confederacies with the Roetherne re-
bels, hir highnesse was with great instance pressed
by both the houses in the fourteenth yeare of hir
maiesties reigne, to do like iustice vpon hir, as now
is desired, and as hir treasonable practises then had
most iustlie deserved.

And where the penaltie of this act sufficientlie
notified vnto hir, should haue terrified hir from so
wicked attempts; she hath neuertheless insisted in
hir former practises, as a person obdurat in malice
against hir maiestie, and irreuerable; so as there
was no probable hope of anie conuersion, but ra-
ther great doubt and feare of relaple and recidua-
tion, forasmuch as she stood obstinatlie in the deniall
of matter most euidentlie proued, and now most
iustlie sentenced against hir, and was not entred
into the first part of repentance, the recognition of
hir offense, and so much the further off from the true
fruits that should accompanie the same.

As for a surer gard & more strict imprisonment,
it was resolved that there was no securitie therein,
nor yet in the other two means propounded of bonds
and hostages: forasmuch as the same meanes that
should be practised to take hir maiesties life awaie,
(which God forbid) would applie serue for the deliue-
rie of hir person, and release of the bonds & hostages
that should be giuen for cautions in that behalfe:
which being unhapplie achieved, and to our irrepa-
rable losse, who should sue the bonds, or deteine the
hostages? Or being deteined, what proportion was
there in bonds or hostages whatsoeuer, to counter-
uaile the value of so pretious & inestimable a iewel,
as hir maiestie is to this realme, & to vs all? But
she will solemnlie vow & take an oth, that she will
not attempt anie thing to the hurt of hir maiesties
person. She hath already sundrie times falsified hir
word, hir writing, and hir oth; and holdeth it for an
article of religion, that faith is not to be holden with
heretiks, of which sort she accounteth your maiestie
and all the professors of the gospel to be: and
therefore haue we little reason to trust hir in that,
whereof she maketh so small a conscience.

As for banishment, that were a step *A malo in pe-*
ius, to set hir at libertie, a thing so greatlie desired
and thirsted for by hir adherents, and by some prin-
ces hir allies, who sought hir enlargement chiefly to
make hir a head to be set vp against hir maiestie, in
time of inuasion. To the which were added some
few reasons collected out of hir owne letters and the
confession of Babington, hir instrument and con-
spirator: by which appeared how hir owne conscience
belozated what might iustlie fall vpon hir, in case a-
nye of hir intended designements came to light,
that she might haplie be shut vp in some more close
and

and strid prison, as the Tower of London, if there befell hir no worse thing. And in that the directed Babington, in case he failed in the action of hir deliuerie, that he should neuerthelesse proceed in the residue; which was the death of hir maiestie: who also confessed, that upon assurance of hir maiesties death, or the arriuall of strangers, he intended to proclaime the queene of Scots, and made no doubt of the desired successe: and therefore hir maiesties death being so earnestlie sought, for aduancement of this competitoz, hir highnesse could not remaine in quietnesse or securitie, if the Scottis queene should longer continue hir life.

THE SECOND ANSWER

made by the queens maiestie, deliuered by hir owne mouth, to the second speech, vttered in the names of the lords and commons of the parlement.



All grauous is the waie, whose going on, and end, breedeth cumber for the hire of a laborious iourneie. I haue strided more this daie than ever in my life, whether I should speake, or be silent. If I speake and not complaine, I shall dissemble; if I hold my peace, your labour taken were full vaine. For me to make my mone, were strange and rare: for I suppose you shall find few, that for their owne particular, will cumber you with such a care. Yet such I protest hath bene my greedy desire and hungrie will, that of your consultation might haue fallen out some other meanes to loose my safetie toined with your assurance (than that for which you are become such earnest suitors) as I protest, I must needs be complainant, though not of you, but unto you, and of the cause; for that I doe perceiue by your aduises, prayers, and desires, there falleth out this accident, that onelie my intires bane must be my lifes suertie.

But if anie there live so wicked of nature, to suppose, that I prolonged this time onelie, *Pro forma*, to the intent to make a shew of clemencie, thereby to set my praies to the wicked iudges to lengthen them the more: they do me so great a wrong, as they can hardly recompense. Or if anie person there be, that thinke or imagine, that the least vaine-glorious thought hath done me further herein, they do me as open iniurie as ever was done to a nie living creature, as he that is the maker of all thoughts knoweth best to be true. Or if there be anie, that thinke, that the lords appointed in commission durst do no other, as fearing thereby to displease, or else to be suspected to be of a contrarie opinion to my safetie, they do but heape vpon me iniurious conceits. For either those put in trust by me to supplie my place, haue not performed their duties towards me; or else they haue signified vnto you all, that my desire was, that euerie one should do according to his conscience, and in the course of his proceedings should intole both freedom of voice and libertie of opinion; and that they would not openly declare, they might pertainlie to my selfe haue revealed. It was of a willing mind and great desire I had, that some other meanes might be found out, wherein I should haue taken more comfort, than in anie other thing vnder the sun.

And sith now it is resolved, that my suertie can not be established without a princelie end, I haue inst cause to complaine; that I, who haue in my time pardoned so manie rebels, winked at so manie treasons, and either not produced them, or altogether slipt them ouer with silence, should now be forced to this proceeding, against such a person. I haue besides, during my reigne. Some and heard manie opprobrious books and pamphlets against me,

my realme and state, accusing me to be a tyrant; I thanke them for their almes: I beleue, therein their meaning was to tell me news, and news it is to me in ded; I would it were as strange to heare of their impietie! What will they not now saie, when it shall be spread, that for the safetie of hir life, a maiden queene could be content to spill the blood, even of hir owne kinswoman: I maie therefore full well complaine, that anie man should thinke me giuen to crueltie, whereof I am so guiltlesse and innocent, as I should slander God, if I should saie he gaue me so vile a mind: yea, I protest, I am so far from it, that for mine owne life I would not touch hir: neither hath my care bene so much bent how to prolong mine, as how to preferue both: which I am right sozie is made so hard, yea so impossible.

I am not so void of iudgement, as not to see mine owne perill; nor yet so ignorant, as not to know it were in nature a foolish course, to cherish a sword to cut mine owne throte; nor so careless, as not to weigh that my life ballie is in hazard: but this I do consider, that manie a man would put his life in danger for the safeguard of a king, I do not saie that so will I: but I praie you thinke, that I haue thought vpon it. But sith so manie haue both written & spoken against me, I praie you giue me leave to saie somewhat for my selfe, & before you returne to your countries, let you know, for what a one you haue passed so carefull thoughts. Wherein, as I thinke my selfe infinitlie beholding vnto you all, that seeke to preferue my life by all the meanes you maie: so I protest vnto you, that there liueth no prince, that ever shall be more mindfull to requite so good deserts. And as I perceiue you haue kept your old wonts, in a generall seeking of the lengthning of my daies: so am I sure that I shall neuer requite it, unless I had as manie liues as you all: but for ener I will acknowledge it, while there is anie breath left me. Although I maie not iustifie, but maie iustlie condemne my sundrie faults and sinnes to God: yet for my care in this government, let me acquaint you with my intents.

When first I toke the scepter, my title made me not forget the giuer: and therefore began, as it became me, with such religion, as both I was borne in, bred in, and I trust shall die in. Although I was not so simple, as not to know what danger and perill so great an alteration might procure me: how manie great princes of the contrarie opinion would attempt all they might against me: and generallie, what enimitie I should breed vnto my selfe: which all I regarded not, knowing that he, for whose sake I did it, might, and would defend me. For which it is, that euer since I haue bene so dangerously prosecuted, as I rather marvelled that I am, than mused that I should not be: if it were not Gods holie hand that continueth me, beyond all other expectation. When entered I further into the schoole of experience, be thinking what it fitted a king to do: and there I saw, he scant was well furnished, if either he lacked iustice, temperance, magnanimitie, or iudgement. As for the two latter, I will not boast, my selfe doth not permit it: but for the two first, this dare I saie; amongst my subiects I neuer knew a difference of person, where right was one: nor neuer to my knowledge preferred for fauour, whome I thought not fit for worth: nor bent my eares to credit a tale that first was told me: nor was so rash, to corrupt my iudgement with my censure, before I heard the cause. I will not saie, but manie reports might fortune be brought me by such as might heare the case, whose partialitie might mar sometime the matter: for
was

the princes maie not heare all our selues. But this dare I boldlie affirme, my verdict went euer with the trust of my knowledge. As full well wisshed Alcibiades his friend, that he should not giue anie answer, till he had recited the letters of the alphabet: so haue I not vsed ouer sudden resolutions, in matters that haue toucht me full nere: you will saie that with me, I thinke.

And therefore, as touching your counsels and consultations, I conceiue them to be wise, honest, and conscionable: so prouident and carefull for the safetie of my life (which I wish no longer than maie be for your good) that though I neuer can yeld you of recompense your due: yet shall I endeavour my selfe to giue you cause, to thinke your god will not ill bestowen, and strue to make my selfe worthis for such subjects. And now for your petition, I shall praie you for this present, to content your selues with an answer without answer. Your iudgement I condemne not, neither doe I mislike your reasons, but praie you to accept my thankfulness, excuse my doubtfulnesse, and take in good part my answer answerlesse: wherein I attribute not so much to mine owne iudgement, but that I thinke manie particular persons maie go before me, though by my degree I go before them. Therefore if I should saie, I would not do what you request, it might peradventure be more than I thought: and to saie I would do it, might perhaps breed perill of that you labour to pferue, being more than in your owne wisdoms and discretions would seeme conuenient, circumstances of place and time being duly considered.

The sentence
giuen against
the Scottish
queene solemn-
lie proclaimed.

Thus far the proceeding against the Scottish queene, as the same is reported by R. C. Now folloiweth the publication of the same, which was done with great port and statelienesse. For vpon tuesdaye, being the first date of December, the lord maiors of London, assisted with diuers earls, and barons, the aldermen in their scarlet gownes, the principall officers of the citie, the greatest number of gentlemen of the best accompt in and about the citie, with the number of fourescore of the most graue & worshipfullst citizens, in cotes of velvet, and chaines of gold, all on horse backe, in most solemne and statelie manner, by the sound of foure trumpets, about ten of the clocke in the forenone, made open and publike proclamation and declaration of the sentence latelie giuen by the nobilitie against the queene of Scots, vnder the great scale of England, bearing date at Richmond the fourth daie of December, being openlie read by master Shewbright, totorie-clerke of London, & with loud voice solemnlie proclaimed by the sargent at armes of the said citie, in foure severall places, to wit, at the crosse in Cheape, at the end of Chancerie lane in Fleetstreet, ouer against the Temple, at Leaden hall corner, and at saint Agnuss corner nere London byrge.

During which time, the like solemne proclamations were made with great solemnities in the countie of Middlesex, namelie in the palace at Westminster, without Temple barre, and in Holborne, by the shiriffes of London and Middlesex, assisted with sundrie noblemen, gentlemen of good account, and the iustices of peace of the said countie, to the great and wonderfull reioicing of the people of all sorts, as manifestlie appeared by their eger running after the postlie traine, their thronging to heare the same published, their ringing of bells, making of bonfires, and singing of psalmes in euerie street and lane of the citie. The said proclamation folloiweth.

A true copie of the proclamation late-
lie published by the queenes maiestie, vnder the
great scale of England, for the declaring of the
sentence latelie giuen against the queene of
Scots, in forme as fol-
loweth.

Elizabeth by the grace of God, queene of
England, France, and Ireland, defend-
er of the faith, &c. Whereas we were gi-
uen to vnderstand very credible, though
to our great greefe, that diuerse things were, and
of late time had bene compassed, imagined, and re-
solutelie intended, tending direalie to the hurt and
destruction of our roial person, and to the subuer-
sion of the state of our realme by fozen inuasions and
rebellions at home, as well by the queene of Scots,
remaining in our realme vnder our ptection, as
by manie diuerse other wicked persons with hir pri-
uittie, who had felicitie confessed the same, and had
therebpon receiued open triall, iudgement, and exe-
cution according to the lawes for their desert. And
though in verie trust we were greatlie and deeplie
griued in our mind, to thinke or imagine that anie
such vnnaturall and monstrous acts should be either
devised, or willinglie assented vnto against vs, by
hir being a princesse bozne, and of our ser and blood,
and one also whose life & honor we had manie times
before saued and preserved: yet were we so direct-
lie drowne to thinke all the same to be true, by the
sight and vnderstanding of such proofes as were ma-
nifestlie produced afore vs, vpon matters that had
as well proceeded from hir selfe, as from the conspi-
rators themselues, who voluntarie & felicitie with-
out anie coercion had confessed their conspirations,
both iointlie with hir, and directed by hir, against our
person and our realme: and therefore also we saw
great reason, to thinke the same ouer dangerous to
be suffered to passe onward to take their full effect.

Wherefore we were by sundrie lordes of our nobi-
littie, and others our louing subjects, earnestlie mo-
ued and counsellled, to take vnbelayed order for the
inquisition and examination of all these dangerous
enterprizes & conspiracies, by sundrie waies direct-
lie auowed to be by the said queene of Scots against
vs and our realme certeinlie intended; and also to
vse all present meanes with expedition to withstand
or rather to prevent the same. And for that we were
verie vntwilling to proceed against hir, considering
hir birth and estate, by such vsuall sort as by the com-
mon lawes of the realme we might haue lawfullie
done, which was by indictment and arraignment by
ordinarie iuries: therefore, in respect both of our
owne honor, and of hir person, we yielded, by god
aduise giuen to vs, to proceed in the most honorable
sort that could be devised within our realme, to the
examination hereof, according to a late act of par-
lement, made the thre and twentieth daie of Nouem-
ber, in the seuen and twentieth yeare of our reigne.

Wherebpon by our commission vnder our great
scale of England, bearing date at our castell of
Windsoze in our countie of Barkeshire, the first
daie of October now last past, we did (for that pur-
pose) according to that statute, assigne, name, and
appoint all the lordes and others of our priue coun-
cell, and so manie other earls and barons lordes of
parlement, of the greatest degree and most ancient
of the nobilitie of this our realme, as with the same
lordes and others of our priue counsell, made by the
number of fortie and two, adding also thereto a
further, number according to the tenor of the fore-
said act of parlement, of certeine of the cheefest and
other principall iudges of the courts of record at
Westminster, amounting in the whole to the num-
ber

uer of foyle and senen, to examine all things com-
passed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our roial
all person, as well by the said queene of Scots; by
the name of Marie the daughter & heire of James
the first late king of Scots, commonlie called the
queene of Scots & Dowager of France, as by anie
other by hir p'suitie, and all the circumstances there-
of, & thereupon according to the tenor of the said act
of parlement, to giue sentence or iudgment, as upon
god p'oue the matter vnto them should appeare, as
by the same commission moze fullie appeareth.

And there afterwards the moze part of the said
counsellors, lords, and iudges, in our said commissi-
on named, that is to saie, the number of six and thir-
tie, did in the p'sence and hearing of the said queene
of Scots, where she remained at our castell of For-
beringhaile, at diuerse daies and times in publike
place, verie exactlie, by rightlie, and with great deli-
beration examine all the matters & offenses, where-
of she was charged and accused, tending vnto the
dangers afoze rehearsed and mentioned in our said
commission and all the circumstances thereof, and
heard also at large in all honorable manner, what the
same queene did, or could saie for hir excuse and de-
fense in that behalf. Whereupon afterwards on
the five and twentieth daie of October now last past,
all the said counsell, lords, and iudges, that had
heard and examined the same cause in the said
queenes p'sence, as afoze is mentioned, with one
assent and consent, after god deliberation did giue
their sentence and iudgement, in this fozt follow-
ing.

That after the first daie of June, in the seuen
and twentieth yeare of our reigne, and before the
date of our said commission, diuerse things were
compassed and imagined within this realme of En-
gland by Anthonie Babington, and others, with the
p'suitie of the said Marie, pretending title to the
crowne of this realme of England, tending to the
hurt, death, and destruction of our roiall per-
son. And likewise, that after the same first daie of
June, and before the date of our said commission,
the said Marie, pretending title to the same crowne,
had compassed & imagined within the same realme,
diuers things tending to the hurt, death, and destru-
ction of our roiall person, contrarie to the forme of
the said statute: which sentence and iudgement the
same lords and commissioners haue with one full
consent caused to be put in w'iting, and duilie in-
grossed, with the whole processe of their proce-
dings therevnto belonging, and haue subscri-
bed the same with their hands, as by a record thereof
shelued to vs moze fullie and largelie doth appeare.

And whereas also, sithence the same sentence and
iudgement so giuen and recozded, the lords and com-
mons in this p'sent parlement assembled, haue
also at sundrie times in open parlement, heard and
considered the principall evidences, p'oues, and cir-
cumstances, whereupon the same sentence and
iudgement was grounded, and haue by their pub-
like assent in parlement affirmed the same to be a
iust, lawfull, and true sentence, and so haue allowed
and approued the same in w'iting p'sented vnto
vs: and haue also notified to vs, how dépelie they
did fozeſee the great and manie imminent dangers,
which otherwisse might and would grow to our per-
son, and to the whole realme, if this sentence were
not fullie executed: and consequentlie therefore,
they did by their most humble and earnest petitions
in that behalf, of one accord, hauing accessé vnto
vs (upon their sundrie requests) most instantlie vpon
their knees, p'ate, beseech, and with manie rea-
sons of great force and importance, moue and p'esse
vs, that the said sentence and iudgement so iustlie

& duilie giuen, and by them approued, as is aforesaid,
might (according to the expresse tenor of the said act
of parlement) by our proclamation vnder our great
seale be declared and published, and the same also
fullie executed.

But after such most earnest request, so made to
vs from all the said lords and commons in parle-
ment, they perceiuing by our owne speeches and
answers, how dépelie we are grieved to heare
of these horrible and vnnaturall attempts and acti-
ons of that queene, whose manie former offenses,
manifestlie and dangeroullie committed against
vs, our crowne and realme, we had overpassed with
our ouer great clemencie, contrarie to the manie
advises and requests of our subiects, aswell in parle-
ment as otherwisse: and therefore they also under-
standing from our selfe, how desirous we were to
haue some other meanes devised by them in their
seuerall places of parlement, to withstand these
mischiefs intended both against our selfe, and the
publike quiet state of our realme, and suertie of our
god subiects, than by execution of the foresaid sen-
tence, as was required: they did after their sundrie
consultations apart, and conferences iointlie with
one accord, in the names of all the lords of parle-
ment, euen by the particular votes of them all as-
sembled, and also of the commons with one vniuer-
sall assent, representing the state of all our realme,
at their seuerall times of accessé vnto vs, alledge,
declare, and protest, that upon their long, manie, &
aduised consultations and conferences by our com-
mandement, and for our satisfaction in that behalf
had, they could not by anie meanes find or deuise,
how the suertie of our roiall person, and the p'ser-
uation of themselves and their posteritie, with the
god state of the realme, might be provided for and
continued, without the publication and due execu-
tion of the said sentence.

Whereupon, being not onelie moued to our
gréfe, but also ouercome with the earnest requests,
declarations, and important reasons of all our said
subiects, the nobles and commons of our realme,
whose iudgement, knowledge, and naturall care of
vs, and the whole realme, we know doth farre sur-
mount all others, being not so interessed therein, and
so iustlie to be esteemed: and perceiuing also the said
sentence to haue bene honourable, lawfullie, and
iustlie giuen, agréable to iustice and to the lawes
of our realme: we did yeld, and do according to
this said statute by this our proclamation vnder our
great seale of England, declare, notifie, and publish
to all our louing subiects, and other persons whatso-
euer, that the said sentence and iudgement is giuen
in maner aforesaid, to the intent, that they and ene-
rie of them, by this our proclamation may haue full
vnderstanding and knowledge thereof. We do also
will you, that you returne this our proclamation in-
to our court of Chancerie, as speedilie as you maie
conuenientlie, with the place and time of the procla-
ming thereof thereupon indozed, whereof saile you
not. In witness whereof, we haue caused this our
proclamation to be made patent, and sealed with
the great seale of England. At our manor of Rich-
mont the fourth daie of December, the nine and
twentieth yeare of our reigne, and in the yeare of our
Lord God, one thousand five hundred fourescore
and six.

Now to conclude with a remembrance of perpe-
tuitie concerning the queens maiestie, of whose lo-
uing care and tender affection towards all hir faith-
full subiects as we haue manifold testimonies in
the historie of hir highnesse time, whereby their
hearts are linked vnto hir maiestie with an indif-
ferable

solable knot of deserved loue and loialtie : so we maie not omit in anie case the publike witnessse of hir highnesse naturall care and mercifull p[ro]vidence ouer hir liege people, even those of the poorer sort, vnto whome the comfortable streames of hir rare regard for their benefit and welfare, in a hard time of scarcitie, do most plentifully flow. But because our barren and saplesse stile is insufficient, with conuenient dignitie to describe, naie not so much as to delineat or shadow out this incomparable pitie and pietie of hir highnesse tender heart to hir commons, I will surcease to intermedle therein, reseruing the same vnto the due consideration of euerie particular member of this bodie politike (whereof hir maiestie is the soveraigne head) by the view and perusal of the p[ro]clamation and orders here annexed.

A true copie of the said p[ro]clamation concerning corne, &c.

The quenes most excellent maiestie, foreseing the generall dearth growne of corne & other vittells, partlie through the vnseasonableness of the yeare past, whereby want hath growne more in some countries than in others, but most of all generallie through the couetousnes & uncharitable greedines of such as be great cornemasters & ingrofers of corne, vsing all the subtil meanes they can, to worke their owne p[re]sent vnconscionable gaine against the rules of charitie, which hir maiestie of hir princelie care and loue towards hir people, bitterlie conueneth, and earnestlie desireth to remedie, for the releefe of the poorer sort. And therefore, hir maiestie with hir princelie care towards hir people, hauing (with the aduise of hir counsell) had god consideration hereof, both by this hir p[ro]clamation, giue ex[pre]sse commandement and charge vnto all such to whom it shall or maie apperteyne, that such god orders as hir maiestie hath commanded to be deuised for that purpose, and now also are sent to all parts of hir realme, be diligentlie and effectnallie put in sp[ea]d execution: signifieng withall vnto all hir god and louing subjects, that if anie shall be found obstinat or negligent in the due execution, or otherwise in the obseruation thereof, that then vpon due information and p[ro]ofe thereof made vnto hir highnesse said counsell, which she requireth not to be spared by anie, hauing iust cause of complaint, for respect of anie person, she hath giuen speciall commandement and order, that they shall be sp[ea]dillie called to answer; & therevpon, according to the qualitie of their offenses, shall receiue sharpe punishment, whereby others maie take example to avoid the like contempt, negligence, or other defaults.

And although this dearth hath in sundrie parts of the realme first growne by the visitation of almighty God, in the alteration of seasonable weather this last yeare, which neuertheless of his great mercie hath not bene so extreme in this realme, as in manie other countries adioining, where the dearth is by manie occasions manifestlie knowne to be far greater than is in this realme hitherto, or by his godnesse is like to be: yet it is manifestlie knowne the said dearth to haue bin wilfullie increased in verie manie places of this realme, not onelie by & through the couetousnes of manie ingrofers of corne & cornemasters, but also by vnlawfull transportation of graine, & lacke also of p[re]servation of stowe in time requist. Hir highnesse acknowledging this manner of Gods mercie and fauour in a more fauourable measure towards hir countrie and hir people, than to other forren parts nere adioining, hath thought god and necessarie, for a further remedie against the vncharitable couetousnes of the corne-

masters, as cause shall require, to notifie, that if such as be the great cornemasters and owners of graine, or of other necessarie vittells for food of the poore, shall not be willing, or do not performe these orders, whereby the poorer sort maie be releued in the markets at reasonable p[ri]ces; or that it shall appere that other needfull vittells shall by couetousnesse of anie persons growe to excessive p[ri]ces, to the pinching of the poorer sort: then hir highnesse doth hereby signifie, that she will not onelie seuerelie punish the offenders for their cruell couetousnesse and offenses against hir orders; but will also for redress of the excessive p[ri]ces of other needfull vittells, giue order that reasonable p[ri]ces shall be set both on corne and other vittells, to be sold for the releefe of hir maiesties poore subjects, according both to hir prerogative roiall, and to the order of iustice, as by speciall law of parlement therfore made in the five and twentieth yeare of the reigne of hir late noble and deare father king Henrie the eight, is speciallie in such cases p[ro]vided. Given at Greenwich the second date of Januarie, one thousand five hundred fourescore and six, in the nine and twentieth yeare of hir highnesse reigne.

Now the said orders before specified, being a matter of coherence (denied by the speciall commandement of hir maiestie, for the releefe and state of the p[re]sent dearth of graine within the realme) and published at large, do here follow (agreeable to that which was sent from the court at Greenwich abode into the realme, the second date of Januarie, one thousand five hundred fourescore and six, in the nine and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, by hir maiesties private counsell) but abridged according to the annotations. And first; That the iustices shall diuide themselves into sundrie parts to execute these orders: To appoint sundrie iuries to inquire of things hereafter following: The oth of the iurors, with charge to inquire what number of persons be in the houses of them that haue stowe of corne: For badgers, bidders, and carriers of corne: Saltmakers, bakers, and brewers: Vnder of corne to sell againe: Vnder of corne vpon the ground: Against such as shall refuse to declare the truth of the matters inquirable: Parties of sending to appeare afore the counsell: A consideration of all persons that haue corne, to determine how they shall serue the markets with such portions as they maie spare: The forme of the recognisance to be freely taken.

Orders to be obserued by such as shall be appointed to serue the markets with corne, for the releefe of the poore people first: To whom corne shall be sold, after that the poore are serued: No corne brought to the market vnfold, to be caried out of the towne: None to buye such kind of corne as they shall buye to sell, but by warrant vpon reasonable cause: No corne to be bought & to sell againe: No corne to be bought but in open market: Inquirie to be made against ingrofers: An order for all licences from the iustices of the peace, to be kept in a record: Regard to the bakers for keeping of the sile of bread: Bread faultie in anie exesse to be sold towards the releefe of the poore: No badger to buye corne but in open market, and with a sufficient licence in writing: The badgers to shew welkellie their books of buyeng: No iustices seruant to be a badger, nor none other, but such as shall be licensed in open sessions: No badger, baker, brewer, or puruer, to buye graine, vntill an houre after the fall market begin: Some iustices to be p[re]sent in the market, to see the poore releued vpon reasonable p[ri]ces.

Where iustices are wanting in anie hundred for

An abridgement of the orders denied for the releefe of the poore in this time of dearth, &c.

Starch.

F. T.

S. arch.

for to appoint some rich persons to supplye the want : That ministers and preachers exhort the rich for to be liberall to helpe the poore with monie or vittels needfull : To make malt of oates in countreies where there hath bene vyle thereof : No waste of bread corne superfluouslie, nor anye expence thereof but for feeding of people : None suffered to make starch of anye graine : Able poore people to be set to worke : Stocks of monie for provision of worke for poore people : Clothiers to continue their worke : folke : Shoulders hurt, and impotent people, to be relieved in their dwelling places : That no millers be suffered to be common butlers of corne, nor to sell meale, but to attend to the true grinding of the corne brought, & to vse measureable tole these deare seasons : Conferences to be had betwixt the iustices of peace in the shires, and the principall officers of cities and townes corporat for provisions of graine, for the inhabitants in cities and corporat townes : Order for places exempted from the iurisdiction of the iustices of peace in the bodies of the shires : Regard to staie all transportation of graine out of the realme : Certificat to be made of the execution of these orders monethlie to the shiriffe, and he to certifie the same to the priue counsell within euerie foote daies : To certifie what iustices be absent from the seruice, that such as without iust excuse shall not attend, maye be displaced, and their rooms, if there be need, supplid.

The conclusion of these orders is this *Ad verbum*, That if anye shall offend against the true meaning of these instructions, or of anye part thereof, or shall vse anye sinister meane to the defrauding thereof, that such be severelie punished according to the lawes ; and for such obstinat persons as shall not conforme themselves, the iustices shall at their pleasure bind them to appeare before the queenes maiesties priue counsell by a date certeine, there to be further delt with by severe punishment, for the better example of all others.

F. T.

As to as I polinshed and such as with painfull care and loue to their countreie haue thought good before me, to knit by the severall reigne of euerie severall king with a generallie of the severall wryters in that princes daies: So haue I bene importuned by manie of my friends, to knit by the said whole historie with a particular catalog of all such as haue purposed in severall histories of this realme, or by the waie in the histories of other countreies wrytten of England and English matter. For which cause (with the title of other anonymall chronicles) I haue here for that purpose, by order of alphabet set downe the same. Wherein, although I shall not set downe euerie mans name, nor of what time & qualitie euerie one was (for he is not living I suppose that can do the same) yet having done my good will therein, and that more than perhaps some others would haue done, I praye thee to beare with the defaults, and accept that which I haue done and could do. And although perhaps I maye set downe one man twise, as first by his name, and then set downe the worke without his name, as another severall thing: yet is it not of purpose done, or to the end that I would make a grea thet, and seeme ambitious of names or knowledge; but for that I haue not as yet attained to that perfection, which hereafter I hope to do in distinguishing of the same. For Rome was not built in one daie, & yet if one daies foundation thereof had not bene first laid, it had never bene after builded: and so to the matter.

A, Abbo Floriacensis lived in the time of Dunstane archbishop of Cantuarburie, to whome he dedicated his booke: Abbas Wilsburgensis, Nicholaus

Adams lived in the daies of king Edward the first, Alfric Abbas, Alfric that gathered the lives of the saints in Saronie, which I sometimes had, it maye be that these two were all one man; Altridus Beuerlacenensis thesaurarius whom I send calleth Aluredus Fibroleganus; Alanus abbat of Tenkesterie, one of the foure that wryt the *Quadrilogium* of Thomas Becket in the time of king John, Alexander Hessebienensis; he wryt *Epitome Britannica historiae*; Alexander Somerfetenensis, Alexander Staffordienensis, Aelius Spartianus, Alured or Alfred king of England in the yeare of Christ nine hundred and three, Adam Sperimuth canon of Paules in the reigne of Richard the second, Anianus Marcellinus, Richardus Angeruil surnamed De Berie, bishop of Durham died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred fortye and five; Antoninus, Arnold of London in the time of king Henrie the eight, Asclarius Meneuenensis, Aurelius or Aluredus Riualensis, Robert Auerberrie.

B, Sir Nicholas Bacon knight lord keeper of the great seale unto queene Elisabeth, Benedictus Claudiocestrensis, Valentine a Scot, William Baldwin lived in the time of king Edward the first, Stephan Batemaine died in the yere one thousand five hundred eighty and foure, Beda an English Saron died in the yere of Christ seven hundred thirtye and two, C. de Barrie archdeacon of S. Davids wryt the life of Kennigius bishop of Lincolne, John Bale flourished in the time of Edward the first, Barnardus Andreas wryt a chronicle intituled *Liber Barnardi Andreae Tolosani poeta laureati regis historiographi de vita atque gestis Henrici septimi*, in whose time he flourished; Robert Bosson in the time of Edward the second, Rafe Baldocke bishop of London under Edward the second, Peter Basset in the time of Henrie the first, whose life he did wryte; Robert Bale recorder of London, he died in the yere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and one about the latter end of the reigne of Richard the second; Edmund Bedenham wryter of the chronicles of Rochester; John Bzamus, and not Bzomus as saith Bale a monke of Ledford; John Backlow a Benedictine monke, in the yere one thousand two hundred fourtane; Iohannes Brompton, *historia vetus quam consuli Iornal monasterio, ac hath spatheto Parker In vita episcop. Cantu. Ferdinando Blake lived in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred foure score and foure*, Bodinus, John Bouchet a Frenchman of Aquitaine, Nicholas Bodingham or Bodingham, John Bolue of Barie, Blondus Foroliuensis, Henrie Bradhato borne in Cheshire a blacke monke there in the time of Henrie the eight, John Burgh a monke in the daies of B. Edward the third, Nicholas Bungete borne in a towne of the same name in Northfolke in the daies of king Henrie the first, sir John Burchier knight lord Barnes translated Froissard, Bullerus, Roger Bond, Thomas Buckhurst lord Buckhurst now living, Stephan Birchington, George Buchanan lived in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred and foure score.

C, Thomas Castleford, sir William Cecil knight lord Burleigh lord treasurer of England now living, William Cayton lured in the daies of king Edward the fourth, Campbell, Carion a Germane, Caradocus Lancarnauenensis lived in the daies of B. Stephan, Iulius Caesar a Roman, John Capgrave borne in Kent an Augustine frier died in the fourth yere of king Edward the fourth, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and foure, Cornelius Hibernensis, Cornelius Tacitus, Albertus Crantz, John Caius died in the reigne of our queene Elisabeth, William Campden

den now living, George Cavendish gentleman
bther unto cardinall Wolfeie, whose life he did
write, John Clinu or Linu an Irishman, he flour-
ished in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred
and fiftie, Kase Coggeshall abbat of Coggeshall in
Essex lived in the time of king Henrie the third and
writ the appendix to Radulphus Niger, Thomas
Coper bishop of Winchester now living, Richard
Carguent flourished in the daies of king Edward
the first, Thomas Churchyard now living. D, De-
metrius a Britaine, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius,
Dion Cassius, Thomas Dando a Carmelit frier of
Marleborough, writ the life of Alphred king of Awer-
cia or rather of west Saxons, and lived in the time
of king Henrie the first; Diouionensis, Dolensis writ
De laudibus Britonum.

E, Edmerus a monke of Canturburie lived in the
time of Henrie the second; Elwardus, Eutropius a
Romane priest, Enguerrant de Monstrellet a
Frenchman, and scholer in Paris in the time of
king Henrie the first; Edmund Campian a Jesuit
brought up in Oxford, & executed in the yere of our
Lord 1581; John Cuesden a monke of Burie
flourished in the time of king Edward the first, and
so continued in the time of king Edward the third;
Ernulpus bishop of Rochester lived in the time of
king Henrie the second, and compiled *Textus Roffen-
sis*, containing the grants of the lands to the same
house, & the copies of sundrie ancient lawes in the
Saxon tongue, Thomas Elmeham prior of Lenton.

F, Robert Fabian alderman of London, lived in
the time of Henrie the seventh, Cestrie Fenton
now living; Samuel and Abraham Flemings both
living, brethren by one bellie, and Londoners borne,
*Quorum prior historiam quandam de regimine Mariae nuper
Anglorum principis, eamque elegantem, Latino idiomate (nun-
quam tam excusam) coëxavit: posterior in huius chronici deter-
gēdis atque dilatandis, una cum uberrimorum indicum accessi-
one, plurimum desudavit;* Iohannes Fibernis or Better
writ the historie of Westminster, John Froissart,
Ferculphus, Flaccus Albinus or Alcuinus, Philip
Plattesberie a worthy Irish gentleman flouri-
shed in the yere 1517, John Fourdon a Scot, John
For a learned divine, that writ the *Actes and Monu-
ments*, and is now living; George Ferres living in
the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred three
score and eight, Fabius Quesstor, Florentius Wigor-
nius died about the yere of our Lord one thousand
one hundred and eightene, being about the eigh-
teenth yere of king Henrie the first.

G, Robert Gagwin a Frenchman, John Greie
bishop of Poswich in king Johns time, Thomas
Gardiner a monke of Westminster in the time of
Henrie the eighth; Robert Glouer by office named
Somerset now living a most rare antiquarie, and
worthily deserving to be named *scientissimus antiqui-
tatis*; Francis Guicardine an Italian living in the
yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred three
score and eightene, Laurence Guicardine, Gildas
Sapiens, Gildas Cambrensis, Gildas Badonicus, Gil-
das Albanus, Cestrie of Hunmouth lived in the
time of king Stephan, John Colver knight died a-
bout the second of Henrie the fourth, Giraldus
Cambrensis lived in the time of Henrie the second,
Richard the first, and king John; Nicholas Gill a
Frenchman, Gocelinus first a monke of saint Ber-
rine beyond the seas, and after a monke of Cantur-
burie; Giraldus Cornubiensis *De gestis Anglorum*,
Gulielmus Malmesberie in the daies of B. Stephan,
Gulielmus Parus alias Gulielmus Nouoburgensis
or Peterberie, Geruafius Dorobernensis. Geruafius
Tiberiensis, Richard Grasson in the time of queene
Elisabeth, Robert Græne, Guido de Columna.

H, John Hales, Hugo Albus Petroburgensis, in the

time of king John; John Harding esquier lived in
the daies of Edward the fourth, Edward Hall a
counsellor of Greies inne flourished in the time of
Henrie the eighth and Edward the first; Abrahamus
Hartwellus *Academicus Cantab.* that writ in verse
Reginā literatā; Henrie of Marleborough, Walter
Hemigford a monke of Silborne in the daies of
Edward the third, Hector Boetius a Scot, Hirman-
nus archdeacon in the yere of our Lord one thou-
sand three score and ten, Herbert de Bosham one of
the four that writ the life of Thomas Becket, Hoc-
let one that lived in the time of Henrie the first in
the yere of our Lord one thousand four hundred
fiftie and four, John de Heram and Richard de
Heram lived in the daies of king Richard the first,
Wilfrid Holme under Henrie the eighth, Raphaell
Holmsted in the time of queene Elisabeth, Willi-
am Harrison now living, John Harrison doctor of
arts and of physicke, Kase Higden alias Cestrensis
flourished in the time of Edward the third, John
Higgins now living, Roger Houeden lived in the
time of king John, Hugo de sancto Victore; Hugo
Abbas Petroburgensis, it maie be that Hugo Ab-
bas before & this Hugo were one man, although for
this time I suppose the contrarie; Hugo de Genesii
an Italian, John Hooker alias Colwell now living.

I, Jehan de Bauge, Iohannes Maior a Scot, Iohan-
nes Seuerianus, Iohannes Carnotensis one of the
four that writ the *Quadrilogium* of the life of Tho-
mas Becket, Iohannes Anglicus writ *Historiam au-
reā*, Jehan Maior de Belgis, Iohannes Londoniensis,
John a monke of Ford, Iosfidus Crowlandensis,
Ingulfus abbat of Crowland in the daies of Willi-
am Conqueroz, Thomas Ingham whose Le-
land calleth Thomas Vicanius, Iosephus Domnoni-
ensis, Joceline of Furneis, Peter de Icham or Ich-
tham a monke, whose booke beginneth *Non solum au-
diendo sacra scriptura verbiis aures sedulus auditor accom-
dare tenetur, quod Caim de antiquitate Cantab.*
both ascribe to Robert Remington, as after shall
appeare; Iulius Capitolinus *In vita Antony Pj.*

K, Albertus Krantz a Dane, Kentigernus, Henrie
Brighton lived in the time of king Richard the se-
cond, L. Lanfrancus that writ a chronicle in Welsh,
Stephan Langton bishop of Canturburie writ
the life of king Richard the first, John Leland in the
time of Henrie the eighth and Edward the first, Wil-
liam Lambard esquire now living, and deserving
well of all antiquitie; George Lillie, Humfreie
Lilold, he died in the time of queene Elisabeth;
Piers de Longtoft, Thomas Lanquet, John
Lesse a Scot bishop of Ross in Scotland now li-
ving, John Langden bishop of Rochester.

M, Marcerius an Englishman, of whom John
Baconthorpe speaketh in the prolog of the fourth
booke of Senten. quæst. 10. John Paluerne monke
of Worcester continued Ranulphus in the yere of
Christ, one thousand three hundred three score and
fiftene; Marianus Scotus lived about the yere
of Christ one thousand four score and ten, Pat-
thelw Paris, Patthelw Westminster alias Flores
historiarum a monke of Westminster, and lived in
the king time of Edward the third; Thomas Poze
knight lord chancellor of England, Thomas de la
More knight lived in the daies of Edward the se-
cond, Radulphus Marham, Merlinus Ambrosius,
Merlinus Syluester, Melkinus, Nicholas Pontar-
cute lived in the time of Henrie the first, Edmund
Polineux now living, Sebastian Punsler a Ger-
mane.

N, Nennius Helius brother to Cassiulane & Lud
kings of Britaine, Nennius Banchoensis, Naucle-
rus Alexander Penill now living, Laurence Pot-
ell died about the sixteenth yere of queene Elisabeth,
Ninianus

Nimicus that wrote Eulogium, O. Osbert de Clare prior of Westminster, Osbernus Dorobornensis in the time of William the Conqueror, Thomas Deterborne a Franciscan or grey frier lived in the time of Henrie the first, Abraham Dytchus now living a Fleming; Christopher Deland now living sometime scholemaster in Southwoker.

P. William Pakington clerke & treasurer to the blacke prince of his household in Gascoigne, Patricius Consul, Ioannes de Prato a writer of Aquitaine & protonotarie, Paulus Aemilius, Petrus Blesensis archdeacon of Bath, Philip de Comines alias mon-
sieur de Argentonne secretaire to Charles duke of
Borgoigne, Polydore Virgili an Urbinate Italian
and canon of Paulus in the daies of Henrie the
eight, Paulus Iovius an Italian bishop of Nucerne,
John Pike. John Pitre knight died in the reigne
of queene Elisabeth, William Paten now living,
John Proctor scholemaster of Cambridge to whom
I was sometime scholar, Prothomeus, David Peter-
ell now living.

R. John Read in the time of Edward the first,
John Rastall, Radulphus Londoniensis, Radul-
phus Niger lived in the daies of king Henrie
the third, Radulphus de Diceto deane of Paulus in
London in the time of king John, Retha king of
Scots. Michael Ricus, William Rishanger a
monke of saint Albons in the daies of Edward the
second. Richester a monke of Westminster lived
in the time of Edward the third, and wrote an excel-
lent chronicle beginning at the coming of the
Saxons in the yeare of our Lord foure hundred for-
ty and nine, & continued it untill the yeare one thou-
sand three hundred fortye and eight, containing eight
hundred fourescore and ninefene years; Richardus
Deuileensis, Richardus Cadneus, Richardus Eliensis
whose storie beginneth *Cum annuaderentem excel-*
lentem Eliensis insula, &c. Richardus Eliensis an o-
ther from the former that wrote an other historie
of Elie, Robert abbat of saint Michaels mount fle-
rished in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hun-
dred fiftie and eight; Robertus Montensis, Robertus
sine cognomento, Robertus Remingtonus *De gestis*
Anglorum, &c. in initium, *Non solum audire sed et scrip-*
tura debet. This saith Caius In antiquitate Centu-
laria. But others attribute that worke to Peter 3.
tham, &c. before in the letter J.

Robert Record living in the time of queene
Spacie, Robert bishop of Hereford which lived in
the yeare of our redemption one thousand three-
score and twelue, Robertus de Paterna that wrote
the register of Orford, Robert a prior of Shrews-
borne, Roger of Abindon, Roger of Winsore, Ro-
ger de Wimbore, Roger of Chester lived in the
daies of Edward the third, John Rouse borne in
Warwickshire lived in the daies of Henrie the se-
venth, and being a canon of Dunelm died at War-
wike in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure
hundred fourescore and eleuen, Thomas Rubboorne
archdeacon of Sudberie after bishop of S. Davids
in Wales lived in the time of Henrie the fourth,
Henrie the fifth, and Henrie the first; Thomas Ruo-
borne an other from the former was a monke of
Winchester and followed manie other authors, a-
mongst which was the said Thomas Rubboorne bi-
shop of S. Davids.

S. Saxo Grammaticus a Dane, Samuel Britannus,
Sextus Aurelius, Semtleger, Edward Segefwike
now living, Johannes Sulgenus or Sullenus, Soli-
nus, Siegerus Gemblacensis, Thomas Spot-
to lived in the reigne of Edward the first, An-
tonius Sebellicus a Genesian, John Sleidan a
Germane, Richard Sotowwell, Reginald Scot
now living, Simon Dunelmensis, John Stow

now living, John Smith a Cornish man in the daies
of Henrie the eight, Richard Stanibull borne in
Ireland now living, Sharon now living, John
Stowpham, Stephanides alias Fitzstephan. T. Ti-
tus Livius Patavienfis, Titus Livius Ferolienfis an
Italian lived in the time of Henrie the first, John
Tartor a monke of Wurre, Andrew Thurst a
Frenchman, Nicholas Triuet a blacke frier borne
in Northfolke some to sit Thomas Triuet knight
one of the kings iustices lived in the daies of Ed-
ward the third, and died in the yeare of our Lord one
thousand three hundred twentie and eight; John
Silberie flourished in the pere of Christ one thousand
one hundred fourescore and ten; John Trevisa a
Cornishman prest and vicar of Barkleie, Telemus
a Briton, Francis Totemile alias Wynt now li-
ving, Brian Tuke knight lived in the daies of
Henrie the eight, John Twome died in the reigne of
queene Elisabeth, William Thorne lived in the
daies of Richard the second, Richard Turpin borne
of a two shipfull familie in England served in the
garrison of Calis, he died in the yeare of our Lord
one thousand five hundred fortye and one; Tobias
Roffensis, Turgonus which lived in the yeare of Christ
one thousand ninetie and eight in the time of
William Rufus wrote a chronicle of Durham.

V. Veremund a Spaniard, Raphael Volateran,
Giovanni Vilani a Florentine, Ponticus Virunnius
an Italian, John Wford, John Wton. W. John
Whethamsted otherwise called Frumentarius a
learned man abbat of S. Albons lived in the daies
of Henrie the first, Roger Wall an herald who in
Latine writt the doings of Henrie the first, Thomas
Walsingham a monke of the abbrie of S. Albons
lived in the reigne of Henrie the first, William of
Winal lived in the age of king Stephen, Williel-
mus Cantuariensis one of the foure that wrote the
Quadrilogium of Thomas Becket lived in the time of
king John, Willielmus Gemeticensis, Willielmus
filius Strepiani a clerke of the Chancerie and deane
of the chapell of Thomas Becket in the daies of
Henrie the second, Willielmus Summerfetenfis,
Willielmus Crowlandensis (for the other Williel-
mus in the letter G, in the name of Gulielmus)
Thomas Wike canon of Dunelm, John Wals-
worth, Walterus Excestrenfis, Walterus Couen-
trenfis.

Annales Burtonenses, Memoriale historiarum, Chronica Dunstable, Chronicle of Linnouth, Chro-
nicles of S. Albons, Desforaciones Galfridi, Histo-
ria obductionis Eliensis insula, Chronica, *causa iustitiam*,
Calendarium Briti, Chronicle beginning *rex Britonum*,
Chronica Westmonast, Chronicle beginning *In die-*
bus sancti simi regis Edwardi, Chronicle beginning
Aeneas cum Aeneas, Canonica chronicorum, Supple-
mentum chronicorum, Fasciculus temporu, Historia
Richardi secundi beginning *De parte Briti*, Eulogiu,
Historia Iornalenfis, Historia Carina written in La-
tine compiled in the thirtieth yeare of Richard the
second by whom it was caused to be written, as the
title declareth, which for that it hath no name of
the author, and for that maister For borrowed the
same of maister Carie citizen of London, maister
For in his Ads and Monuments the second edition
callethe the same booke *Historia Carina*.

The epitome of chronicles from Wrote to Hen-
rie 6. beginning *Ab origine mundi consurrexit anni secun-*
da Hebraei, 6646. Chronicle beginning *Chronicon ve-*
ro que sunt imagines historiarum, Chronicle of generalo-
gies beginning *Quilibet principi congruum*, The chroni-
cles of S. Swithin. The commentaries of Hyde, The
continuances of Roger Howden beginning *Ex-*
cerpta ex dictis viri religiosi. An other chronicle of S. Al-
bons beginning *Fecit rex Edwardus tertius comes, His-*
toria

Chronicle
or nameless
chronicles,
tracing who-
he or in part of
England.

*Historia regia vel sancti Edmundi, Chronicle of Cite be-
ginning Anno ab incarnatione dominica, 616, qui est an-
nus 21, ex quo Augustinus cum socijs ad predicandum genti
Anglorum missus est, Historia Anglorum beginning
Considerans historia Britonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, Saxo-
num, Anglorum, Danorum, & Normannorum proximitatem,
&c.* Le mere des histories, Les annales de France,
Les annales d'Acquitaine, Les grand cronicqz de
Britane, Les petit cronicqz de Britane, Les cro-
nicqz de Normandi, Le Rosarie, Les geneologies des
roys, Cronicles de Flandres, The chronicles of Lon-
don, The chronicle called Wynter, The Saxon chroni-
cle of the church of Worcester, The Saxon chroni-
cle of the abbete of Peterborough, The Saxon chro-
nicle written in the yere of Christ eight hundred
four score and five, The chronicles of England.
Thus far this catalog. Now peradventure some
will looke for a rehearfall omni gatherum of such as
haue written in the reigne of our blessed soue-
reigne: but herein as it passeth our possibilitie to
satisfie their expectation, their number being infinit,
and manie of them unknowen and vnknowen of re-
membrance: so it were to be wished that some fa-
uourer of learned mens fame, would compile their
names and woorks in a particular volume, therein
imitating either the order of Bale, or Gesner; or else
the commendable method of John James the
Frislander, printed at Tigurie one thousand five
hundred fourescore and thre, either of which courses
being taken would well serue the turne.

The con-
clusion.

* Thus far (blessed be Christ) the extent of Eng-
lish chronicles; a long labour, of great care and ex-
pense: howbeit at length conquered and overcome,
by the benefit of his grace who enableth vs to go
through with all things that be good: his name be
praised therefore. Wherein if the helpe of such as are
furnished with varietie of knowledge, or as by go-
geous sheu of words and rich pompe of phrase pre-
tend profound skill, had bene as forward to ad-
uance this worke (being of vnperceded magnitudo
by means of the multitude of contents) as some of
late faile, willing to late out their poore talent, haue
afforded what furtherance they were able (some-
what to the satisfieng of those honest minded men
and parteners, at whose great costs and char-
ges the same is now newlie printed,
though not to their full content-
ment who were euer de-
sirous and diuers-

lie made assaies to haue it so absolute, as nothing
might want of due perfection, if the meanes might
haue bene obtained) the chronicles of England, both
for matter & maner, had bene comparable to anie
histories or annals in Christendome. Howbeit perfe-
cted as it is, though not with exquisit curiosities to
please euerie sickle fantasie, yet according to the pro-
portion of skill vouchsafed of God to the dealers
therein (men of commendable diligence though not
of deepest iudgement) somewhat to satisfie the well
affected and indifferent mind, the same is now come
abrode, yielding matter no lesse manifold than the
spring doth floures, and the same marvellous frute-
full, if they haue their right vse and due application:
which indeed is the verie end of histories and chro-
nicles. And so craving a fauorable acceptation of this
tedious trauell, with a toleration of all such defaults
as haplie therein lie hidden, and by diligent reading
maie some be spied; we wish that they which best
maie, would once in their life grow resolute and at
a point, in this laudable kind of studie (most necessa-
rie, next to the word of God, for common know-
ledge) little or much to exercise their head and hand.
Finally beseeching God to blesse the realme of En-
gland, and the pretious felwell of the same (euen god
queene Elisabeth) to saue as the apple of his eye; to
protect hir with the target of his powder against all
the pernicious practises of satans instruments; to
lengthen the lines of hir highnesse honorable coun-
cellors, by whose vigilant policie this whole land fa-
reth the better; in preuenting, intercepting and ma-
king frustrat (God directing and prospering their
consultations and proceedings) all the attempts of
traitors, to whom God in vengeance giue the
iudgement of Judas, as they haue bene partakers
of his sinne; let them be intangled and taken in the
traps of their trecheries, and swallowed vp in the
seas of deserued confusion, that they be no more a
familie. And we beseech God to increase the multi-
tude of loiall subjects, to make them strong in faith
towards him, and in loue one with another, that the
gospell (which is the doctrine of pacification and obe-
dience) maie be glorified in the commonwealth of
England, a corner of the world, O Lord, which thou
hast singled out for the magnifieng of thy name.
Oie, and therof we pray thee to giue vs a dai-
lie remembrance: so shall we make con-
science of sin, & addit our selues
to the exercises of righte-
ousnesse, Amen.

F f N f S.





The third table for the Chronicles of England from the conquest vntill this present regiment : wherin the reader is to obserue these notes for his better direction ; namelie, to seeke for the surnames of persons as more commonlie knowne than the proper ; and also when the name faileth to looke for the dignitie, title, office and degree of such persons ; as Armenia, Cipriots, Spaine, France, Portingall, Nauarre, Denmarke, &c ; if they were kings : Archbishop, Bishop, Pope, Carnall, Legat, &c ; if they were Clergiemen: Chancellors, Treasurers, Lord high constables, Lord wardens of the cinque ports, &c ; Duke, Earle, Marquess, Queene, Duchesse, Countesse, &c ; if they were great states : Maior, Sargents at law, Officers, &c : if they were of that degree : knights and esquires excepted, who as they were of renoume, are accordingly noted by their vsuall names. Likewise for such as haue bene executed as notorious offenders against the prince and the state, to come to the knowledge of their names, looke for the qualitie of their offense ; as counterfeting, coineclippers, conspiracie and conspirators, murder and murtherers, rebellion and rebels, treason and traitors, preests leminarie, &c : of all which this table affordeth infinit examples. Finallie, wherefoeuer you find this word

(Note) there dooth matter of consideration come to hand.

If the reader be not satisfied with this table, let him not blame the order, but his owne conceipt. Gathered by Abraham Fleming.

- A.
- A**basie of winchester obtained for monie, 21, a 40
- Abbat** Agelnothus, ¶ See Agelnothus. ¶ Of Battell in rescuing winchelsea is put to flight, 427, a 50. Egelsin. ¶ See Egelsin. Egeltwine. ¶ See Egeltwine. Fecknam of wellminster infatled, 1132, b 20. Frederike. ¶ See Frederike. Joachim, a man of great fame, 126, a 10. ¶ Of Glastenburie an erle son, 42, a 60. Alosaunge. ¶ See Alosaunge. Danle. ¶ See Danle. ¶ Of saint Augustine capteine of an armie, 2 a 10. ¶ Of S. Edmundsburie, Robert Lou an earle sonne, 20, a 40. Churstan. ¶ See Churstan. ¶ Of wellminster bieth indemie, 516, b 30. ¶ See Conspiracie.
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¶ For service done against the enimie, 962, b 40, &c. 991, b 40, 992, a 20, 1216, b 40, 1222, a 60.

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- Sidneie sir Philip knight dead of a wound, right honourable repozed of beyond and on this side the seas: note, 1554, a 60, 80.
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 861, a20. Desireth to see the
 communion of the archb.
 committed to the custody of cer-
 taine gentlemen, Richert sit-
 ting at the table, fallith into a
 fit that cost him his life, 915
 a20. In discipline with be-
 come the eight, articles exhibi-
 ted agaynst him, sued in a pre-
 munire, both to part from the
 great seale, but yet discharged,
 called all his officers to
 accounts, goeth to 3ther end
 and hath his pience turned into
 penurie, condemned in a pre-
 munire, 909, a10, 20, 30, 40, 60
 b30, 50. Archbishop of York,
 cardinal, chancellor, of Eng-
 land, his cardinals hat recei-
 ved by Richert gentlemen
 with great solemnite, violence
 executed by him upon offen-
 ders, he erecteth new courts
 by Henrie the eightes com-
 mission, 858, b50, 50. He taketh
 upon him to determine causes,
 diserte parties offended at
 him, he hindereth the duke of
 Suffolks hope, an crumit to
 part, 859, a50, 60, b10. His
 advice to the mayo of Lon-
 don at 3l Ayls daies riot,
 841, b30, 40. Licenced to re-
 pair into Yorkshire, his col-
 lege lands seized upon to the
 beehave of Henrie the eight,
 913, b10. Remoued to Rich-
 monde, properly for: his tour-
 nament into the 323th, 914, a60
 b10. Toucheth that he can-
 not live, afterth his fall to
 the iust iudgement of God,
 the complei historie of his be-
 haviours, life, and death, 917,
 918, 919, 920, 921, 922
 a11. Bishop of Worcester and
 others resist the erie of Here-
 ford rebelling, 11, a50. Richert
 a glasse of safeguard a-
 gainst the Normans, 17, a60
 b10. Like to have bene depo-
 sed for his insufficiencie of
 learning, 12, a10. His mira-
 cle whereby he kept his bi-
 shopricke, 12, a10. Submitted
 himselfe to duke William, 1, a
 10. Dierth, 27, b60,
 a10. Dieth, and how to be
 rightlie called: note, 796, a40
 b10. Mans request prevaileth in a
 great matter with a great
 personage, 32, a50. Difficul-
 ty, 378, a20. The diffumil-
 tation, 336, b30. Daned,
 lawne and quartered, 944, a
 10. Dnes request denied oc-
 casion of much boyle, 317, b40
 a22, a10. The contrary for
 peace, & prevaileth betwene
 two kings: note, 360, a30
 b10. Drought to bed of a mon-
 ster, note, 1314, a40. One of
 our forefoures erie old brought
 bed of a monker, 1313, b60
 a14, a10. Drought to bed
 of four children at one bur-
 row, 1261, b60
 a10. Dwellen will hardlie be of one
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 nes in ecclesiastical matters:
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 more agaynst them is dispo-
 nable: note, 314, a10. Cau-
 ses of mischeit: note, 563, a
 10. Counterfiting them-
 selves one our Lades the o-

[illegible]

displeased and swore, 32, b 10
fair and gentle with his
behaviour how forcible, 118,
a 10. **P**urCHASE displeasure,
though destructive, 513, b
40, 50, 60. **P**WILCONDRY by
the Scots; note, 423, a 20.
PWILCONDRY kinde displeas-
ure, 387, b 50, 60. **R**oyal and
well becoming a king to re-
bellowe to his; note, 400, a 10
with the deterred, appeale the
sorrow of a king; 458, 10, 30,
50. **O**pprobrious procure ill
will; note, 421, a 20. **D**re-
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with little marriage, 23, b 60, 24
a 10. **O**f dishonre touching
muchfere; note, 445, a 30. **P**u-
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pillorie, and losse of both the
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much; note, 143, b 60. **O**f the
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works god of dute willens
before his death, 14, b 50. **O**f
king Henrie the first to win
the peoples favour, 28, b 20
Orburmanlyp serie cunning,
of compassing much matter in
a little tyme, 1262, b 10. **O**f a
locke and a key wrighting but
one wheate-crope, 1299, b 50,
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10. **T**wo hanged for robbing,
913, a 60, b 10. **T**he in-
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763, b 50. **D**efend the pre-
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b 60. **O**ppre talked of than feared,
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The three subdued to Lewis
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Kent, 54, a 30. **D**eparteth the
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Ver. 6. Measure.

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 10. C he hanged for robbing,
 953, a 60, b 10. Their in-
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These faults to be amended. For *su* John Perot, read Pollard, pag. 1551, b. 20. For *sealed* read *Shilome*, 1555, b. 50. For *Henry* the first, read the second, 1548, b. 50.
The rest good reader, as judgement shall lead thee, reforme.

FINIS propositi laus Christo nescia FINIS.



Finished in Ianuarie 1587, and the 29 of the Queenes
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